



सत्यमेव जयते

Government of Bombay

SOURCE MATERIAL
FOR
A HISTORY
OF THE
FREEDOM MOVEMENT
IN INDIA

(Collected from Bombay Government Records)

Vol. II
1885-1920

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FOREWORD

Volume I of this Source Material which was published in May 1957 contained relevant extracts from official records bearing on political developments, including echoes of the great convulsion of 1857, in Western India. This period witnessed a gradual recuperation of the people from the devitalizing effects of that intellectual and moral exhaustion which seems to have afflicted almost all parts of India during the century of its conquest by Britain. No Indian power could effectively resist Britain's aggressive and progressive encroachment on India's freedom. The establishment of British rule, however, produced its own results. The introduction of western education with all its philosophy of individualism, liberalism and democracy, the setting up of a common system of Government throughout the country, the imposition of an alien but rich language for all purposes of administration and its inevitable emergence as a common medium of communication and self-expression, a constantly growing consciousness of comradeship in the distress of subjugation and suppression—all these forces naturally strengthened and stimulated those deep and intrinsic affinities, cultural, philosophical and spiritual, which have unified India from hoary antiquity, into the beautiful efflorescence of modern Indian nationalism.

Ram Mohan Roy, Dadabhai Naoroji and Mahadev Govind Ranade were the prophets and architects of this all-sided national renaissance. Their writings, teachings and concrete actions led to a re-discovery of the past, a realization of the present and ambitious aspirations for the future. The establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was a natural culmination of the widespread desire of an awakened people to have a common meeting ground for exchange of

experiences and ideas and expression of discontent against Government policies, and a common organization for securing the required redress. Once such an all India body came into existence, it was bound to grow from strength to strength. Disillusionment and frustration play a great part in injecting vigour in any legitimate movement for emancipation, and the refusal of British authorities to appreciate the justice of India's demands only helped to harden the people's resolve to make even more strenuous efforts to regain what they had lost. From being, in the initial stages, a body devoted only to deliberation and subdued ventilation of grievances, the Congress steadily developed by 1920, in spite of spells of passivity, into a powerful instrument for national self-assertion. It went on getting accretions to its motive power from the energy generated by its own activities.

This Volume deals with the period 1885-1920. The struggle for freedom gathered a new tempo during this generation and its intensification evoked a policy of repression which was ruthlessly pursued by Government all over the country and led to the incarceration of many respected national leaders. Tilak, Lajpatrai, Bipinchandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh, Surendranath Banerji, Chidambaram Pillay were among those who became in one way or another the victims of official wrath for their crime of directing all their energies towards the liberation of the motherland. It is curious that even a learned and radical philosopher like Lord Morley did not seem to appreciate, in spite of conflict of interests and on a purely human, objective and scholarly plane and with a sense of kindredness, the intellectual and moral greatness of those whom the Government of India were throwing behind prison bars or deporting out of the country. Other important currents of national endeavour also made their vigorous appearance during this period. The

gospel of Swadeshi and boycott, for instance, sent a thrill of enthusiasm among high and low and its potentiality as an effective economic lever for attaining political objectives was widely canvassed. Side by side, there was also a wave of enthusiasm for national education imparted in specially established institutions completely free from official control and teaching a curriculum suitable to build up a free people. Even in the bleak aridity and degeneration of political life in Indian States, the patriotic skirmishes of a bold ruler like Sayajirao Gaikwad with high-handed Residents and other dignitaries stand out as a pleasing contrast in the assertion of self-respect and independence. Above all, excitable and impetuous youths who lost all faith in and patience with constitutional agitation which did not seem to produce any significant and tangible results started the cult of organized conspiracy and terrorism. They willingly sacrificed their precious lives in the performance of what they conceived to be a sacred duty to the nation. Even moderate leaders like Gokhale, while dissociating themselves from any kind of militant agitation, were eloquently pleading for a better deal by England to India.

The most dominating personality which materially influenced and conditioned national thought and activity for a quarter of a century prior to 1920 was undoubtedly Lokmanya Tilak. Endowed with a robust mind which was remarkably enriched by all the disciplines and profundities of a liberal education and with a keen sensitivity of intellectual and emotional perception, it is no wonder that Tilak not only carried on the mission of his great predecessors but actually gave to it a new dimension of popular awakening and enthusiasm which immensely added to its magnitude and earned for him the distinction of being recognized as

the 'father of Indian unrest' by such a hostile critic as Sir Valentine Chirol. That unintended compliment is so appropriate and so expressively worded that it does not lose any of its truth and significance by frequent repetition. Tilak's undaunted fearlessness, the like of which had not previously been manifested in Indian public life, and the impeccable purity of his character gave to contemporary political agitation that backbone and respectability which are of the essence of a moral altitude.

There is ample evidence in this Volume to dispel the belief held in certain quarters that Tilak was an uncompromising extremist whose conceit and obstinacy were only equalled by an iconoclastic delight in breaking and destroying. Actually, he will be found, both with reference to the tragic events at Surat in 1907 and with reference to the efforts made a decade later to get his party back into the Congress, to be fervently pleading for a united national front and prepared to go to any length, short of a surrender of principles, to accommodate all sectors of political life. No Indian leader has probably been subjected to such merciless persecution and reckless misrepresentation and maligning by ruling and retired Anglo-Indian bureaucrats and by British publicists as was this great patriot whose knowledge, insight and experience led him straight to the fundamentals of things and who vigorously exposed the insidious but fatal poison of imperialistic hypocrisy. Tilak was the *bete noire* par excellence of British imperialism at a time when it was still on the crescendo of prosperity and power. And his most valuable service lay in inspiring an atmosphere of national revolt and resistance against the emasculation imposed by that imperialism, indeed against its very existence. The slogan "Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it" in fact embodies the eternal truth that all slavery is unnatural and as such, if for no other reason, must be

ended. With this background the Mahatma found the nation sufficiently responsive when he gave the great call for non-co-operation on the day of Tilak's death. This Volume concludes at that crucial stage in the history of modern India.

It may be stated that this Volume, like Volume I, contains material which is collected mainly from Government records and files, many of which being of a secret and confidential nature were never before accessible to the public. The bulk of the Volume may appear to be rather forbidding ; but it is hoped that details of the picture of political life in Western India as reflected in police reports, extracts from which are reproduced here in extenso, will be found interesting and useful by students of history.

Shri H. M. Joshi, Research Officer and Shri Gopalrao Kulkarni, Collaborator, worked strenuously and incessantly in scrutinizing a very large volume of records and files, in making preliminary selections of extracts and in editing them for publication. I must express my thanks to them. A word of praise is also due to other members of the Research and Office Staff for their devotion to duty.

M. R. PALANDE.

BOMBAY :

7th January 1958.

A WORD ABOUT THE MATERIAL

FROM PRAYERS AND PETITIONS TO CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Material presented in this Second Volume begins with the emergence of the Indian National Congress which started its activities with prayers and petitions. The volume closes with the emergence of Civil Disobedience movement, a movement conceived and operated entirely with a new perspective and on a large scale. These events show the trend of evolution of Indian political thought and also its direction. The traces of this evolution could be seen in this source material.

Notable Features : Following are a few of the notable features of this period : (1) the contribution made by the English or British lovers of freedom and democracy, like Hume, Wedderburn, Mrs. Besant and others, deserves special attention ; particularly A. O. Hume's services in this field deserve further investigation ; the files of the Hindi weekly, 'Lokamitra' conducted by him since 1859, might help to throw more light on the nature of his services to this country in those days ; (2) Lokamanya Tilak was among the first few gifted Indians to know the British mind correctly and, what is more, to create popular sanction on a large scale behind political agitation ; (3) the valiant fight put by Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad is very remarkable and shows how he scored practically on all the issues ; (4) the Government who claimed to have brought and given democratic thought and administration to this country generally reacted, not only undemocratically but in a despotic manner against popular demands and peaceful agitation ; this policy of repression gave birth to violent forces ; (5) terrorist organisations and activities, in return, gave additional opportunity to the rulers to rule in a despotic manner without adding comparatively to the strength of the people ; (6) the method of peaceful popular agitation, particularly non-violent non-co-operation and Satyagraha gave the dumb masses full scope to boldly defy the power of mere arms and to assert themselves.

Early Evolution : The material in our first volume (1818-1884) helps to show (1) the nature of armed resistance to British power before 1857 and also the nature of preparations and operations in 1857 ; (2) how the ultimate ideal of India as a Parliamentary Democratic Government was conceived and expressed as early as in 1848 ; the idea that the "British would be driven out from this country when people become wise" was also expressed about the same time (1848) ; (3) how after the Queen's Proclamation, educated men in the presidency

trusted the rulers and expected justice and equality from them and how they were disillusioned; (4) how common problems and common calamities brought people from all the provinces closer and closer; these close relations released forces of common aspirations. Thus about 1877-78, Indian leaders are seen talking about national organizations and national problems. The appeal made by the Sarvajanic Sabha of Poona to all who were invited for the Delhi Darbar (1877) 'to utilise the opportunity to discuss national problems', and the All-India Editors' Conference held at Calcutta (1878) form the beginning of the thought of nationalism. This was the stage set for the formation of the Indian National Congress.

Progress in the Second Stage : The material in this second volume is mainly related to :—

1. the beginning, growth and expansion of the Congress ;
2. Lokamanya Tilak's heroic struggle all his life to create sanctions behind popular demands ;
3. unjust and even most questionable policies and methods employed by Government to cripple democratic life in the country ;
4. emergence of revolutionary-cum-terrorist activities and their repercussions ;
5. conflict and clash of policies and methods of Indian leaders and the emergence of distinct political parties like the liberals or moderates, nationalists or the extremists which clashed against each other. Through this political toil and turmoil emerged the Satyagraha movement.

Country united but frustrated : During the First World War which was fought for 'saving democracy' the British Government carried on repression relentlessly in India. Even peaceful agitation was frowned upon and suppressed. Lokamanya Tilak's harassment, Mrs. Besant's internment and Horniman's deportation need no comments. Prominent Muslim leaders in the country were rotting in Jail and a few revolutionaries were sent to gallows. The nation had grown much more self-conscious and was demanding political power. The dissensions in the Congress were liquidated ; the Muslim League had joined hands with the Congress ; and both the Home Rule Leagues had come closer. Thus the nation was speaking practically with one voice. But the rulers were determined not to listen.

Satyagraha, a contribution to world thought : The nation though united was thus passing through a sense of frustration. Instead of conceding any political demand the tragedy of Jallian-wala-Bagh was the gift given by the rulers to India for the blood and money she had sacrificed for saving democracy. The challenge to Indian honour and patriotism was thrown not only by Dyers and O'Dwyers but by their supporters, the Imperial Rulers of Britain. And that challenge was accepted by India under the leadership of Gandhiji. Civil disobedience thus comes out to meet the challenge given by British Imperialism. In fact the birth of Satyagrah followed the long and continuous pangs of slavery ; that was India's contribution to the political thought in the world.

Tilak and Gandhi : This period is essentially the Tilak-era. Like a crusader, Lokmanya Tilak all his life struggled for creating popular awakening and sanction. As early as 1896-97 he had asked the famine stricken agriculturists of Thana District "not to make payment of land revenue ;" the police reports state "that there was a partial mutiny among the police"; Lokmanya Tilak had also clearly enunciated his policy of "universal—boycott" in 1906, which was practically on the lines of Gandhiji's non-co-operation. He said "we shall not assist them to collect revenue and keep peace ; we shall not assist them in carrying on administration of justice ; we shall have our own courts and when the time comes, we shall not pay taxes. Can you do that by your united efforts ? If you can, you are free from to-morrow". This shows the similarity of thought between Tilak and Gandhi and a link between 1906 and 1920.

Lokmanya Tilak had also seen the limitations of the Constitutional agitation led by himself. Since 1918 he was watching and assessing the technique and agitation of Satyagraha movement. He had expressed his misgivings to Gandhiji about the capacity of the people to wield the new weapon. Unfortunately there is no clear statement made by Lokmanya Tilak himself about his attitude towards Satyagraha. However, the following few extracts may help to indicate his approach and attitude towards it.

He was a participant in the then famous sittings of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee held in Bombay on 12th August and 2nd September 1917 "to consider the advisability of adopting the policy of passive resistance both as regards its principle and working in carrying on political work". This proposition was not acceptable to the then leaders of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. The police reports of this meeting record that "they (Tilak, Horniman and Jamnadas) made long speeches in support of passive resistance." though ultimately a compromise resolution supported by Tilak was unanimously passed.

Commenting on the evasive attitude towards passive resistance adopted by the leaders of the Bombay Congress Committee, at the above meeting, the *Kesari* (14th August 1917), wrote ; "They must understand that neither the Congress nor its sub-committees would be able to shelve, for all time, the issue of Satyagraha or passive resistance."

The two extracts given in this book show that Lokamanya had asked his followers in May 1919 to 'fully support Gandhi.' His calculations and expectations as reported to have been expressed by him to K. P. Khadilkar about two weeks before his death (1st August 1920) about the probable success of it, also help to show his attitude and approach towards it.

That appears to be a natural stage in the evolution of Indian political thought.

Thanks : Our thanks are due to those individuals and institutions whose help has been of great value to us. Particular mention may be made of Shri Hussein Tyabji, Ex-Judge of the Bombay Small Causes Court and a son of Budruddin Tyabji. He gave us several original letters that had passed between Budruddin and A. O. Hume. Extracts from some of these letters have been reproduced in this volume. Reports of the earlier sessions of the Indian National Congress are very rare but we were able to get them through the kindness of Sarvshri R. V. Raut and S. V. Raut who had them in their library. The Bombay University, Asiatic Society and Kesari-Maratha Trust generously allowed us to draw freely upon their valuable libraries and we are very grateful to them. We also thank the British Information Service, Bombay, for their assistance in collecting for us the information about A. O. Hume from the India Office Library, London. We must also express our sense of appreciation of the kindness of all those who allowed their precious time to be spent in interviews with our representatives. I would be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude for the ever willing help and guidance given by Prof. M. R. Palande, M.A. I also thank my colleague, Shri Gopalrao Kulkarni, Research Collaborator for his constant help. The other Research Investigators Shri B. N. Phatak, M.A., and Kumari Rasik J. Shah, M.A., LL.B., also deserve my thanks.

H. M. JOSHI,

Research Officer.

Bombay, 1st December 1957.

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I
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

ORIGIN OF THE CONGRESS

(EXTRACTS FROM NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS.)

[Regarding the exact origin of the Congress, Dr. Patabhi Sitaramayya states "it is shrouded in mystery" (The History of the Indian National Congress, page 11). There are a few important statements on this point made by very eminent authorities which have been referred to by various authors including Dr. Patabhi Sitaramayya. They are Surendranath Banerji, Mrs. Annie Besant, William Wedderburn and Lala Lajpatrai. The statements made by these leaders about the origin of the Congress appear to convey slightly different versions. In a recent article a writer has gone to the length of stating that "Hume wanted to by-pass Banerji or sabotage his efforts" as his (Hume's) group did not want to leave the leadership into the hands of a "dismissed Civil Servant". It is difficult to draw any such conclusion even from varying statements of Congress leaders. The pertinent extracts, even though they are from published books, are given below as some of the books may not be easily available. From these as well as from other extracts quoted here, it can be seen that the necessity for a National Representative Organisation was then felt by Indian leaders who were carrying on their activities provincewise. The 'idea' was there in the atmosphere at least for about ten years before the actual birth of the Congress. Writing on this point, some of the authors have made a reference to the early efforts made by Ganesh Wasudeo Joshi (Born 1827 : Died 1880) alias Sarvajanic Kaka in 1878. He actually has styled the meeting convened in Delhi at the time of the Darbar as an 'Indian Parliament'. The Press Conference held in Calcutta the same year was, it appears, intended to be a permanent organisation. These were the earlier organisational activities on an All India basis. As for the Origin of the Congress, it appears, the seed of it is perceivable in the Conferences held at Calcutta in December 1883 ("The National Conference") and Madras in 1884. But the connected process of its formation is visible and traceable in the famous 'Circular' addressed by A. O. Hume (March 1883) and in his further pursuits during 1884-85 which ultimately resulted in the birth of this organisation. The first meeting (December 1885—Bombay) assembled under the name of "The Indian National Union" and in this meeting they decided to call the organisation as "The Indian National Congress", a name which might have been taken from the American Congress. Thus the origin and the fatherhood appear to be clear and they go to A. O. Hume (Born 1829 ; died 1912).

Surendranath Banerji had convened his National Conference also in 1885, when the "Indian National Union" was fixed to meet at Poona the same week. Surendranath himself states that "either of us (Surendranath and Hume) did not know till the time of our meetings". This appears strange but no other satisfactory explanation is available. The cryptic comments made by the "Maratha", 5th December 1885 (then edited by Bal Gangadhar Tilak) go to show that he (Lokmanya) also had no knowledge of the "Poona Congress meeting" till about the beginning of December 1885 when he made the suggestion to call the meeting "at a more central place like Poona" (Maratha 12th December 1885). It may be that they wanted the matter to be kept secret. Tilak in his editorial has stated that "the meeting place first fixed was Calcutta". This reference might be for the meeting convened by Surendranath. Any way this is one of the intriguing points which deserves attention and explanation. Kelkar's (N.C., Editor Kesari) information which he had collected from the Late Justice Ranade in 1896 goes to show that Hume was the originator of the Congress. In the Congress resolution (1912) passed after his death, Hume has been described as "The founder and father of the Organisation". His role as its General Secretary for the first seven years shows how incomparable were his services and how bravely he fought against the Indian bureaucracy. That he wanted to save the Empire, was also correct. He believed that the Empire was the real instrument of human progress. But all his life story, his constructive effort (about 1860) to serve the Indian masses even when he was in service show that he loved the people of this country and called this country as his own. Hence he was anxious to guide the people who, he believed, must have an all India organisation, wedded to democratic thought and methods.]

WEDDERBURN'S NARRATION

"Accordingly, the first movement towards a definite scheme is to be found in a circular letter, dated 1st March 1883, addressed to the "Graduates of the Calcutta University."

The appeal from one trusted and beloved by the Indian people was not made in vain. The men required as founders to initiate the movement, were forthcoming from all parts of India; and the "Indian National Union" was formed. It was arranged that a Conference should be held at Poona, to enable "all those most interested in this Union to exchange opinions and authoritatively adopt an organisation that, in the main, shall approve itself to all". In the meantime a Preliminary Report was issued to members, containing suggestions and conclusions, "the result of the

discussion of the subject with all the most eminent and earnest politicians of this Empire."

(ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME BY W. WEDDERBURN, PUBLISHED 1913,
PAGES 51-53.)

Sir SURENDRANATH GIVES HIS STORY

"I took up the movement for the creation of a National Fund. A great meeting was held on July 17, 1883, attended by over ten thousand people, at which it was resolved to raise a national fund to secure the political advancement of the country by means of constitutional agitation in India and in England.....The moral transformation which was to usher in the Congress movement had thus already its birth in the bosom of the "Indian National Conference" which met in Calcutta, and to which representatives from all parts of India were invited."

("A NATION IN MAKING" BY S. N. BANERJEA, PAGE 85.)

Mrs. BESANT'S REPORT

"In late December 1884, seventeen men met in Madras, in the house of that stalwart advocate of religion and reform, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao. Nearly all of them had been delegates to the just ended Annual Convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, and the others had been there as friends and sympathisers. But surely this new pride in India's mighty faiths throbbing in their hearts.....these dreams sent out the dreamers to take counsel together, and they resolved, greatly daring, to form themselves into a group of provisional Committees, men from different towns to win others, each in his place, and to meet later for further consultation. Let us place on record their names, for they were the seed of a mighty tree. Norendranath Sen of Calcutta, that sturdiest of fighters, was one of the little group, and he gave their names later in his paper, the Indian Mirror; he remarks, that "the delegates who attended the convention were most of them men, who, socially and intellectually,

are the leaders of the society in which they move in different parts of the country". They were :—

MADRAS : The Hon. Mr. S. Subramania Iyar, and Messrs. P. Rangiah Naidu and P. Anadacharlu, CALCUTTA : Messrs. Norendranath Sen, Surendranath Banerji and M. Ghose, BOMBAY : The Hon. Messrs. V. N. Mandlik, K. T. Telang, and Dadabhai Noroji, POONA : Messrs. C. Vijiaranga Mudaliar and Pandurang Gopal, EENARES : Mr. Harichandra, NORTH WEST PROVINCES : Mr. Kashi Prasad and Pandit Laxminarayan, BENGAL : Mr. Charuchandra Mitter, OUDH : Mr. Shri Ram.

Seventeen good men and true, who out of their love and their hope conceived the idea of a political National Movement for the saving of the Motherland.

(FROM "HOW INDIA WROUGHT FOR FREEDOM", PAGES 1-3.)

SURENDRANATH ON MADRAS ASSEMBLY

"It appears that while we were organizing our National Conference at Calcutta, some of our friends headed by the late Mr. A. O. Hume had met at Madras for a similar purpose. Mr. Telang wrote to me from Bombay requesting me to send him some notes about the first National Conference held in 1883."

(FROM "A NATION IN THE MAKING", PAGE 99.)

RANADE THE GUIDE OF ALL THE ACTIVITIES

"Mr. Ranade was, in regard to all public movements in the western presidency, the power behind the throne. A public servant, loyal to the Government, with that true loyalty, not born of personal motives, or of passing impulses, but having its roots in the highest considerations of expediency and the public good he was the guide, philosopher and friend of public men of the Western presidency, and all public movements, were they political, social or religious, bore the impress of his masterful personality. I came in contact with him while quite young in my career as a public man."

(FROM "A NATION IN THE MAKING", PAGES 138-139.)

राष्ट्रीय सभेचा त्रोटक पूर्ववृत्तान्त.

('सद्वादि' मासिकाच्या डिसेंबर १९३५ च्या अंकांतील न. चि. केळकर यांच्या लेखांतील उतारा.)

तारीख ८ डिसेंबर १८८५ च्या केसरींत, महाराष्ट्रांतील वाचकांना एक अद्भुत व आनंददायक अशी बातमी वाचावयास मिळाली ती अशी:—“पुण्यास लवकरच एक जंगी कॉन्फरन्स म्हणजे सभा होणार आहे. या सभेस इतर इलाख्यांतील सार्वजनिक सभेसारख्या सभांचे 'डेलीगेट्स' म्हणजे प्रतिनिधी आणविण्याचा बेत आहे. या कॉन्फरन्सच्या पुरस्कर्त्यांचा, तें भरविण्यांत असा हेतु आहे की, सर्व हिंदुस्थानच्या संबंधानें अतिशय महत्त्वाचे जे सामाजिक विषय आहेत त्यांचा ऊहापोह होऊन, जे हक्क सरकारपासून येणें जरूर आहे असें ठरेल त्या हक्कांचें संपादन होण्यासाठीं जे उपाय करावयाचे त्यांचा निश्चय झाल्यावर, ते घडवून आणण्यासाठीं सर्व हिंदुस्थानभर एकमेकांच्या सहाय्यानें, एक दिलोनें व एकोप्यानें परिश्रम चालावे. हा हेतु तडीस गेल्यास ब्रिटिश सरकारच्या अमलाखालीं आतांपर्यंत संकीर्ण असलेले जे महाराष्ट्र, कानडा, बंगाल, सिंध, मध्यप्रांत, वायव्यप्रांत इत्यादि राष्ट्रमणी ते अन्योन्य साधारण अशा कार्य सरांत गुंफिले जाऊन राष्ट्रीय संबंधांत त्यांची एक माला होईल; व असें झाल्यास 'कलौ संघे शक्तिः' या वाक्याची पूर्तता होऊन आमच्या सुधारणेचें पाऊल आतांपेक्षा थोडेंसें जलदीनें पडूं लागेल. ज्यांना दूरचा विचार करण्याची संवध नाही त्यांच्या लक्षांत अशा प्रकारच्या कॉन्फरन्सचें खरें स्वरूप व महत्त्व येणार नाही, पण ज्यांना राष्ट्राच्या सुधारणा कशा होतात हें इतिहास वाचनानें किंवा विचारानें कळून आलें असेल त्यांना ही कॉन्फरन्स भरविणारास शाबासकी दिल्यावांचून राहणार नाही. प्रथम प्रथम भावल्यांच्या खेळासारखा ह्या सभांचा खेळ होईल. पण तसा झाल्याखेरीज पार्लमेंटचें स्वरूप त्यांस कधींच येणार नाही. सध्यां दिवसच असे आहेत कीं अशा खटपटी केल्याशिवाय आम्हांस गत्यंतर नाही.”

राष्ट्रीय सभा भरविण्याची मूळ कल्पना कशी कोठें निघाली, कोणी काढली इत्यादि प्रश्नाविषयीं सविस्तर माहिती विचारण्याकरितां प्रस्तुत लेखक १८९६ सालीं मुंबईस रानडे यांना भेटण्याकरितां गेला होता व त्याप्रसंगीं त्यांनीं आपला मौल्यवान वेळ खर्च करून सर्व हकीगत मोकळ्या मनानें सांगितली.

हुम व वेडरबर्न हे दोघे गृहस्थ गेल्या शतकांतील खऱ्या उदार मतवादी इंग्रजांचे उत्तम नमुने होते असें म्हणतां येईल. हुम साहेब हे हिंदुस्थान सरकारचे सेक्रेटरी व वेडरबर्न हे मुंबई सरकारचे सेक्रेटरी, आपल्या नोकरीच्या शेवटीं होते. हुम हे तर कदाचित् लेफ्टनंट गव्हर्नरहि व्हावयाचे. पण ह्या दोघांनीं प्रत्यक्ष

नोकरांत असतां मनानें व नोकरांतून निवृत्त झाल्यावरहि कृतीनें हिंदुस्थानविषयीं खरी कळकळ दाखविली. फार काय, पण आर्थिक स्वार्थत्यागाची कसोटी लावली तरी त्यांनीं एखाद्या तीव्र देशाभिमानांनीं हिंदी गृहस्थाहता स्वार्थत्याग केला; कदाचित् अधिकच. ह्युम साहेबानें सुमारे २० वर्षे काँग्रेस सेक्रेटरीचें काम केलें व वेडरबर्न साहेबांनीं पुष्कळ दिवस आपल्या खर्चानें “इंडिया” नांवाचें वर्तमानपत्र इंग्लंडांत जगविलें. हे दोन गृहस्थ सिव्हिल सरव्हंट असून त्यांनीं हिंदुस्थानांत राष्ट्रीय सभेची मूळ कल्पना काढली. हें आजच्या स्थितींत, म्हणजे काँग्रेसमन व सिव्हिलियन यांना एकमेकांचें तोंडहि पाहूं नये असें वाटण्याच्या स्थितींत, नवशिक्या माणसाला आश्चर्यकारक वाटल्याशिवाय रहाणार नाही. परंतु ती अगदीं खरी वस्तुस्थिती आहे.

यामुळें न्यायमूर्ती रानडे आदिकरून पुढाऱ्यांच्या प्रोत्साहनानें लोकांनीं हैसेनें परिषद भरविली व लॉर्ड डफरिन यानें तिला प्रोत्साहन व आदरानें मान्यता दिली.

(The above extract from N. C. Kelkar's article in the Marathi monthly Sahyadri of December, 1935 states that he (N. C. Kelkar) met Justice Ranade at Bombay in 1896 to ask the latter about the origin of the Congress. He understood from the interview that the two enlightened civilians A. O. Hume and W. Wedderburn were responsible for the idea of starting a national organisation, which came into existence with the co-operation of Indian leaders and encouragement by Lord Dufferin.)

COMMENTS OF THE 'MARATHA'

“We congratulate the Indian Association upon the success which has attended its efforts. There is reason to believe, that the conference would in time do immense good, if only it is not allowed to die as was the case with the vernacular Press Association attempted in 1878, by our lamented friend Mr. Ganesh Wasudev Joshi.”

(“MARATHA”, DATED 6TH JANUARY 1884, PAGE 4.)

THE SUGGESTION TO HOLD THE SESSION IN POONA.

“Calcutta once tried to get delegates from the different parts of the Empire, but the experiment failed, one of the principal causes of failure being the remoteness of the place. If a central place, well-known for its public activities and intelligence be fixed upon, then there need be no apprehension of a failure. We may be pardoned for suggesting the name of this city, because we know that this city is not behind other towns.”

(“MARATHA”, 6TH DECEMBER 1885.)

VENUE OF THE 1ST SESSION—CALCUTTA ?

“Original place fixed for the session was Calcutta, but it was afterwards thought that for its central position, Poona would suit better. We are glad that the leaders of political thought in the Empire have begun to believe in the necessity of fixing the common programme to carry on the work of National reform.”

(“MARATHA”, POONA, DATED 13TH DECEMBER 1885, PAGE 4.)

CALCUTTA, MADRAS AND BOMBAY SESSIONS.

“We had a conference at Madras, another at Calcutta and 3rd in Bombay. There delegates from different centres of the Empire were present. The Conference at Madras if we say so was socio-religious, held under the auspices of the Theosophical Society, that at Calcutta was purely political and the one in Bombay was socio-political”.

“We are sorry that the proceedings of the Conference have to be treated as private proceeding until they are officially given to the public”.

(“MARATHA”, DATED 17TH JANUARY 1886.)

HINDU PATRIOT'S VIEW

“To every candid and thoughtful person, whether European or Indian, the movement called the National Congress must commend itself as the natural outcome of that higher education which, under the auspices of an enlightened and beneficent Government, is being imported to the upper and middle classes of Indian Society. That *its birth place* is Bengal, only proves the truth of the assertion we have just made.....

.....But though the movement originated in Bengal it met with ready and cordial sympathy from the educated classes of Bombay and Madras, and the sympathy is in proportion with the intelligence of the community.”

(THE “HINDU PATRIOT”, CALCUTTA, DATED 8TH SEPTEMBER 1888,
PAGE 484.)

W. C. BANERJI'S VIEW

“It will probably be news to many that the Indian National Congress, as it was originally started and as it has since been carried on, is in reality the work of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava when that nobleman was Governor General of India. Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B. had in 1884, conceived the idea that it would be of great advantage to the country if leading Indian politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss social matters and be upon friendly footing with one another. He did not desire that politics should form part of their discussion, for, there were recognized political bodies in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of India, and he thought that these bodies might suffer in importance if when Indian politicians from different parts of the country came together, they discussed politics.”

(FROM “INDIAN POLITICS”, PUBLISHED, 1894, PAGE 5.)

THE CALCUTTA CONFERENCES

“He reached his high-water mark of popularity in 1883, simultaneously with the proceedings in the contempt case, in connection with which Lal Mohan Ghose was again despatched to England. In December of the same year, The Indian Association (of which Banerji was Secretary) held the first National Conference at the Albert Hall in Calcutta at which delegates were present from Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces. It was the first National gathering ever brought together in India. This National gathering, styled the *National Conference*, was again held in Calcutta in December 1885.”

(FROM S. N. BANERJI'S LIFE BY NATESAN, PAGE 26.)

१८७६ सालीं काँग्रेसच्या स्थापनेची कल्पना.

(रा. सा. विश्वनाथ नारायण मंडलिक यांचे चरित्र, भाग २ रा,

लेखक गणेश रामकृष्ण हवालदार, पृष्ठे ८९७-९८-९९).

राष्ट्रीय सभेचा जन्म जरी मुंबईच्या कोपण्यांत १८८५ सालीं गुप्तपणें झाला, तरी दुसरे वर्ष लागतांच तिच्या जन्माचें वृत्त लोकांस उघडपणें जाहीर करण्यास “पूर्वेकडील तारा” (या नांवाचें पुस्तक) राजकीय क्षितिजावर प्रकाशित झालें.

तें वाचून प्रो० बर्डस्वर्थ यांनीं आंतील हरकत घेण्यासारखा मजकूर दाखवून दिला व हिंदी जनांच्या कल्याणार्थ राष्ट्रीय सभेच्या रचनेविषयी व मागण्यांविषयी कांहीं सूचना केल्या. येथें थोडें विस्मयकारक अप्रस्तुत अनुसंधान करण्याची जरूरी आहे. मोठमोठ्या भविष्य काळीं घडून येणाऱ्या गोष्टींविषयी कांहीं लोकांच्या डोक्यांत कांहीं कल्पना अगोदर घोळत असतात व त्या त्यांच्या मुखाबाहेर पडून कांहीं येतांच संभाव्य वाटल्यास त्यास सूक्ष्मदर्शी किंवा दूरदर्शी असें म्हणतात. असंभाव्य वाटल्यास त्या व्यक्तीस स्वप्नदर्शी म्हणतात. अशा कांहीं गृहस्थांच्या डोक्यांत राष्ट्रीय सभेची कल्पना १८७६ सालीं आली होती; व एवढें मोठें स्वप्न ज्या गृहस्थांनीं पाहिलें त्यांचें डोकेंहि मोठेंच असले पाहिजे. १८७६ सालीं सार्वजनिक सभेंतलि सदाशिव बल्लाळ गोंवळ्ये व गणेश वासुदेव जोशी यांजकडून एक छापील पत्र रावसाहेबांकडे आलें होतें. तसलीं पत्रें वरील चिटणीसद्वयानें दरबारास ज्यांस निमंत्रण आलें होतें त्यांकडे महाराणी साहेबांस या आनन्दोत्सव प्रसंगीं सादर करण्याकरतां तयार केलेल्या मानपत्राच्या नकलेसह पाठविलीं होती. त्या पत्राचा सारांश असा होता कीं :—इंग्रज सरकारनें, ऊच्च पदवीचे, थोर घराण्याचे, श्रीमान, विद्वान, औदार्य संपन्न, लोकहिताविषयी उत्सुक, धर्मसंबंधें महत्त्व पावलेले, फार दिवस उत्तम कामगिऱ्या बजाविलेले अशा हिंदुस्थानांतील सर्व भागांतील योग्य गृहस्थांस दरबारास आमंत्रणें करून मान दिला आहे म्हणजे सर्व राष्ट्रास मान दिला आहे. तेव्हां हल्लीं सर्व जातींच्या व धर्मांच्या लोकांच्या वर्तीच्या मुक्त्याचा जमाव होण्याचा जो प्रसंग आला आहे तो एकंदर राष्ट्रसंबंधाचा महत्त्वाचा आहे. आणि तो पुढें इतिहासांत त्या सर्वांचें ऐक्य होण्यासच काय पण हिंदुस्थानच्या राष्ट्रीय पुनरुज्जीवनास आरंभ झाल्याचा सूचक म्हणून मानला जाईल. असा प्रसंग यावा म्हणून आम्हीं मनापासून परमेश्वराजबळ मागणें मागत होतो तो हेतु विलक्षण प्रकारांनीं आतां घडून येत आहे. आपल्या देशांत परकी लोकांचा अधिकार चाळू झाल्यापासून असा एकत्र जमण्याचा प्रसंग कधींहि आला नव्हता तो आज इंग्रज सरकारच्या मेहरबानीच्या योगानें प्राप्त झाला आहे. या इंग्रजी राष्ट्राच्या छायेखालीं असण्यानें आपण आपले लहान सहान विरोध व मतभेद विसरून सर्व राष्ट्र एक व्हावें व पूर्वीं आपण मोठ होतो व पुढें त्याहीपेक्षां मोठे व्हावें अशी आशा वाटूं लागली आहे या गोष्टीचें सर्व श्रेय इंग्रज सरकारास आहे. हें सर्व मनांत आणून त्या समारंभाच्या वेळेस मौजेस लुब्ध न होतां त्या समारंभापासून लोकोपयोगी लोकहिताची व राजकीय संबंधाचीं कामें स्वतः अंगावर घेऊन सर्वांनीं मिळून एक राष्ट्र मानून करावीं अशी जी समजूत होण्यासारखी आहे ती मनांत चांगली बिंबून राहील असें झालें पाहिजे आपण या देशांतील थोर व प्रसिद्ध पुरुष आहांत. तसेंच हिंदुस्थानच्या एकत्र राष्ट्राचें पार्लमेंट आहांत. त्याप्रमाणेंच हिंदुस्थानांतील सर्व संस्थानांची—राष्ट्राच्या

राजकीय संबंधाची—सभाच आहांत. तेव्हां आतां हा जो जमाव जमला आहे तो पुढें हिंदुस्थान वा व इंग्लंडचा कधीहि न सुटण्यासारखा संबंध झाल्याच्या योगानें हिंदुस्थानाकडून जगामध्ये मोठ्या गोष्टी होणार आहेत त्याचा केवळ आरंभ आहे. इ० आमचा हेतु सिद्धीस जाण्यास अशी सूचना करतो कीं :—

१. आजपर्यंतचे मतभेद, गैरसमज जे नाश्यास कारण झाले ते सर्व विसरून जाऊन परस्परांस भेटून सर्वांनीं मित्रभावानें व मन मोकळें करून वागावें.

२. प्रस्तुतच्या स्थितीचा व पुढल्या गोष्टीचा विचार करावा.

३. महाराणी साहेब यांचे पदवी स्वीकारण्याबद्दल आभार मानून त्यांचे प्रतिनिधि ना. गव्हर्नर जनरल जो जाहीरनामा वाचतील त्यास उत्तर म्हणून सोबतचे मानपत्र अर्पण करों.

या लेखांतील विचार गहन आहेत. त्याचा यथार्थ सन्मान झाला नसेल अथवा तिकडे कोणी लक्ष दिलें नसेल. परंतु त्यावेळचे हे स्वप्नदर्शी आज सूक्ष्मदर्शी ठरले आहेत. असाच बूट बंगाल्यांत निघाला होता “आम्हीं स्थानिक पार्लमेंट मागत आहोंत त्याविषयी सहानुभूति असलेल्या लोकांचीं पत्रें आमच्याकडे पाठवा.” (१८-५-७६ चें बाबू शिशिरकुमार घोसचें पत्र.) या नंतर राष्ट्रीय सभा जन्मास आली.

[The above extract from the Marathi Biography of V. N. Mandlik, part 2, pages 897 to 899, states that the idea of united national effort was first mooted by Sadashiv Ballal Govande and Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, in their circular letter sent to the persons who had been invited to the Delhi Darbar which was to be held in honour of Queen Victoria being installed as the Empress of India. The extract also mentions a letter, dated 18th May 1876, by Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose for enlisting support for the demand of Parliament for India.]

CONGRESS SESSIONS, 1885 TO 1896

(EXTRACTS FROM OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE CONGRESS SESSIONS,
PRIVATE RECORDS OF LATE EADRUDDIN TAIYBI AND OTHER SOURCES.)

[The growth and expansion of the Indian National Congress in the nineties of the last century was appreciated with admiration by freedom loving Englishmen. The 'India' (February-1890) the organ of the British Indian Association, London, states "It is not easy to call to mind any English political movement which has exhibited like progress in four years". But this progress had caused anger and anxiety in the minds of officials in this country. The threats of repression and the tactics of obstruction employed by the officials did not however, succeed; on the contrary they only helped to consolidate the Congress forces as has been shown by Pandit Ayodhya Nath in his welcome speech of the Allahabad Session, 1888.

Only a few extracts from the annual reports of the Congress Sessions are given here. They cover the period of first ten years. Most of these extracts are from the introductions written by A. O. Hume*. In 1892 he did not include his introduction in the Congress Report due to the controversy between him and his colleagues in the Congress on the issue of his "Circular". The reports of three sessions held in this presidency (Bombay-1885, Poona-1895 and Surat-1907) are given with some details. Police reports of the Surat Session show how it has become memorable. These reports agree with practically every statement made by the leaders of the Nationalist Group. They also show that after the session of the Congress Convention was over, Surendranath Banerjee and a few other leaders held a separate conference of the Congress "to informally pass the resolution that would have been formally passed by the Congress if everything had gone on smoothly". Surendranath Banerjee who presided over this Conference assured in his concluding speech that "Swadeshi was boycott and boycott was Swadeshi". This he must have done to allay the misgivings of the Nationalists that the Liberals wanted to go back on the Calcutta resolutions.]

* Even in those days the reports were taken verbatim by "that most accomplished of Shorthand writers Mr. T. Allen Reid, President of the Phonetic Society of Great Britain who proceeded to Bombay solely to take notes for the Congress organisation". It seems he used to attend the sessions every year at least upto 1892. Even these reports are very rare. The late Shri Vasantrao Raut, a social reformer of Bombay had carefully collected and preserved all the reports. They were kindly made available for our use by Shri K. V. Raut.

BOMBAY SESSION, 1885

(President : W. C. Banarjee)

(EXTRACT FROM OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CONGRESS SESSION, 1885.)

ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION OF THE CONGRESS

In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of Representatives from all parts of India at the then coming Christmas. Poona was considered the most central and therefore suitable place and the following circular was issued:—

“A Conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

“The Conference will be composed of Delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language, from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

“The direct objects of the Conference will be—(1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

“Indirectly this Conference will form the germ of a Native Parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first Conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona, or whether following the precedent of the British Association, the Conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres.

“This year the Conference being in Poona, Mr. Chiplunkar and others of the Sarvajanic Sabha, have consented to form a Reception Committee in whose hands will rest the whole of the local arrangements. The Peshwah's Garden near the Parbati Hill will be utilised both as a place of meeting (it contains a fine Hall, like the garden, the property of the Sabhah) and as a residence for the delegates, each of whom will be there provided with suitable quarters. Much importance is attached to this, since, when all thus reside together for a week, far greater opportunities for friendly intercourse will be afforded than if the delegates were (as at the time of the late Bombay demonstrations) scattered about in dozens of private lodging houses all over the town.

“Delegates are expected to find their own way to and from Poona—but from the time they reached the Poona Railway Station until they again leave it, everything that they can need, carriage, accommodation, food, etc., will be provided for them gratuitously.

“The cost thus involved will be defrayed from the Reception Fund, which the Poona Association most liberally offers to provide in the first instance, but to which all delegates, whose means warrant their incurring this further expense, will be at liberty to contribute any sum they please. Any unutilised balance of such donations will be carried forward as a nucleus for next year’s Reception Fund.

“It is believed that exclusive of our Poona friends the Bombay Presidency, including Sindh and the Berars, will furnish about 20 delegates, Madras and Lower Bengal each about the same number, and the N. W. Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab together about half this number.”

A few days, however, before the time fixed for the assemblage and after the Sarvajanic Sabha had completed all their preparations at Poona several cases of cholera occurred there. These cases might or might not be the commencement of a severe outbreak, travellers arriving tired at a station where there is cholera are naturally prone to take the disease, and it was therefore considered prudent, despite the difficulties attendant on any change at so late a period, to hold the Conference (which it had in the meantime been decided to call the CONGRESS) at Bombay.

Thanks to the exertions of the Bombay Presidency Association and the liberality of the Managers of the Goculdas Tejpal Sanskrit College and Boarding Trust (who not only placed the grand buildings above the Gowalia Tank at the Association’s disposal, but also supervised the furnishing up, furnishing and lighting of these large premises on behalf of the Association), everything was ready by the morning of the 27th when the REPRESENTATIVES (as it was determined to designate them to distinguish them from the Delegates the title by which the Indian Representatives sent to England had become popularly known) began to arrive.

During the whole day and far into the night of the 27th, informal discussions were carried on between the Representatives and the order of the proceedings for the next three days was thus settled.

It should, however, be noted that about two hours in the evening were devoted to receiving the Hon'ble Sir W. Wedderburn Bart, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Jardine, Colonel Phelps, Professor Wordsworth and a large number of the leading citizens of Bombay who most kindly came to the Goculdas Tejpal College, to welcome the Representatives and express their sympathy with the work on which these were about to enter.

The first meeting took place the next day, on the 28th December. Very close on one hundred gentlemen attended, but a considerable number of these being Government servants like Mr. D. S. White, President of the Eurasian Association, Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao, Collector of Madras, the Hon'ble Mahadeo G. Ranade, Member of the Legislative Council and Small Cause Court Judge of Poona, Lalla Baijnath of Agra, Professor Abaji Vishnoo Kattawate of Ahmedabad, Professor Kadambi Sundararaman, M.A. of Arcot, Mr. T. Narasemina Iyer of Tiruvellur, Professor R. G. Bhandarkar of the Deccan College and many others, did not (with one exception) take any direct part in the discussions, but attended only as *amici curie*, to listen and advise, so that the actual number of Representatives was, only so far as the records go (though it is feared some few names have been omitted from the Register) 72. (page 3, 4).

STANDING COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT

While speaking in support of a motion for appointing a Standing Committee of the House of Commons, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said :

"I may hereby remark, that the chief work of this the first National Congress of India is to enunciate clearly and boldly our highest and ultimate wishes. Whether we get them or not immediately, *let our rulers know what our highest aspirations are.* And if we are true to ourselves, the work of each delegate present here will be to make the part of India where he happens to live devote himself earnestly to carrying out the object resolved upon at this Congress with all due deliberation. If, then, we lay down clearly that we desire to have the actual Government of India transferred from England to India under the simple controlling power of the Secretary of State and of Parliament, through its Standing Committee, and that we further desire that all taxation and legislation shall be imposed here by representative Councils, we say what we are aiming at. And that under such an arrangement no Council to advise the Secretary of State is necessary. Neither is a Council needed to attend to the appellate executive work. There

is a permanent Under Secretary of State who will be able to keep up continuity of knowledge and transact all current business. There are, besides, Secretaries at the head of the different departments as experts. I do not deny that at times the India Office Council has done good service. But this was owing to the personality and sympathy of individual men like Sir E. Perry. The constitution of the body as a body is objectionable and anomalous. When the whole power of imposing taxation and legislation is transferred here, the work of the Secretary of State will be largely diminished. It will only be confined to general supervision of important matters. Whatever comes before him for disposal will be set forth by the Government from here fully and fairly in all its bearing. No Council will be needed to aid him in forming his judgment. Thus no substitute is required for the India Office Council. It is enough for us to formulate the scheme, now submitted for your consideration, as one which India needs and desires, viz., representative Legislative Councils, in India, with full financial control and interpellatory powers. And we shall not need to trouble much the authorities in England" (Page 37.)

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS ENDORSED ALL OVER THE COUNTRY

(FROM APPENDIX A OF THE OFFICIAL CONGRESS REPORT FOR 1885.)

The Resolutions were widely circulated in the larger towns in all parts of the country and new public meetings or meetings of existing associations were held for the purpose of considering them. In most places all the Resolutions were unanimously adopted; in one or two, there was a difference of opinion as regards the total abolition of the "India Council", and as regards the necessity of a stay in England on the part of selected candidates for the Civil Service. Both these points were referred to in the debates of the Congress. And it is probable that with the explanations afforded by the debates, which of course were not generally available at the time, these differences of opinion may be found to be smaller than they are at present.

Communications have been received from the following places, showing the acceptance of the Resolutions of the Congress.

L-A Vb 3411—2

BENGAL.—Berhampur, Bhagalpur, Balasore, Cuttack, Mymensing, Dacca, Rajshaye, Bankipore.

BOMBAY.—Ahmedabad, Ahmednagar, Alibag, Belgaum, Carwar, Dhulia, Hyderabad (Sindh), Karachi, Poona, Ratnagiri, Satara, Sholapur, Surat, Thana.

N. W. PROVINCES AND OUDH.—Allahabad, Benares, Bulandshahar, Fyzabad, Lucknow.

MADRAS.—Adoni, Anantapur, Ariyahir, Bapatla, Bezvada, Chintalpudi, Coconada, Coimbatore, Cuddalore, Cuddappah, Erode, Gooty, Guntur, Kulitilai, Kumbakonam, Madras, Madura, Manargudi, Musulipatam, Melur, Mettapollum, Mylapore, Negapatam, Palabur, Panruti, Rajashimandry, Sattur, Srirangam, Sinckerrydoorg, Tanjore, Tinnevely, Tiruchangad, Trichinopoly, Triplicane, Trivellore, Vellore.

At Bapatla, the majority of the meeting resolved · “that there ought to be a Council with enlarged powers to check the action of the Secretary of State, or, in case of this not being possible, the present Council should stand as it is.”

At Ahmedabad, Anantapur, Calicut, Guntur and Masulipatam, there was a difference of opinion as to the necessity of selected candidates for the Civil Service staying in England. At Anantapur, the following proposal was carried :—“That the successful candidates in India may be sent to England, for further study, and allowed there to appear for such further examinations as may seem needful, provided, however, that being sent to England should not be compulsory, and those who prefer going to England should be entitled to full pay, and those that do not only tow-thirds pay of the post to which they are appointed”. At Calicut, the following resolution was proposed but rejected by a majority. “And that the successful candidates in England should be sent to India for further study, and subjected here to such further examinations as may seem needful.”

At Calicut, two members dissented from the Resolution about Military Expenditure.

At Masulipatam, the resolution to extend the Licence Tax to the legal profession was objected to by a majority of the meeting on the ground that the Government already levied an entrance fee from members of the Profession and that there was a Municipal Tax imposed upon them.

POLITICAL PROGRESS IN INDIA

(FROM APPENDIX B OF THE OFFICIAL CONGRESS REPORT FOR 1885.)

The Bombay correspondent of the Times's Weekly Edition, February 5th, 1886, writes :

Bombay, December 31.

The people of Bombay claim as the motto for their city "Urbs prima in Indis," and it is really not without reason. When the agitation over the Ilbert Bill was at white heat, and in Calcutta not only race division, but even division between English and English rendered social intercourse almost impossible, still the natives in Bombay kept their heads cool and discussed the question at a great representative meeting in the Town-hall with a discretion and moderation that left nothing to be desired. At the time of Lord Ripon's departure they showed themselves capable of organizing an ovation which not merely delighted the sympathizers with the recent benignant rule, but still more startled the great mass of Anglo-Indians as the first proof that the natives of India are really capable of a national movement.

This last week the Bombay leaders have again given proof of their organizing power. They brought together a National Congress composed of delegates from every political society of any importance throughout the country. Seventy-one members met together; 29 great districts sent spokesmen. The whole of India was represented from Madras to Lahore, from Bombay to Calcutta. For the first time, perhaps, since the world began India as a nation met together. Its congeries of races, its diversity of castes, all seemed to find common ground in their political aspirations. Only one great race was conspicuous by its absence; the Mahomedans of India were not there. They remained steadfast in their habitual separation. They certainly do not yield to either Hindu or Parsee in their capacity for development, but they persistently refuse to act in common with the rest of the Indian subjects of the Queen-Empress. Not only in their religion, but in their schools, and almost all their colleges, and all their daily life they maintain an almost haughty reserve. The reason is not hard to find. They cannot forget that less than two centuries ago they were the dominant race, while their present rivals in progress only counted as so many millions of tax paying units who contributed each his mite to swell the glory of Islam.

But, in spite of the absence of the followers of the Prophet, this was a great representative meeting last week. The delegates were mostly lawyers, school-masters, and newspaper editors, but there were some notable exceptions. Even supposing those three professions alone provided the delegates, the meeting would fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India. And now let us see what they did, what was the outcome of this important gathering. They discussed politics alone; not a word was said of social reform. They evidently had a firm belief that a nation could be made happy by Acts of Parliament, for all they discussed and all they demanded was political power and political changes. A tone of most absolute loyalty pervaded all the proceedings; the Empress was rapturously applauded, and many nice things were said of the beneficent effect of British rule. Education and material prosperity, order, security, and good Government were all incidentally mentioned as causes of gratitude towards the present rulers. But such allusions were only by the way. Every desire was concentrated on political advancement and an immense increase of the share at present given to the natives of India in the Government of their own country. The question of their ability to govern themselves was never even touched by the wisest of the speakers. The major premise of all the arguments seemed to be "Every Hindoo is a born administrator. It is mere Western folly to think that representative Government is an act which only comes by long political training in all the lower stages of a citizen's life and the patient selection of the fittest." Much stress was laid on the need of a monster Commission of Inquiry into the whole existing administrative fabric. The vials of patriotic wrath were opened on the India Council, and a standing Committee of the House of Commons was thought a panacea for all evils. But though there was much crude talk, much of that haste which only makes delay, and that ignorance which demands premature concessions, there was also much of most noble aspiration and a sense of patriotism and national unity which is a new departure in the races of the East.

EDITORIAL OF THE TIMES ON THE INDIAN CONGRESS

(FROM APPENDIX C OF THE OFFICIAL CONGRESS REPORT FOR 1885.)

Bombay has been making a noteworthy effort to substantiate its claim to be the leading city of India. At the end of last year it was the gathering place of discussion of public affairs. It is at Bombay, therefore, that India has for the first time given proof of the

existence of a national life and spirit. In India, as elsewhere, there is abundant room for improvement, not altogether, perhaps, in the directions to which the Congress points, not by the methods in which it chiefly trusts. The resolutions cover a wide ground. Some of them we very heartily approve. Others appear to us something more than questionable. But from first to last there is one common idea running through them. The Congress is not satisfied with the slender political power which the Natives of India possess. It demands for them a larger share in the deliberative and executive functions of Government. The memory of Lord Ripon's administration is still held in honour at Bombay, and the Congress there met has given utterance to aspirations which Lord Ripon has had no small share in encouraging. On the representative character of the late Congress our information is not precise. Our correspondent tell us who were there and who were not there. Every important political society in India sent its delegates to Bombay, but of whom these political societies consist and for whom they can claim a right to speak we are not told. One great section of the native population was conspicuously not there. No Mahomedan took any part in the proceedings. The members present were drawn, for the most part, from three orders-native lawyers, native school-masters and native newspaper editors. There were some notable exceptions, but the rule was as we have said. It is what we might have expected before hand. The work of the Congress has certainly been entrusted to the hands most likely to be found capable of performing it and most forward in offering themselves for it. A more mixed assembly would have been less competent, perhaps, but its claim to be representatives all round might have been admitted with less doubt.

The first resolution of the Congress was in favour of a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the working of the Indian Administration. There is good ground for the request. It is now nearly thirty years since the government of the country was transferred from the East-India Company to the Crown, and for so long a time no such inquiry has been held. In former days it was of regular periodical recurrence as often as the time came for a renewal of the Company's charter. The need for it has been now recognized. The Commission for which the Congress asks was mentioned in the Queen's speech, and, since Mr. Gladstone has signified his strong approval of it, we may expect that it will be issued whatever political party may be in power. It is a matter of course that the people of India will be represented upon it, and that all available evidence will be taken to guide the Commissioners to a judgment upon the whole case. How far the results of the inquiry will correspond

with the hopes of the Congress is a wholly different question. The delegates have sketched in advance a scheme of reforms or changes which they wish to see carried into effect. First and foremost, and as a necessary preliminary to all other reforms, the Indian Council is to be abolished, and its place to be taken by a Standing Committee of the House of Commons. In India itself the Supreme Legislative Council and the several Provincial Councils are to be expanded by the admission of a considerable number of elected members. Thus reformed, they are to have a necessary voice on all questions of finance, and a right to interpellate the executive on all points of administration. If protests are raised and overruled, the protesting members are to have a right of appeal to the Standing Committee by which the present Indian Council is to be replaced. Changes are next proposed in the rules for the examinations of candidates for the Indian Civil Service. The Congress asks, *inter alia*, that these examinations should be held in England and in India simultaneously and that the admissible age of competing candidates should be 23 at least. As regards finance, the Congress holds that the increased and, as it believes, the needless demands for more military expenditure are most properly to be met by retrenchment in other branches. But if this is not done, and if more money must be raised, the Congress looks in the first place to a re-imposition of the customs duty, and secondly the extension of the licence tax. This second demand has been granted. The Income Tax Bill was passed after a short debate, in the course of which the various restricting amendments proposed to it were lost. The final demand of the Congress that Great Britain should extend a guarantee to the Indian debt has not been granted in terms, and is not likely to be. But while the English rule exists in India, there is enough of a practical guarantee to give absolute safety to the bond-holders. The Congress is further prepared to offer advice on the Burmese question. Its objection to the annexation of Upper Burmah comes a little too late. Its claim that all Burmah should in any case be separated from India and should be constituted a Crown colony includes matter on which it has an imperfect right to speak. The separation of Burmah and the consequent loss of the Burmah surplus revenue it is for England rather than for India to determine. The approaching visit of the Indian Viceroy to Mandalay will put him in a position to give advice on this matter.

The first question which this series of resolutions will suggest is whether India is ripe for the transformation which they involve. If this can be answered in the affirmative, the days of English rule are numbered. If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for. All we have to do is to preside over the

construction of the new system and then to leave it to work. The lawyers and school-masters and newspaper editors will step into the vacant place and will conduct affairs with no help from us. Those who know India best will be the first to recognize the absurd impracticability of such a change. But it is to nothing less than this that the resolutions of the Congress point. If they were carried out, the result would soon be that very little would remain to England except the liability which we should have assumed for the entire Indian debt. Then, however, would be the time at which the representative character of the late Congress would be subjected to a crucial test. Our correspondent tells us that the delegates fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India. That they can talk, and that they can write, we are in no doubt at all. The whole business of their lives has been a training for such work as this, but that they can govern wisely, or that they can enforce submission to their rule, wise or unwise, we are not equally sure. That the entire Mahomedan population of India has steadily refused to have anything to do with them is a sufficiently ominous fact. Even if the proposed changes were to stop short of the goal to which they obviously tend, they would certainly serve to weaken the vigour of the Executive and to make the good government of the country a more difficult business than it has ever been. The Viceroy's Council already includes some nominated native members. To throw it open to elected members, and to give minorities a statutable right to be heard before a Parliamentary Committee, would be an introduction of Home Rule for India in about as troublesome a form as could be devised. Do what we will the Government of India cannot be made constitutional. If it works well, neither England nor India can have any reason to be dissatisfied with it. The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights. Political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving of them. But it was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed, in whatever hands the Government of the country may be vested. If we were to withdraw, it would be in favour not of the most fluent tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the sharpest sword. It would, perhaps, be well for the members of the late Congress to reconsider their position from this practical point of view.

(PAGES 30 TO 32).

TELANG REPLIES THE TIMES

(FROM APPENDIX D OF THE OFFICIAL CONGRESS REPORT, 1885.)

The Hon'ble K. T. Telang's letter to "The Times", dated 9th March 1886, touching the remarks made about the Mahomedan community and Social Reform.

To

THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES".

Sir,

The letter of your Bombay Correspondent, dated 31st December last, regarding the Indian National Congress, together with your editorial article based upon it, has been read here with much interest. The members of the Congress have not much reason to complain of the account of their work given by your correspondent, and they must feel grateful to you for the amount of sympathy manifested in your remarks upon it. At the same time it seems probable that some of the conclusions arrived at in your article would have been modified, if some further details of the proceedings of the Congress had been brought to your notice. As one of the Secretaries of the Congress, therefore, and with the approval of the President, I beg to send you some particulars regarding two important points made in your article.

The first point is in reference to your remark that the Mahomedans of India were conspicuous by their absence at the Congress. Although it must be admitted that the Mahomedan community was not adequately represented at our meeting, your remark is not altogether an accurate one. Two leading Mahomedan gentlemen did attend the Congress, viz., Mr. R. M. Sayani and Mr. A. M. Dharamsi. Both of these gentlemen are graduates of the University and attorneys of standing at the High Court of Bombay. Mr. Sayani held the office of Sheriff of Bombay last year; was a member of the Khosja Law Commission appointed by Government some years ago; and has for many years past been a member of the Municipal Corporation and Town Council of Bombay. Mr. Dharamsi, also, is a member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. Further, the Hon. Mr. Badroodin Tyabji, a member of the Legislative Council at Bombay, and Mr. Cumroodin Tyabji would have attended the Congress, had they not been absent from Bombay at the time the Congress was sitting. Mr. Badroodin is Chairman of the Managing

Committee and Mr. Cumroodin one of the vice-presidents of the Bombay Presidency Association, which, in concert with the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, convened the Congress. As regards the other provinces, causes similar to the above indicated must doubtless have operated with greater force. And it must be remembered that this Congress was the first of its kind, and naturally, therefore, there were some shortcomings. But we feel confident that next year, when the assemblage will be at Calcutta, the Mahomedan community will be represented as it befits its numbers and importance. The second point relates to the omission of social reform from the proceedings of the Congress. As regards this, it is to be observed that the main object of the Congress was a political one. But when the programme of business was informally discussed by the members, they decided that after the subjects for which they had specially assembled were disposed of, questions of social reform should be considered if there was time. As it happened there was no time to do this, because several of our members were obliged to leave for their respective homes on the third day of our meeting. But on that day a very earnest social reformer, Divan Bahadur Raghunath Rao of Madras, gave an eloquent address on social questions, and he was followed by another eminent reformer, the Hon. M. G. Ranade, of this Presidency. You will probably consider that the importance of social reform is even more powerfully recognised when it is eagerly discussed by persons avowedly assembled for another purpose than when it is taken up in ordinary course as part of a formal programme. I hope you will give insertion to this in your journal.

HIGH COURT, BOMBAY :

9th March.

I am, etc.

K. T. TELANG.

THE CALCUTTA SESSION, 1886

(President : Dadabhai Naoroji)

(FROM OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CONGRESS SESSION, PAGES 1, 2.)

THE LEADING CHARACTERISTIC of the Congress of 1886, was, that it was the whole country's Congress. The Congress of 1885 had been got together with some difficulty by the exertions of a few leading reformers, and included less than one hundred of the more advanced thinkers belonging to the most prominent centres of political activity. The Congress of 1886 may be said to have grown, almost spontaneously, out of the unanimous resolve of the educated and semi-educated classes, throughout the Empire, to take a decisive step towards the attainment of that political enfranchisement to which they have come, of late years, to attach so much importance.

In all the more advanced provinces action commenced early in the autumn, and it very soon became apparent that the second Congress was destined to be, in many essential respects, a decided advance on the first.

The delegates or representatives who attended the first Congress, though representatives of the highest culture of the land, and fully qualified to speak as to the wants and wishes of the nation, yet appeared as volunteers in the good cause, uncommissioned, as a rule, by any constituencies, local or general, to appear on their behalf. Very early it seems to have occurred, simultaneously, to all those most interested in the renewed movement, that something more than this was requisite, and that the gentlemen who were to take part in the second Congress ought to receive some public authorisation from the bodies and communities (or leading members of these latter) whom they were to represent. Accordingly, as the time of the Congress drew near, the leading Associations at all the more important towns and cities proceeded to elect delegates, and great public meetings, embracing all classes of the community, who were in any way interested in the matter, were also held, almost throughout the country, at which representatives were designated.

Accordingly, printed suggestions as to subjects for the consideration of the Congress were issued from several of the provinces and circulated to all the others. The first was issued from Calcutta (where the general feeling on the subject first took a tangible form), sufficiently indicating the nature of these preliminary steps. Unfortunately, admirable as the idea was, the necessary machinery (now provided by the Standing Congress Committees, Resolution XIII of 1886) did not exist for carrying it out in its integrity, and a considerable proportion of the delegates never saw, or even if

they saw, never, properly considered, in consultation with their constituents, these important papers of suggestions, which constituted the foundation stones of the subsequent Congressional deliberations. Still, although not as fully circulated as they should have been a majority of the delegates came forewarned and forearmed, and even this was a great advance on the procedure of the previous year.

But the greatest advance lay, perhaps, in the total change in the character of the Congress. In the previous year people had to be pressed and entreated to come; to the late Congress everybody wanted to come of their own accord. The first Congress was created by the labour of a few who had to nurse carefully the young plant; the second Congress burst into vigorous growth on its own account, with a luxuriance that demanded careful pruning. From some provinces double, or more than double, the numbers actually delegated would have been sent, but for inter-provincial communications as to the numbers other provinces contemplated sending, and remonstrances against one province swamping the others.

For the first Congress there was no enthusiasm until after it was over and its results had been announced (though then indeed the entire country endorsed those results and warmly approved the new departure) but, in regard to the second Congress, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, especially throughout Bengal. Bengal alone could have furnished a thousand delegates, and not only did a great many more people desire to attend than could possibly have been admitted, but hundreds, certainly, of persons (some say over a thousand) came down from distant parts of the country merely to see the Assemblage; and when at the close of the first meeting at the Town Hall, where the delegates were almost stifled in a crowd of from 2,000 to 3,000 lookers-on, it was decided to hold subsequent meetings elsewhere, where real business might be possible, the gravest dissatisfaction was expressed by the Indian Public and the proposed arrangements had to be subsequently modified.

Nor was this all; at many places, large crowds accompanied the delegates to the ships or railway stations on their departure for the Congress, giving them ovations, as if they were great conquerors returning laden with the spoils of victory, rather than humble soldiers, departing to share in one of the little preliminary skirmishes of Freedom's great battle. Perhaps they truly felt that that battle :

“Once begun

Bequeathed from wearied sire to son,

Tho' baffled oft, is ever won;”

and that the feeble advanced guard whom they were sending forth to MAKE that beginning, more lacked their support and more truly deserved their gratitude, than would the laurel-crowned victors of a later time.

But, perhaps, the best evidence of the widespread enthusiasm that pervaded the country is to be gathered from a study of the list of the delegates together with only "a small scale map" of this vast empire.

ABSENCE OF PARTICULAR CLASSES

The first thing that strikes one, in going through the list, is the entire absence of the old aristocracy, the so-called natural leaders of the people, and who, were they capable of understanding their own interests, would have been foremost in this movement. Several more or less distinguished gentlemen, like Sirdar Uttam Singh, Nawab Reza Ali Khan, Raja Rampal Sing, Maharajah Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, Rajah Rajendra Narsin Deb, Maharaj Kumar Nilkrishna, Nawab Gholam Rubbani and others graced the Congress with their presence ; but of the hundreds of the old hereditary aristocracy, who are still to be found scattered over the whole country, not one leading member was to be found amongst the delegates. The reason is obvious ; the policy of the Government has excluded these gentlemen persistently from all positions worthy of their rank, whether in the army or in the civil administration of the country, and they have consequently, as a rule, entirely lost the desire, if not the capacity, for personally exerting themselves or taking any direct active interest in public affairs.

The next point that attracts attention is the absence of the shop-keeping class. The British rule has been called the Euniya's Raj. Shop-keepers by millions swarm over every part of the country, many of them rich, most of them fairly well-to-do, yet only one single man of this class was to be found in the ranks of the delegates. The higher commercial classes, bankers, merchants, were fairly represented ; but petty money-lenders and shop-keepers were conspicuous by their absence. In the first place, these classes are, broadly speaking, grossly ignorant and entirely immersed in their own personal concerns ; and in the second place they, naturally enough, do not care for any change in a form of Government, which, while it prevents others from robbing them, furnishes, in its system of civil jurisprudence, ample facilities to them, for enriching themselves !

Lastly, the ryots and cultivating classes were insufficiently represented ; five ryots came as representatives, and six other gentlemen came as the elected representatives of different Ryots' Associations, and over and above this from several parts of the country, the Deccan,

Madras and Lower Bengal, came representatives known champions of the ryots, and, in their own parts of the country, trusted and looked up to by these ; but for all this, considering the vast magnitude of the class and of the aggregate interests involved, it cannot be denied that the cultivating classes were inadequately represented.

For this of course there were two obvious reasons : The first is that the great bulk of the ryots, intelligent worthy men as so many of them are, have as yet but a very imperfect knowledge of political matters. A great number of them realize that the times are somehow out of joint, but they have not learnt to rise from particular instances to generalizations, and they neither understand exactly what is wrong nor have they, as a class, any clear and definite ideas as to what could, or ought, to be done to lighten somewhat their lot in life. To educate the intelligent members of the cultivating classes (and these are immensely more numerous than those who have not dealt directly with them suppose) in all such matters, is one of our most pressing duties. In some comparatively limited tracts the work has already been undertaken, but it has to be extended to all parts of the country, and persevered in for years, before we can hope to see this, the most important of all classes, fitly and fairly represented in our Councils.

The second reason is the comparative poverty of the class, which must always debar all, but a very few, of them from themselves making long journeys to attend such gatherings, though not, of course, from electing others, more favoured by fortune, to represent their views and wishes at these.

Excluding then the old aristocracy and the shop-keepers and petty money-lenders who were in no way represented, and the cultivating classes who were inadequately represented, all other important classes and interests were satisfactorily represented. It may be thought that the artizans too were left somewhat but in the cold, as no artizan appeared as a delegate ; but under British rule the old artizan class has almost disappeared ; skilled artizans, of the modern type, are few in number and form as yet but a comparatively small class, and where at all numerous have begun to join and are members of People's and other Associations which did send representatives, so that thus far it cannot be said that they were inadequately represented. Doubtless, as technical education gains ground and India develops, as all hope it gradually may, into a manufacturing country, this class will require and obtain more direct representation.

The higher landed interests were well represented, as about 130 of the delegates were talukdars, zemindars, or landed proprietors of one kind or another.

Of course the Indian Press was well represented, some forty editors, sub-editors and proprietors of newspapers appearing as delegates. Amongst the papers so represented may be mentioned the "Hindu", the "Andhra Prakasika", the "Crescent" and the "Kerala Patrika" (all of the Madras Presidency); the "Indu Prakash", the "Dhyan Prakash", the "Journal of the Sarvajanic Sabha", the "Gujerati", "Sindh Sudhar" and "Sindh Times" (of the Bombay Presidency); the "Tribune" and "Kohinoor" (of the Punjab) the "Prayag Sumachar", the "Naseem Agra", the "Sitara Hind", the "Miratul Hind", the "Hindustani", the "Rozana Akhbar", the "Indian Union" and the "Indian Courier" (of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh); and the "Behar Herald" and "Indian Chronicle", the "Hindu Patriot", the "Bengali", the "Mirror", the "Suravi", the "Sar Sudhanidhi", the "Bharatbasi", the "Sanjivani", the "Reis and Ryyet", the "Indian Nation", the "Amrita Bazar Patrika", the "Ahmedi" and the "Christian Herald", all of Bengal.

(PAGES 5 AND 6.)

POLITICS SHOULD BE FREE OF RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT

Therefore we utterly deprecate the introduction of any religious sentiment, or any reference to gentlemen's religious beliefs into political movements of the nature of these Congresses, and on the present occasion should have considered it sufficient merely to record that Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Christians, Brahmos and Parsees, took part in the Conference.

But unfortunately an effort has been made to detract from the national character of the late assemblage, by pointing out that numerically, according to the proportion observable in the population, the Mahomedans were inadequately represented; which is just as if the nationality of the House of Commons in England were denied, because it contained a smaller proportion than the population of Great Britain as a whole, of Methodists or Roman Catholics. Of course as every one knows, even in Ireland, where the religious antagonism of Protestants and Roman Catholics far exceeds that anywhere existing in India between Mahomedans and Hindus, a Protestant like Mr. Parnell represents a Catholic constituency.

(PAGE 8.)

This short-sighted action has not commended itself to the Mahomedans of India as a body.* Mahomedan speakers at the Congress, one after the other, denounced it as unjustifiable and unpatriotic, and declared that Mahomedans and Hindus, have their interests identical. Even in Calcutta itself, a certain reaction has taken place, and some, of the Mahomedans feel and admit that a mistake has been made.

(PAGE 9.)

SHEIKH REZA HUSSAIN'S VIEWS

Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for having taken the trouble to come to this city (Lucknow) after your recent deliberations at Calcutta. I welcome you, gentlemen of Bellary, from the bottom of my heart to this ancient capital. If political Congresses are not likely, as some Anglo-Indian friends allege, to end in anything great, they have done so much at least, that to-day we find the nobility and gentry of Lucknow welcoming the inhabitants of other parts of the country. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I have read in the papers that, some, apparently very narrow minded men, call this Congress a Hindu Congress. But I will not resume my seat to-day without denying this unfounded allegation (Cheers). I do not think that the Mahomedans, who have kept aloof, are all absolutely devoid of reason, but it seems to me that their actions have rather been the result of prejudice and selfishness than of principle and reason (Loud cheers). It is a calumny to say that Mahomedans have no sympathy with this great national movement. In every community there are some gentlemen of fault-finding tendencies, and when these gentlemen found that they had no other way of justifying their conduct, they took upon themselves to misrepresent the objects of the Congress. But, as in every other case, truth prevailed, and all attempts to discredit the promoters of the good movement have been laid bare (Cheers). I tell you, gentlemen here present, that the Mahomedans have full sympathy with the Congress. If need were, I could take upon myself to furnish the signatures of 50,000 Mahomedans (loud cheers) in support of my assertion. In the by-gone days of Mahomedan power, though the great sections of the Indian community differed in respect of religion and customs, the Hindus never lacked in their fidelity towards the ruling powers; and, in return, the Mahomedans took them into their

* Take, for instance, the speech of Sheikh Reza Hossain (a gentleman who is not to be confounded with Nawab Reza Ali Khan), the President of the Rifa-i-am (the most important Association in Upper India), on the occasion of the visit, on their tour through the N. W. Provinces, of certain of the Madras delegates, a few days after the close of the Congress.

confidence, and gave them a share in the administration of their country (Hear, hear). In my opinion no country can prosper in which there is not a national unity. We may differ in religious views, but in our aspirations I hold that we are one. We have a common goal before us ; and in every other respect, we are, in reality, one nation (Loud cheers). When, unfortunately there is any famine or plague or misfortune among us, there is no distinction made between the various communities. So, in respect of laws, should they all be treated alike (Applause). This national demonstration has shown, to a great extent, the moderation of our demands. It has clearly shown that these demands are not the demands of a handful of interested and self-seeking agitators. Nobody can raise any question as to the representative character of the meeting, which numbered among its delegates the greatest and best of our patriots-men who are not for doing away with law and order, but who are actuated by the purest of principles. In honoring such men all Hindus and Mahomedans ought to be, and I believe, are united. (Long and continued cheers).

MUSLIMS DID NOT LACK SYMPATHY WITH THE CONGRESS.

To return : The Nawab Reza Ali Khan, Bahadur of Lucknow, speaking in Urdu, seconded Baboo Joykissen's nomination of Mr. Dadabhai as President, Calcutta 1886 and proceeded indignantly and eloquently to deny that the Mahomedans were holding aloof from, or lacked sympathy with, the Congress, concluding his speech amidst vociferous cheering with the following words : "The Association that has done us the honour of deputing us is largely composed of leading Mahomedans, Nawabs, Wasekadars, Political Pensioners, and scions of the once Royal House of Oudh, and I assure you that our Association and my brother Mahomedans, generally, of Oudh, will utterly repudiate and condemn any unworthy attempt to create dissensions in our ranks, by unfounded statements as to our supposed want of sympathy with the present movement. Hindus or Mahomedans, Parsees or Sikhs, we are one people now, whatever our ancestors six or eight hundred years ago may have been, and our public interests are indivisible and identical. Gentlemen, I pray you disregard any such slanders ; we Mahomedans (at least such of us as can think at all) think just as all thinking Hindus do on these public questions, and believe me when I say that you will ever find us side by side with you in every legal constitutional endeavour to raise the political status of the people of our common home and country."

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COULD SOCIAL REFORM BE DISCUSSED ?

The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, President of the Congress (1886) in his inaugural address, pointed out that these reproaches were absolutely groundless; that there were times and places for every thing; that the Congress was a political body met together to represent to our rulers our political aspirations, and that you might as well blame the House of Commons for not discussing the abstruser problems of metaphysics as this Congress for not discussing social problems. He went on to show that, composed as the Congress was of men of all castes and creeds, it was simply impossible for it to pretend to handle such topics.

“How”, he said, “can this gathering of all classes discuss the Social Reforms needed in each individual class? What do any of us know of the internal home-life, of the traditions, customs, feelings, prejudices of any class but his own? How could a cosmopolitan gathering like this discuss to any purpose the reforms needed in any one class? Only the members, of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed. A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of Social Reforms, and other class questions, to class Congresses. But it does not follow because this National Political body, as such, does not presume to discuss Social Reforms, that the delegates here present are not just as deeply, nay, in many cases far more deeply, interested in those questions, than in those political questions which we do discuss, or that those several communities, which these delegates represent, are not doing their utmost to solve those complicated problems on which hinge the practical introduction of those reforms.”

MUSLIMS ARE NOT AGAINST THE CONGRESS

(COMMENTS OF THE “STATESMAN”.)

The refusal of the National Mahomedan Association and of the Mahomedan Literary Society—represented respectively by Mr. Amir Ali and the Nawab Abdul Latiff—to take part in the National Congress now assembled in this city does not, we are assured, command the sympathy or approval of the Mahomedan community generally, who have certainly a right to ask what steps were taken by these gentlemen to ascertain the views of the community, in writing these letters. The Mahomedan community at Madras have sent delegates to the Congress, and so have the Mahomedans of Bombay, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the chief towns and cities of Bengal,

and before taking so serious a step as that which Mr. Amir Ali and the Nawab have taken, they will themselves allow, we think, that they ought to have ascertained, beyond doubt, that the community which they are supposed to represent, desired them to take such action. We are not able to affirm that they did not take it, but there is, we fear a strong presumption against their having done so. It is strong testimony to the character of the local Native Press that the subject has been dealt with in a spirit of extreme moderation, unusual in the public Press, and this moderation is of itself a most forcible reply to the charges that are so unjustly and commonly brought against our Native contemporaries. Let them but continue to show this self-command, and no one will be able, or even desire to resist their representations and demands. The letters must have been a sharp trial to many of them, and the perfect self-command they have shown in their comments thereon is an honorable fact upon which we congratulate them very sincerely. (PAGE 160.)

THE BOMBAY CONGRESS WAS A SIGNAL SUCCESS

The Congress was a very signal success. In commenting upon it the Times remarked that "it was at Bombay that India had, for the first time, given proof of the existence of a national life and spirit", but it remarked that no Mahomedan gentlemen took part in the proceedings and that "its members were for the most part drawn from three orders—native lawyers, native school-masters and native newspaper editors. There were some notable exceptions, but the rule was as we have said". It emphasized particularly the fact, that "the entire Mahomedan population of India had steadily refused to have anything to do with the Congress", and declared their abstention to be "a sufficiently ominous fact". The statement was far from being accurate, and the Hon'ble Mr. Telang, of the Bombay High Court, pointed out, in a letter to the Times, that it had been misinformed, and that although but two Mahomedan gentlemen attended the Congress others would have been present had it been possible for them to do so. Mr. TELANG very properly reminded the paper that the Congress was the first of its kind, and he expressed a confident belief that the Mahomedan community would be represented largely at the Congress in this city, which is now about to open. Whether that hope is realised or not, it would be idle to conceal that the movement does not command the sympathy of the Mahomedan community in by any means equal measure with that of the great educated Hindu community. Our readers have seen, from the letter of Mr. AMIR ALI in our issue of Sunday last, and from Mr. HUME'S letter to that fine old man SYED AHMED HOSSEIN

of Alighur, that the movement has not taken such hold of the convictions, or the imagination, of the Mahomedan community as to awaken any very great sympathy therewith as a whole. Nor could any one have reasonably expected that it would do so. The Times itself, as we have seen, lays stress upon the fact that it is the educated classes who are the strength of the movement. The movement throughout is the direct, the anticipated and foreseen outcome of the high education that has been brought within the reach of the people. The Mahomedans, unhappily for themselves, but from motives which we can heartily respect, have hitherto stood aloof from the colleges and universities, which are the nursery of those honourable aspirations and ambitions, which are beginning to be so widely cherished in the country. High education would have done little for the people we may properly say that it would have done nothing for them—if it had failed to produce the unrest, the uneasiness, and the distress, with which it has taught them to regard their exclusion from all share in the administration of their own country and the management of their own affairs. The indifference of the Mahomedan community, as a body, to their present exclusion from these duties in common with their Hindu fellows, is as much and as directly the result of their self-enforced adherence to inadequate methods of education as is the almost passionate longing of the educated Hindu community to share responsibilities which they have been sedulously taught by ourselves that it is their duty and their privilege to bear in common with Englishmen. On their own account we regret the indifference which the Mahomedan community as a whole, shows towards this great movement, but their children will be wiser than themselves. We suspect, moreover, that a far larger number of Mahomedan gentlemen will take part in the coming Congress than many suppose to be likely. Meanwhile we counsel the Congress to take the right view of their abstention, should it be ever so marked. It is a matter that affects the Mahomedan community itself, more than all others, and must of necessity come to be regretted by their children. It would have been wiser for them to have said nothing, and quietly abstained from all part in the Congress, than to have placed the evidence upon record that as a community they have no sympathy with the honourable ambitions of their fellow-subjects. They have made a mistake, but as the letter binds no one but the few who have concurred in, and adopted it, we advise the Mahomedans to ignore it altogether.

(PAGES 165-66.)

ALL ABOUT THE CONGRESS AND CALCUTTA, 1886

(EY MR. N. G. CHANDAVARKAR.)

("Indu Prakash", Bombay, Anglo-Marathi Weekly.)

CAUSES OF THE SUCCESS OF THE SESSION

The second National Congress of India has come and gone, and it has been by all who either witnessed it in Calcutta or watched its proceedings from elsewhere declared a success. The general verdict seems to be that it passed off admirably well. Before it came off I confess I had serious misgivings about it. The attempt of the Hon. Mr. Amir Ali and Nawab Abdul Latif Khan to keep the Mahomedans away from it threatened at first sight to mar its success. Indeed, when Mahomedan delegates arrived from other parts of India they were got at and asked not to put in their appearance at the Congress. "The Hindus are ahead of us. We are lagging behind them. We still want the patronage of Government and shall gain nothing by joining them." This was, I understand, the plea urged for the conversion of our Mahomedan colleagues, but, to their credit be it said, like good men and true, they stood firmly by their cherished conviction that the best policy was to make common cause with the Hindus and Parsees. They regularly attended the meetings; watched the proceedings as closely as the other delegates; and in their speeches showed an amount of good will and confidence which might well afford an example to others. That feeling of theirs was duly reciprocated by delegates representing other sections of the community; and thus our misgiving on this head proved fortunately false. The second thing that contributed to the success of the Congress was the behaviour of the Bengal delegates. Some one—he was from Bengal itself—it appears had dinned into their ears, before the arrival of the delegates in Calcutta, his view that Bengalis had obtained in other parts of India a bad reputation for hospitality to strangers. But our Bengal friends surprised their delegate-guests by the splendid arrangements they had made for their reception. Every one seemed to be anxious that the delegates from other parts should return pleased with Calcutta and its people. Even Bengali students vied with one another to mar their desire to give the delegates a cordial greeting. For instance, after the formal sittings of the Congress were over, a lecture on Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, the greatest religious and social reformer modern India has produced, was delivered in the City College Hall by Mr. Kally Churan Banerji, one of the delegates. Long before the hour of the lecture, the hall was closely packed up by a crowded audience, mostly consisting of students. Many of the

delegates attended the meeting just when the lecture was about to begin. As they neared the door of the hall, they found the place so full that they could hardly hope to get in. But the moment the students—and Bengal students, I was told by a Bengali friend, are not generally respectors of persons—found it was a delegate who was seeking admittance, the way was cleared, and he found himself in the hall welcomed by cheers which rung through it. Welcomed cordially, lodged comfortably, and treated everywhere hospitably, the delegates could not but carry favourable impressions of Bengal hospitality, to which, I say, part of the success I am speaking of is due. Add to all this the Chairman's suavity, patience, and urbanity, any deliberation held under such circumstances was bound to be a success. The mania for speechifying did not prevail largely; and where a man here or there showed an inclination to orate, Mr. Dadabhai managed him with admirable tact. I heard a delegate say that Mr. Dadabhai's venerable appearance was enough to disarm the most stubbornly, verbose speaker. One might well, looking to the harmony which characterised the proceedings throughout, and the tone of loyalty and moderation which marked all speeches, adopt for the Congress that has just passed away old Richard Baxter's motto: "In all things essential, union; in things non-essential, liberty; and in all things, charity."

THE CONGRESS IS A GREAT SOCIAL LEVER

And now arises the question—of what practical use is all this demonstration? Politically, some say, Congresses and their resolutions will carry no weight. Government, it is said, regard them as emanating from the educated minority of Natives in India. But no one amongst us is, I believe, so foolishly sanguine as to suppose that when we have met, spoken, and passed resolutions, we have done all. The Congress may or may not have the desired effect on the Government. The Government may or may not give wholly or partially what we have asked. It may not be national in the sense that the masses are still unable to sympathise fully with its political demands. These seem to me to be secondary questions altogether, and the highest value of the Congress seems to me to lie in this, that, quite apart from the fact that it is a present political force, it is a great social lever. It is national at all events in the sense that it is calculated to form us into a nation, by bringing us together, and making us by an interchange of views think, feel, and act alike. I care not whether the array of resolutions we have passed in the past and may pass in future are attended to or not by the Government as long as these Congress meetings develop the bond of union among the people. All things

else are subsidiary, and its gain is not so much in the present as in the future.

SOCIAL REFORM NEGLECTED ?

The charge has been brought against the Congress, however, that while dealing boldly with political questions it quietly ignored the equally, if not more, important question of social reform. It is indeed, to be regretted that social questions, on which the future of the country so greatly depends, should have been regarded as beyond the sphere of the Congress politics. But I do not think we can say that they were altogether ignored. Many of the delegates, I can say from my own personal knowledge, felt strongly on them, and had the question been formally placed before the Congress, I doubt not the advocates of social reform would have found a good number on their side. There were many practical reformers among the delegates; there were others who sympathised with Mr. Malabari's agitation. We all agreed that our primary object was union; that questions on which all felt alike ought alone to be taken up by the Congress; and by following such a course alone could we hope to unite all and make them see the necessity of social reform. The idea, therefore, of formally discussing the question was dropped. But that did not prevent us from taking it up informally. The Congress closed on Thursday. On Friday Mr. Kally Churan Bannerji delivered a lecture on the services rendered by Rajah Ram Mohan Roy to the cause of religious and social reform in India; on Saturday Pandit Shiva Nath Shastri, one of the missionaries of the Brahmo Somaj, held a religious service, which was attended by many of the delegates—more could not attend owing to the mournful news just then received from Madras about the fire in People's Park and in the course of an eloquent discourse, he dwelt on the imperative necessity of controlling the present political fervour by means of faith in God and religion. "Otherwise" said he, "all this excitement might lead to socialism, anarchy, and thoughtlessness, which would prove disastrous to India."

(PAGES 168 TO 172.)

CONGRESS AND ANGLO-INDIANS

(FROM "REIS AND RAYYET")

We think we see the first signs in the voluntary Congress to be held early next week in the metropolis of British India, whereat the

delegates from the different parts of the Empire will meet to deliberate on matters connected with the welfare of their fatherland. The coming Congress will be a noble and grand sight ; and if those statesmen could now be made to see the fruits of the tree, which they themselves planted, how glad they would be ! But unfortunately for India, that race is now gone, leaving a rather miscellaneous lot, mostly of mere politicians and officials. Narrow in their views and unwilling, or incapable of appreciating the moral grandeur of their predecessors' policy, these view the ensuing Congress with jealousy and seem prepared to attempt to frustrate its object. We have thought that Anglo-Indian statesmanship would rejoice to see a political spectacle which is only possible under their Government and which no other nation can show. But we must confess disappointment. Whatever, however, a certain section of nervous or misguided Anglo-Indians may do or say for disparaging the Congress, we still hope that the present head of the Indian-Government—a statesman of mature experience and not ungenerous sympathies—will countenance the movement so far at least as to which it, as the first Indian essay in constitutional existence, with indulgent forbearance, adding thereby a fresh laurel to the fair fame of his country, which has done so much for the elevation of nationalities throughout the globe.

THE LONDON TIMES ON THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

(COMMENTS OF "REIS AND RAYYET", CALCUTTA.)

THE TIMES pours contempt upon the National Congress. It is an unreal imitation of the English Caucus and merely an affair of discontented place seekers, men of straw, with little or no stake in the country. It writes :—

"A 'National' Indian Congress', composed, it is said, of some three hundred delegates from all parts of the country, holds its first meeting in Calcutta today. It is organized, of course, upon the model of the societies which discuss social and political affairs in this country. Papers will be read, and debates will take place, while the necessary relief from that attractive but arduous labour will be found in excursions and evening parties. The subjects discussed are the representation of Natives in the Legislative Councils, the admission of Natives to more numerous and responsible posts in the Civil Service, and generally, the objections to British administration which naturally occur to persons of considerable imitative powers, of great fluency of speech, and of total ignorance of the real problems of Government and the means by which they have to be

overcome in practice. The Mahomedan community appear to hold aloof from this kind of thing, on the ground that they prefer not to hamper the Government at a time when it is doing its best for the Natives of India. This incidentally shows what the real aims and results of the 'National Indian Congress' are considered to be by the Natives of India themselves; at the same time, adding another to many proofs that we must look to our Mahomedan subjects for the most sensible and moderate estimate of our policy. These annual gatherings, held now in one great town and again in another, derive their significance from the fact that they represent a vast amount of continuous discussion by local societies. We have produced an extensive class of talkers, and equipped them with a great deal of second-hand knowledge of English History and literature. In every considerable town, these gentlemen form associations and discuss real or imaginary grievances with the confident dogmatism always displayed by people whose pet theories work in vacuo. Such a Congress as that which sat last year in Bombay, or is now sitting in Calcutta, is composed of delegates from all these talking clubs who focus the valuable results of their perennial activity. Thus we have to deal with public opinion of a kind, but it is important to remember that it is the public opinion of a class whose aims and interests are not by any means identical with those of the great masses of the Indian populations for whom we have to care. It is a highly vocal class, which can repeat all the common places of English political life with extraordinary facility, but which has very little stock-in-trade besides that aptitude. Such a class has only two congenial occupations after supplying a certain limited number of busy doctors and lawyers—one is to seek employment under Government, and the other to abuse the Government which does not give it employment enough. These societies and the newspapers they control represent a very trifling percentage of the people of India; it is much less certain than they probably imagine that their success would prove a benefit to any section of the Indian people except themselves."

CRITICISM WITHOUT PROPER KNOWLEDGE

The worth of this estimate may, however, be easily appraised. It is based neither upon an actual knowledge of what the Congress was and what it did—that being out of the question—nor even upon good hearsay evidence. The article from which we quote being written on the day of the Congress meeting, the London journal could only evolve its facts and conclusions from the bowels of its inner consciousness. Not that it had not materials of some kind for a judgement. The newspapers of this country, not to say its own

correspondents, had announced the coming event as well as the character of the discussions which were to take place. But that hardly afforded adequate grounds for an opinion so strong and so dogmatic upon a matter on which one could not speak with the weight of personal knowledge. The very idea of a Congress was too abhorrent in its eyes it was too great an impertinence for forbearance. So while here in Calcutta the Congress begins or has scarcely begun its sittings, and does its best to make itself a success, its result is pronounced to be a failure from another end of the world, before those on the spot are sure how it will terminate. Before those on the spot are aware of the extent and character of the gathering, the Times tells the world all about it to the exact number of the delegates, with their social position and other particulars. Could the spirit of wild assurance farther go? Is there any humbug (speaking in befitting Vernacular) like to the humbug of leading journalism?

THE SUCCESS OF THE CONGRESS

But the dodge-not to mince matters again-will not do. The Congress was too unequivocal a success to be put down by misrepresentation. We do not belong to that pronounced school of politics which identified itself with the Congress. Our moderate counsels on questions, which are generally discussed with enthusiasm, have exposed us to no little misunderstanding in that quarter. We are all the more free, therefore, to speak with impartiality on the subject. And we must say that the Congress was in reality something very different from what the Times would fain imagine. It is a grievous wrong to say that it was composed of men who had no stake in the country. A glance at the published list of delegates would show that the flower of every section of Indian society was there. Indeed, before we saw the thing in its consummation, we scarcely expected it would be so great a success. Zamindars, merchants, bankers, lawyers, doctors, editors, teachers, members of District and Municipal Boards, Honorary Magistrates, in a word, the leaders of thought in every community, were assembled, so that it would have been impossible for the Indian Congress to be more respectable, more influential, more representative, that is, more national. It is true all the best men of every section did not attend, but that is nowhere possible. It must be remembered that at such meetings it is only the leisured people who can take part. But, from the large numbers who came from remote parts of the continent, one may be justified in assuming that those whom their avocations or other obstacles prevented from coming were still present in spirit. The delegates were, for the most part, representatives of some Association or other, or elected at great public meetings, but that is all the more a proof

of their representative character. In the absence of electoral institutions, it is these Associations and Meetings which best discharge elective functions, and the fact that these Associations are something better than talking clubs, was well proved by the sober and practical character of the entire proceedings. It may be all very well to pretend that the masses were not represented. That is the stock argument of cavillers, but does anybody seriously think that the masses of the Indian population have other thoughts and sentiments than those which found expression from the mouths of their leaders? Of the questions which occupied the attention of the Congress, none excited more earnest discussion than the growing poverty of the people, and if the representation of Natives in the Legislative Councils be altogether so extravagant a demand in the eyes of Englishmen, that demand was urged in the interests of those masses themselves. It was thought that, with representation in the Councils, a check might gradually be placed on heedless expenditure which was at the root of much of the taxation and misery borne by the masses. Indeed, it is simply false to suggest that the masses, if they could think out on the problem, should be otherwise minded, not to say that they could possibly have any sympathy with the suggestions of such friends as the Times. It is idle to detract from the national character of the Congress by pointing to the absence of the masses. Their representation, except on rare occasions, as in every other country, is of an indirect kind, for practical purposes.

ARE MUSLIMS ALOOF ?

It is undeniable that some sections of the Mahomedan community have held aloof from the Congress, but the Times entirely misconceives their attitude. The truth is, notwithstanding their abstention they have at heart the same objects as the rest of their countrymen. They desire no less keenly that the administration should be placed more largely in Native hands, that the people should have a more influential voice in legislation. And so with respect to the other things on which the Congress held its deliberations. They, of course, have their own ideas as to the method for gaining those objects, but there can be no mistake as to the direction of their sympathies. It has now become a favourite game of some politicians to set the two great religious sections of the Indian people by ears, but their interests are too identical for the game to succeed. As to the charge that the Congress meant to hamper the Government, no one who witnessed the moderation and perfect orderliness of the proceedings would listen to it for a moment. The Congress was indeed a great gathering ; its demands, various demands, various as they were, were all urged with

earnest emphasis, and so far it amounted to a strong proof that the people at large were far from satisfied with the ways of administration, and those ways must change to bring more contentment and happiness in the land. But we fail to see that there can be anything at all wrong in the people respectfully telling their rulers what they feel to be grievances, instead of allowing them to rankle in their breast.

But it is vain to those who perforce be in the wrong. The Times is only true to its traditions in endeavouring to discredit this honest movement of the Indian people. With the leading humourist the leading journal-no longer leading thank God, as COBDEN, in his famous literary duel with DELANE, demonstrated has always been the champion of the stronger race against the weaker ones. It has ever lent itself to the righteous cause. We firmly believe that, between the savage caricature of the Paddy in Punch and the truculent leaders of the Times, both continued through a generation, Ireland has been driven to its present irreconcilable attitude. Under the teaching of an equally unrighteous and blind press, England resisted every concession to that country until every one of those concessions could not well be withheld. When at last made, they lost their grace as free gifts and failed to secure peace for the land. With the blood of Ireland lying on its head, it is a wonder that leading journalism tries to play the same game in India.

THEODORE BECK ON MUSLIMS AND CONGRESS

(FROM THE BOOK "THE SEDITIOUS CHARACTER OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS".)

The worst sufferers by the Mutiny would be Muhammodans. As far as savagery goes, both sides would have a good fling. At such a period men become friends, and the innocent and guilty, the strong and the defenceless, share the same fate. The English nation, on whose benevolence at home the Congresswallas lay stress, would forget all about constitutions and elective councils, and cry only for vengeance. But England would not lose her national existence, while the Muhammadans would be irretrievably ruined. This is why the Muhammadan leaders wish to keep their people from the whirlpool of political agitation. My revered chief, Sir Syed Ahmed, whose humble disciple in matters political I boast myself, has pointed out clearly. No one has even grappled with his arguments, but in place of reason a shower of mud and abuse has been

hurled at him ever since. He has been called selfish, foolish, childish, and a flatterer. But the fact is, people in other Provinces and other nations can in no way understand the circumstances and feelings of the people here. The Bengali has made enormous progress under British Rule his political star is in ascendent; how can he put himself in the position of the Muhammedan whose greatness is in the past, and who sees ruin staring at him in the face? If, in spite of this, he will disseminate his poisonous literature among Muhammedans, have not Muhammedan patriots a right to be angry? In Bengal, Madras and Bombay there was no Mutiny, though if report be right, materials exist for one in the last of these Provinces. To people there it seems an unreality, a chimera. But it is far otherwise here. Our old men were middle aged in 1857. The Bombay Gazette urged the Muhammedans of the N.W.P., to indulge in a little "wholesome grumbling, if they could find any thing to grumble about. Pray how, if we start grumbling, are we to be sure that it will remain "wholesome"? There is plenty for Muhammedans to grumble at. This so called self-Government of the municipalities in which Muhammedans have been bound hand and foot and handed over to their rivals to be governed by them, is a case in point. An order just issued by the Bengal Government that all minor appointments are to be given by competitive examinations—an order which will almost destroy the Muhammedan middle class which cannot for one generation at least acquire English education sufficient to compete with others—is another. But rather than bring these things forward and create a popular agitation, we will submit to them as lesser evil. Another Syed Ahmad, the great wahabi, and Maulvi Ismail, his supporter, raised a great popular agitation, but urged their followers never to attack the British. They fought the Sikhs, but after that what took place? To every thoughtful Muhammedan the idea of another mutiny is as horrible, more horrible I believe than to an Englishman, and to every Muslman Lady more dreadful even than to an English Lady.

I have written the above on the supposition that the promoters of this movement have no desire of raising a storm, but are doing it unwillingly, not knowing the country..... Poverty is as strong a provocative of crime as anything else. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is diligently trying to prove that India is growing poorer. This can produce no harm in his own community, who live like Princes and are a thousand times as rich as they used to be. But on nations which are really impoverished it may produce deadly effects. A political cause is also given for the great Mutiny—the annexation of Oudh. If the passions of the people be stirred up about politics, there is no reason why there should not be

a Mutiny. The soldiery will readily imbibe the sentiments, and then all will be up. Mr. Hume boasted that he and his organisation could react the soldiers and fill them with their sentiments and ideas. The people will get ready and wait for a favourable opportunity. If there be a single battle lost in a fight with Russia, this will be taken as the signal and the whole of India will be aflame.

THEODORE BECK,
Hony. Editor,
United Indian Patriotic Association.

MADRAS SESSION, 1887

(President : Badruddin Tyabji)

(FROM OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CONGRESS SESSION.)

Compared with the Congress of 1886, this last Congress was more numerously attended, was more thoroughly representative and national in its character, and by the still more widely spread interest that it awakened throughout the Empire, the more systematic manner in which all its arrangements and proceedings were conducted and, above all—by the cordial support which it received from high class English papers in every Presidency, gave abundant proof of the great increase in the vitality of the movement, of which it is one outward and visible sign. Indeed, what in 1885 was little more than an experiment, in 1887 bore every appearance of having become a permanent National Institution.

As this paper will necessarily be read by many who know but little of the India of to-day, it may be well to explain that the objects of the National movement, of which the Congress is one, and at the moment, the most prominent and tangible outcome, are three-fold; the fusion into one national whole of all the different and, till recently, discordant elements that constitute the population of India; the gradual regeneration along all lines, mental, moral, social, and political, of the nation thus evolved; and the consolidation of the union between England and India, by securing the modification of such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious to the latter country.

A persistent and ungenerous effort has been made by a certain section of the Anglo-Indian community, chiefly consisting of officials, and by the few newspapers* that are their mouth-pieces, to misrepresent the aims and objects of the national party and affix to them the stigma of disloyalty, because, in their public or political work (their work on other lines is necessarily more private in its character), they, naturally enough, devote more of their energies to pointing out and endeavouring to secure the reform of what is faulty in the existing administration, than to the more pleasing but profitless occupation of lauding its many undoubted merits; and, since the Calcutta correspondent of the London Times, from whose telegrams the British public appears to learn most of what little it hears of India, is a conspicuous member of this party and

*The Englishman (Calcutta); The Pioneer (Allahabad); The Civil and Military Gazette (Lahore); and The Times of India (Bombay).

evinces as little regard for facts in his messages to England, as others of the clique do in their utterances here, it may be right to make it quite clear that, from the very conditions of the case, loyalty to the British Crown and British Government, is necessarily the basis and guiding principle of the national party.

Broadly speaking, the leaders of the national party include the entire culture, their followers the entire intelligence of the country. There are, no doubt, a very few educated men of strongly conservative tendencies, who hold aloof because the thing is new, and a considerable number of half-educated selfish men who take no part in the movement, hoping thereby to ingratiate themselves with the official class; others there are, not a few, the advantage of whose overt co-operation is denied to their country by reason of their official positions; but, broadly speaking, the national party embodies the entire culture and intelligence of the Empire. Now, this culture is the direct offspring of the union with Great Britain, and Great Britain is, to all who share this culture, the parent of all that, to them, makes life worth living. From the conditions of the case, therefore, they are necessarily loyal to the backbone—they could only be disloyal, if the British Government were a very bad Government.

One of the speakers at the Congress, Malik Bhugwandas, of Dera Ismail Khan (page 128 of Detailed Report) very neatly characterized these objecting journals. He said:

“There is no doubt now, as to this Congress being truly representative of the entire country and, though certain Anglo-Indian papers may still make a great show of disputing this point, their position is just like that of a certain class of barristers, who, well knowing that they have no case, still, to please their clients, storm and bluster as if they were sure of gaining their cause and abuse and affect to despise the other side, well knowing, that the latter are sure to win. It is not the best kind of barristers who do this, but, neither are our opponents the best kind of journalists.”

(PAGES 2, 3.)

WHY HAS CONGRESS LIMITED ITS FIELD OF ACTIVITY?

It was intended to widen the basis of the National Party, the party of Progress and Order, the British Party in the truest sense of the word, until it became absolutely co-extensive with the entire population of the Empire, not solely by the awakening of the masses,

that follows in each province its assemblage there, but by the missionary labours of all the members of the Congress, throughout the year, who, in and near their homes, as Standing Congress Committees and Sub-Committees, by lectures, public meetings, and the distribution of tens of thousands of simple tracts* in the local vernaculars, were expected to spread from mind to mind an elementary knowledge of the burning political questions of the day, and generally of the rights and duties of all good citizens of a civilized state.

It is to the eternal honour alike of England, the beneficent teacher, and India, the docile pupil, that at the close of this the 3rd Congress, we are in a position to assert that there is not one of these objects that has not been already partially achieved, and not one single one of them, of which the perfect accomplishment, in a not distant future, does not appear to be, humanly-speaking, certain.

But numerous and wide-reaching as the objects of the Congress, the more important of which we have now indicated, unquestionably are, "the carping crew of narrow brains" unable to find fault with what the Congress does, has never ceased to revile it for not aiming at something more. Boldly has the Congress taken the Ossa (ओस्सा) of Political Reform upon its shoulders, but this fault-finding party, who themselves will not extend a finger to lighten the burdens of the country, find no words, it would seem, too bitter in which to denounce it for not piling the pillion of Social Reform also on its existing load. The National Party, have undertaken through the Congress the political regeneration of 200 millions of men; and these fatuous foes of progress revile it, because, through this same organization it does not also attempt their social, moral, and religious regeneration! The National Party is as deeply interested, we may say more deeply interested in these latter, than even in the former question, but it suits its means to its ends and applies in each case the proper mechanism. Throughout the country social and religious conferences, associations, and guilds are working at these deeper, and more spiritual problems, and in many cases men most prominent in th political work of the Congress will be found equally amongst the most prominent in the more spiritual work which other bodies are carrying on. But the methods and organization requisites for success in the one case, would be fatal to success in the other; and it really

* Translations of two of these, "The Tamil Congress Catechism," of which 30,000 copies were circulated in Southern India, and of an Oordoo and Hindee tract on Representative institutions, in the form of a conversation, of which 25,000 copies were circulated in Northern India, are given in appendices II and III.

seems impossible for any honest man, possessing any real knowledge of the country or its wants, to continue to find fault with the Congress, because it refuses to overstep the bounds of its natural sphere, wherein it can work effectively, in order to plunge into other spheres, in which it could only introduce confusion and discord.

(PAGES 5, 6.)

THE FIRST AND THE SECOND SESSIONS

The first Congress assembled at Bombay, during the last days of 1885. It comprised less than one hundred gentlemen, (though there were at least one or two from each province in the empire) who "though representatives of the highest culture of the land and fully qualified to speak as to the wants and wishes of the nation, yet appeared as volunteers in the good cause, uncommissioned, as a rule, by any constituencies, local or general, to appear on their behalf." They elected as their President Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, at that time Standing Counsel to the Government of India, and as the result of their deliberations (to which no reporters were admitted), passed a series of Resolutions on important public questions which will be found recorded at the close of this volume. Later, a report of their formal proceedings, relating to these Resolutions, embodying the substance of the principal speeches delivered, was duly published.

Besides discussing these public questions, however, much consideration was given to the future development of the Congress and it was decided that at the next gathering the REPRESENTATIVES, as they were at first called, or DELEGATES, as they are now styled, should not come self-appointed, but appear as the authorised representatives of some community or public body, or of the people of some locality. It was also resolved that an attempt should be made to settle by correspondence, beforehand, the leading subjects likely to be discussed, so as to enable the Representatives to ascertain, beforehand, the wishes and views thereon of their several constituencies.

The second Congress assembled in Calcutta during the Christmas week of 1886. But, in the meantime, the proceedings of the first Congress had become widely known, hundreds of public associations and meetings in all parts of the empire had endorsed its Resolutions, a strong general interest had been awakened and the country had virtually taken the movement out of the hands of the original promoters, and, while adhering scrupulously to the lines laid down by them, had made the enterprise their own.

So it resulted that fully 500 gentlemen, of whom some 440 actually put in an appearance, were elected all over India, at public meetings of the inhabitants of large towns or groups of villages, or at general meetings of societies, associations and sabhas, political, agricultural and literary. But, although all the delegates, as the public now commenced to call them, were undoubtedly elected by some meeting or body of men, the elections had in some cases been hurried and wanting in formal regularity. Many delegates failed to bring regular credentials of their delegation and no materials were available for even an approximate estimate of the numbers of persons whom they directly represented.

Attempts had been made to fore-warn and fore-arm the delegates as to the subjects likely to be discussed, and several printed suggestions in regard to such were issued from several of the provinces and circulated to all the rest. But, "unfortunately, admirable as the idea was, the necessary machinery (since provided by the Standing Congress Committees-Resolution XIII of 1886) did not exist for carrying it out in its integrity, and a considerable proportion of the delegates never saw, or even if they saw, never properly considered, in consultation with their constituents, these important papers of suggestions, which constituted the foundation stones of the subsequent congressional deliberations.

(PAGE 9.)

OPPOSITION BY DISTRICT OFFICIALS

It must be clearly understood that this animosity does not extend to the highest and most enlightened officials nor is much heard of it outside the Bengal Presidency. Englishmen, like Lords Dufferin, Connemara, Reay, Sir Stewart Bayley, Sir Auckland Colvin, and many High Court Judges, have ever evinced a kindly feeling towards the Congress, and both the first named took distinct steps to show this; indeed, at Madras, a large number of Government tents were kindly lent to supplement the Reception Committee's preparations when, at the last moment, the unexpectedly large proportions of the coming assembly, began to develop themselves. Of course, they do not, and cannot, officially accept the delegates as the representatives of the country, they having no legal status as such, but they have all exhibited in one way or another sympathy in the movement. It is the great body of the district officers of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab (though in all these provinces there are noble exceptions, and a good many neutrals) who have in a variety

of ways endeavoured to obstruct the Congress. In more than one case, officers have actually sent for respectable and leading men and have warned them against taking any part in the movement, in a way that amounted to threatening them with their displeasure and that of the Government, if they did take part. But it is needless to dwell on this, now, since any recurrence of such illegal action and such misuse of the name of Government, will be promptly dealt with by future Congress.

(PAGE 12.)

SO-CALLED MUSLIM OPPOSITION

Is it necessary to allude to the pretended defection of the Mussalman community from this national movement? With one of the very ablest men in India, a distinguished Mussalman, as President, with the Honourable Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, and some eight odd other Muslim delegates from all parts of the empire, with the great bulk of the Muslim Press* supporting or professing sympathy with the Congress it may suffice to say, that one veteran reformer, of 70 years of age, whose past devoted services to the cause of education entitle him to universal respect, unable to keep abreast of the rapidly changing conditions of the age, has been displeased with the Congress, and has supplemented, by unusually forcible language, arguments against it, of the feebleness of which he seems himself not wholly unconscious. This worthy gentleman it is who constitutes the head and front of that so-called Mussalman opposition, of which we still hear from certain cliques of Anglo-Indian officials, and their especial organs, and if we regret his thus holding aloof, it is solely because we would fain see his latest days crowned with the regard and respect of his fellow-countrymen, of whom, in the past, he has deserved so well.

To return, a marked feature in this late Congress, was the presence, amongst the delegates, of some ten Eurasians and Europeans, all men of mark in their own communities, who took an active part in the debates. The Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Association of Southern India, co-operated with the Reception Committee throughout, and deputed their ablest members as delegates, Mr. D. S. White, their President, only failing to attend, because detained at Calcutta by the Public Service Commission, of which he was a member. And, as

* Only two, even nominally, Mahomedan papers, at present so far as we know, oppose the Congress. The Aligurh observer, and the Muslim Herald of Madras, edited by Europeans.

regards Europeans, it was not only that men like Mr. Eardly Norton, a prominent Barrister, Mr. John Adam, the Principal of the Great Pachiappa's Collegiate establishment, with—its 1,800 pupils, and founder in India of a "commercial education" attended as delegates, but that numerous independent Europeans in various parts of the country, including even Mr. F. T. Atkins, so well known for the vehement part he took against the Ilbert bill, sent telegraphic messages, regretting their inability to attend, and expressing their most cordial sympathy with the Congress and its objects. When to this we add the fact that leading English Newspapers, like Sir C. Lawson's Madras Mail, the first paper far and away in Madras; the Bombay Gazette, one of the two leading papers of Bombay; the Daily News, of Calcutta; and the Statesman, together with the entire Indian Press, English and Vernacular, warmly supported the Congress. All really interested in India's welfare, may congratulate themselves that, despite the lamentably erroneous statements of the Times Calcutta correspondent, the Pioneer, and one or two other similar papers here, the nature of the Congress is at last becoming clear to all classes, in India, at any rate, and all are beginning to recognize, that what it aims at are simply those changes in the existing form of the administration and that the progress effected, along all lines, is, not only desirable, but necessary, in the interests of all classes of the inhabitants, be they European, Anglo-Indian, or Indian.

(PAGE 18.)

ALLAHABAD SESSION, 1888

(President : George Yule)

(FROM OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CONGRESS SESSION.)

[EARLY OFFICIAL OBSTRUCTION TO THE CONGRESS AND INCITEMENT TO MUSLIMS

The Congress reports show how in 1888 the Congress had to face a very hostile and also obstructive attitude of high officials. Lord Dufferin himself had expressed strongly against the organisation. The wordy duel between Hume and the Lieut. Governor of the United Province Sir Auckland Colvin is famous. Hume had become impatient after his experience of two or three years. To him "The platonic expressions of sympathy by authorities were a mockery". He was "obsessed by the misery of the masses" (A. O. Hume by Wedderburn, p. 61-62). According to Hume the case was "one of extreme urgency; for the deaths by famine and pestilence were counted, not by tens of thousands or by hundreds of thousands but by millions; and to constrain the Government to move, the Indian leaders must adopt measures of exceptional vigour" (Ibid, page 62). That is how and why Hume had chalked out his plan of 'aggressive' propoganda. He toured all over the country, visiting even smaller villages. He issued thousands of pamphlets and booklets, in twelve languages, and got them distributed. This method of agitation annoyed the officials. And the shabby game of "divide et impera" was employed by them. The following extracts will show how Sir Syed Ahmed and his satellites were encouraged and employed for undermining the newly born representative organisation of the Congress. But all this was boldly counteracted by youthful Hindu and Muslim workers. That brave story which is not fully known is unfolded in the following extracts taken from the reports of the Congress and from personal correspondence of Hume and Badruddin Tyabji. In fact some of the top ranking Congress leaders were taken aback by the government's volte face. After seeing the hostility exhibited by the Muslims, Badruddin Tyabji, the president of the third session had told his friends that he had come to the distinct conclusion after careful consideration that it was time to cease holding the Congress every year. (Life of Badruddin Tyabaji by Husain B. Tyabji, page 224). But Hume was firm in his convictions and also confident about his correctness. The report of the Allahabad session (1888) shows that the success of the session was beyond expectation. Both the civil and military officials jointly had attempted to defeat the

Allahabad session ; but they themselves were defeated. Nationalist Muslims had courageously challenged Sir Sayad Ahmed in his home province. Hume had moved heaven and earth for this purpose].

MISUNDERSTOOD, misrepresented and maligned—but ever growing in strength and determination amid the vivifying storms of opposition and abuse—that vast body of her Majesty's subjects in India, who now support the Congress movement, might well accept the *words quoted below as a synthesis of their settled policy.

In the British nation's love of freedom and justice their faith is firm and abiding. They will press their claims by fair and loyal means only, relying solely for success on moral force. Those claims will always be, not only moderate, but far within the limits of what justice would endorse ; no opposition and no persecution will daunt them, but they will go on and on, insisting and insisting, with a ever-growing volume of voice that will and must, some day, prevail.

The Fourth Indian National Congress was heralded by a tumultuous outbreak of opposition. Ill-informed or prejudiced writers stormed, reviled, and, alike in Indian and English Journals and other publications, distorted every fact and speech. The secret enemies of British rule (too acute not to perceive that the success of the movement means the perpetuation of this rule), and large sections of the official community (too blinded by class bias to catch the faintest glimpse of this cardinal fact), together with their entire train of obsequious followers, laboured ceaselessly to strangle the movement. A Lieutenant-Governor came forward to denounce its methods and ridicule its measures, while a Viceroy—misled, let us hope, by the misrepresentations of adversaries—stood up to condemn its AIMS AND OBJECTS in a public speech, characterised by misconception of facts, unparalleled in any public utterance, of any similarly exalted representative of India's beloved Sovereign.

* “Not by violence or noise have the great things of the earth been achieved ; not by ambition or self-seeking can a nation's life be regenerated ; but calm indomitable reliance on that moral force which is the supreme reason, and by implanting in all with whom you may come in contact the conviction that you look for eventual triumph to these means and these only ; and that the moral power which has made the English nation glorious throughout an Empire, on which it has been well and truly said that the sun never sets, is the power, to which you trust for the triumph of those great principles of justice and freedom which you are all here assembled to vindicate and uphold”. (Cheers) (Mr. Howard's speech on the Separation of the Executive and Judicial functions—*vide* p. 40 of detailed report).

Yet, despite—or shall we say in consequence*—of all this frantic opposition, the development of the Congress movement during the year 1888 was simply marvellous, and the Congress which closed the year was not only in every respect greater and grander than any previous one, but was so thoroughly representative of every part of the Empire, and of every class, caste, creed, community and interest indigenous in that Empire, that further advance in this direction seems, now to be almost impossible.

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS

During the year the greater part of the country was regularly divided into electoral divisions, and the **minimum number of delegates to be elected by each was settled. These divisions, for the double purpose of the education of the people and the convenience of voters, were re-divided into sub-divisions, and divisional and sub-divisional committees were created in all these, composed either of the delegates to previous Congresses with others whom they co-opted, or, as in Berar for instance, of men specially elected, ad hoc, by the people. Hundreds of thousands of tracts, pamphlets, speeches and leaflets were put into circulation in all the languages of India. Thousands of public and semipublic meetings and gatherings were held, not in one province, but in almost every district in the Empire. Hundreds of missionaries of the cause travelled from town to town and village to village expounding the good tidings of the Congress, and the fiercer the opposition raged and the more persistent the efforts of the adversaries of the movement, the more strenuous became the efforts of its supporters. It resulted that, whereas at the close of 1887 we were unable to assert that more than ten per cent. of the population knew anything of the Congress movement, we can, at the present moment, safely affirm that fully one-third of the

* It is a fact that in many parts of the country elderly men, who had almost withdrawn from worldly affairs, and who had never before taken any share in politics, roused by the malignant slanders of the opposition on those whom they knew to be labouring heart and soul, for the good of the country, for the first time in their lives became politicians and came forward to support, openly and energetically, the Congress.

** The education in political work, that a personal participation in these Congresses affords, is so valuable that it was considered inexpedient in 1888 to limit the number of delegates that each division might elect. But some 1,500 (of whom 1,248 at least, actually took their seats at the Congress) were elected in 1888, and there is little doubt that in 1889, if no limits be fixed 3,000 will be elected. It is felt that these huge numbers are unsuited to a deliberative assembly, and hence it is in contemplation to limit the number to 1,000, which, allowing for death, sickness and other unavoidable causes of absence, would reduce the number of actual sitting members, in future Congresses, to between 800 and 900.

population know more or less about, and are distinctly favourable to, the movement. When we say population we refer of course to the adult males thereof, for, except in specially advanced localities,* the women know, as yet, practically, little of the matter, or, if they do, we have no means of ascertaining this. But of the 50 millions of adult males inhabiting British territory, at least one-third are now more or less earnestly on the side of the Congress; and if we exclude from the 50 millions the 10 or 12 millions of adult males, who, utterly poverty-stricken and absolutely without education, can care for nothing beyond their daily food which they so often fail to compass, not very far short of half the remaining 30 millions, the real population of the Empire, are this day cognizant of the Congress movement, and, so far as they understand it, its supporters and well-wishers. There are still millions on millions who know nothing about it, but in the entire Empire, including even the Anglo-Indians, there is not even half a million of people in any way opposed to it.

N. W. PROVINCES AND OUDH

Thus, whilst all the divisions of the country were represented, the North-West Provinces and Oudh were, so to speak, over represented. This was, to a certain extent, due to the fact that the Congress was held at Allahabad. The expense of the journey and the time occupied in coming and going being much less, the province, in which the Congress is held, always sends the largest number of delegates. It was so at both the second and third Congresses; but a more important reason for the very large attendance from Oudh (and the same cause operated in the North-West Provinces) was well explained by Moulvi Mohamed Hidayut Rasul. He said:—

“Now, can you say how so many able and distinguished delegates have come to be returned from Oudh and specially from Lucknow? Gentlemen, I will whisper it in your ears. The truth of it is, that all this good result is due to the kindness of our brethren in the Aligurh Camp—the opponents of the Congress. (Loud cheers). I assure you that, if our hostile brethren had not made such a grand show of opposition, the Congress would

* In Calcutta on the river banks, where tens of thousands of women proceed every morning to bathe, many of them Hindu ladies of the highest families, the Kangress, as they call it, was for months the one staple subject of feminine discussion. In Allahabad, native ladies were found to have had serious differences with some few of their old friends, because, as they told their husbands, these old friends were anti. But as a rule the women are only now just beginning to accept Kangress as a household word, and here and there institute a “poojah” or religious observance in its honour.

certainly not have been the success that it has been to-day. (Cheers). To my mind, the National Congress is like the vine, which, the more it is pruned, the more it flourishes. (Cheers). There is no doubt that our kind opponents have spread no pains to prune it out of existence; but still the numerous branches which delight the eyes of spectators in this vast hall to-day are, to no small extent, the outcome of their persistent pruning." (Cheers).

OPPOSITION TO CONGRESS

Unquestionably, in the North-West Provinces, the vehement opposition of the officials, and their allies, Sir Syed Ahmed and others of less importance, and their persistent misstatements as to the character and volume of the movement, very largely increased the number of the delegates who attended from these provinces. Then came Sir Auckland Colvin's letter, again ludicrously under-rating the strength of the party, which not only acted as a stimulant to the people of the provinces over which he rules, but probably doubled the number of delegates from Madras, to the people of which presidency attendance at Allahabad, involving journeys of from three to four thousand miles, was a serious business. Lastly came Lord Dufferin's speech, and this put the finishing touch to the general enthusiasm. Nearly half a vast nation like ours, opposed to adversaries less than one-fiftieth of their number, naturally resented the careless disregard of facts which designated them a microscopic minority; and when in addition to this the highest personage in the land took advantage of a convivial meeting on the eve of his departure a meeting at which none of them could be present to ridicule them, and misrepresent in the most grievous manner their aims and aspirations, it is not difficult to understand how a strong practical protest, in the shape of personal attendance at the much maligned Congress, came to be widely resolved upon. Scores of gentlemen for instance—many of them occupying high positions—candidly avowed that it was Lord Dufferin's speech alone that, almost at the last moment, had decided them to face the sacrifices that attendance at the Congress, in their cases involved. How powerful was the stimulus afforded may be judged from the very large size of the gathering, notwithstanding the introduction of a new rule (requiring each delegate to pay a fixed fee towards the expenses of the Congress before taking his seat), which was expected materially to reduce the number. But "the fiercer the blast the intenser grows the heat" and, despite this new rule, the raging blasts of calumny and persecution only resulted in 1,248 delegates taking the place, at Allahabad, of the 607 who were present at Madras.

THE REPRESENTATIVE NATURE OF THE CONGRESS

Looking now to the constitution of this very large body of delegates, nothing, as we shall see, could well be more thoroughly representative. If we turn first to creeds and races, we find that there were 965 Hindus (including members of the Arya and Prahmo Samajis, &c), 221 Mahomedans, 22 Native and 16 European Christians, 11 Jains, 7 Parsees and 6 Sikhs; the comparative paucity of these latter being due, solely, to the fact of there being, as yet, very few Sikhs sufficiently educated to serve advantageously as delegates. If we consider next the positions occupied by these gentlemen, whether hereditary or as public men, we find that there were amongst them 6 Princes, 4 Rajahs, 17 Nawabs, 3 Sardars and 54 members of noble families; again, there were 3 members of Council, 73 Honorary Magistrates, 12 Chairmen, 19 Vice-Chairmen and 127 Commissioners of Municipalities, 10 Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen and 69 members of Local and District Boards, 27 Fellows of Universities, 3 Public Prosecutors, 1 Coroner, &c. Lastly, if we consider their occupations and professions, we notice 455 in one branch or other of the legal profession, 42 in the medical profession, 5 engineers, 127 merchants and traders, 85 bankers, 73 editors and journalists, 297 landed proprietors, 102 inferior landholders, 17 ryots or cultivators, 2 artisans, 7 shopkeepers, 31 clergymen, missionaries, priests and religious teachers, 59 educationalists, principals and professors of colleges, masters of schools and public lecturers, 6 printers, 18 contractors &c. The number of cultivators, artisans and petty shopkeepers are very small, but this was not because these classes did not widely interest themselves in the elections, for they constituted the majority of the electors, but because as a rule* these classes elected men better educated than themselves often their landlords, where they were on good terms with these; their favourite lawyers, where they were not; or again men known to every one as upholders of the national cause.

INITIAL DIFFICULTIES

Allahabad, the capital of the United Provinces (i.e., the North-Western Provinces and Oudh) was the place at which it was settled, at Madras, that the next Congress should be held. But here it seemed, for a long time, as if it would be impossible to find

* Whenever any real system of representation is introduced into India, the bulk of the representatives here, as in England, will always be drawn from the more highly educated classes. * * * * The Empire of Mind is indestructible, and though clouds may at times, here or there, obstruct their rays, sooner shall the sun cease to give light by day and the moon by night than the more highly educated cease to be chosen as leaders and representatives by their less enlightened brethren. (Hume's letter to Colvin).

any suitable site. The authorities, Civil and Military, threw every obstacle in the way of the local Congressmen, whose duty it was to prepare for the gathering, and unconstitutionally stretched the large powers vested in them to obstruct, and, if practicable, render impossible the assemblage. As the Hon'ble Pandit Ayodhya Nath, President of the Reception Committee, remarked in his opening speech :—

“ We were first of all led to believe—I may say distinctly informed—that we should be permitted to occupy the Khushro Bagh for our encampment. But a little later, to our great disappointment, we were told that the requisite permission could not be accorded (Cries of “ Shame ! ”) ; and no satisfactory reason was assigned for this change of front. In April, after much negotiation, permission was granted to us to pitch our camp on a large plot of waste ground lying between the fort railway station and the fort, on payment of rent. This rent we paid in advance, and we were assured that there would be no further difficulty in the way of our occupying that piece of land. But, Gentlemen in the month of August—four months later—we were informed that on sanitary grounds we could not be allowed to occupy that place, and the rent money, which we had paid in advance, was returned to us. Then we managed to secure a group of houses belonging to members of the Reception Committee and other friends, not very far away from the office of the Pioneer. This was too much for our opponents, and as some of the houses were unfortunately situated within the Cantonment limits, the Military authorities arbitrarily prohibited our utilizing those houses for Congress purposes (shame). No inquiry was made as to the sanitary arrangements we were going to make. It was apparently taken for granted that the Congress Camp—and you have seen what a beautiful and perfectly managed camp ours is—would be the filthiest and most insanitary of all gatherings. (Shame). It is not too much to say that no other gathering for any other purpose would have been thus barred. Hundreds of thousands of men, poor, ill-clothed, ill-fed, and, I fear, not a few of them far clean, are allowed to occupy land no further from the fort at the yearly fair—hundreds of thousands who every twelfth year swell to millions—but no authorities, Civil or Military, interfere with them. But our gathering of less than 1,500 gentlemen, all well-fed and well-clothed could not be permitted on sanitary grounds.”

At last by a *tour de force* a site was secured. Just seven weeks before the Congress was to be held, without previous notice to any one, a representative of the Reception Committee was quietly despatched to Lucknow, where resided the owner (a Nawab,

a Mahomedan gentleman of high rank) of one of the largest houses (surrounded by spacious grounds in the station) a house which chanced to be then vacant. He took with him a formal lease and adequate funds, and the same night the lease was signed, the rent paid in advance, and on the next day the Reception Committee had taken possession of Lowther Castle, in the very centre of the Civil Station, overlooking the Alfred Park and alongside Government House, and had commenced their preparations there, before the authorities obtained any inkling of the affair.

It was too late to put official pressure on the Nawab; the legal measures had been taken under the guidance of one of the ablest lawyers in the province. The house was not in cantonments, and the arbitrary power of the Military authorities, so unconstitutionally exerted on the previous occasion, could not this time be brought into play, while as to the Municipality, within whose jurisdiction Lowther Castle lay, its members were, themselves, elected representatives of the people.

(PAGES 3 TO 6.)

NO EARTHLY POWER CAN EXTINGUISH IT

Whether there is any wisdom in a system of persecution, that, while it stimulates to greater activity in secret, keeps nearly*

* The people are not unnaturally much afraid of the local authorities; they have no hope of being justly dealt with in any such matter by many of these; they fully believe that if they displease the local authorities, by overtly joining a movement which these are pleased to denounce, they will speedily find themselves in trouble. Speaking of the police, Munshi Sajjad Hussain remarked (detailed Report, p. 45): "Let a man displease them in the slightest, and see the beneficence of our kind police; he may know nothing about it, but there will be a criminal case filed against him, and arrangements made for requiring him to give security for good behaviour, before he can reach his home." (loud cheers) And the Native public, generally, in Upper India, believe that this is equally true in regard to a great many of the district officials. The powers of requiring security to keep the peace and for good behaviour are capable of the most terrible abuse. A native gentleman, of high position, attended the Madras Congress, in defiance of his district officer, a most rabid Anti-Congressman. Shortly after his return he found himself called upon to give Rs. 20,000 security to keep the peace. There was not the smallest real foundation for this demand, but he thought it wisest to comply with the demand and leave his home. He might doubtless have appealed and got the order reversed, but his firm belief was—and, whether well founded or otherwise, it is shared by tens of thousands of other gentlemen—that, had he done so, he would before long have found himself involved hopelessly in some more serious case—an utterly false case but so got up by the police as to leave him scarcely a chance of escape. (The discussions on a Reform of the existing Police Systems, detailed report, (pp. 46-54, should be read). In one district of the Punjab, in one year, security for good behaviour etc., was demanded from between 5,000 and 6,000 people. Free English citizens should realise something of all this before they condemn our poor people too strongly for not having the courage of their convictions.

three-fourths of a movement like the Congress out of sight, we must leave it to others to decide. But this much is certain : The Congress idea has now obtained such a hold upon the mind of the country that no earthly power can extinguish it. If ten thousand of the most prominent Congressmen were deported to-morrow, the idea would still creep on, spreading from mind to mind, till it had seized every man, woman and child amongst the Indian population, ever growing stronger and stronger in every mind which had received the seed. It is essentially beneficent in its character and, in its open growth, instinct with peace and good-will to men. Official opposition and persecution will not only add to its growth, but will operate to convert an open, above-board, constitutional movement, into a secret, underground, and, therefore, unconstitutional one. There was towards the close of Lord Lytton's administration a great deal of secret organization for unavowed, and probably, even to its originators scarcely understood, purposes : though none who have studied history can doubt in what this would have eventuated. It has been the chief glory of the Congress movement that, aided by the enthusiasm elicited by good Lord Ripon's sympathetic rule, it has swept away all this fungoid undergrowth, and sweetened all political agitation by working it out into the wholesome light of the open day. It will be the fault of the Bureaucracy—and the Bureaucracy alone—if, by the unconstitutional abuse of their authority and powers, they drive a portion of the national energy back into the old, disused and illegitimate channels.

(PAGES 7 AND 8.)

MR. YULE'S INDICTMENT

Mr. George Yule was elected by acclamation, and received with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers, when he took the Presidential seat. There is one passage (pp. 6-8) in which he shows clearly that the non-official European Community ought to be just as deeply interested in this reform as the Indians, which may be advantageously here reproduced :—

Mr. Yule says : "But there are other considerations that add weight to the testimony of the Blue Books. In all the discussions that have taken place in Parliament about the inhabitants of India, there is one section which has never been thought of at all—I mean the British non-official class, to which I belong. I want to make our existence known. We may be known as barristers and solicitors, as bankers, traders, merchants, engineers, editors of newspapers,

manufacturers, planters and so forth, but the idea of citizenship, and all that that implies, never seems to have occurred to our rulers in connection with us. I know it has been said that we are already represented. We are English, and the Government is English : therefore we are represented. But that is a false inference and a pure delusion. We have no more power and no more voice in the Government of the country than you Indians have. The Government is no more ours because it is administered by a Secretary of State who is an Englishman, than the bread in a baker's shop is ours because the shop happens to be kept by an Englishman and not by a Native. (Laughter and cheers). We are ripe enough for that ; ripe enough to come under the sweep of the Board of Revenue sickle, but unripe for the meanest privileges of subjects of a free country. Our number is uncertain. The census tables do not inform us : but, few or many, almost all of us would be voters in England, and I venture to suggest that we would make a passable fraction of a constituency in this country. There is another consideration. There are many thousands of Hindu, Mahomedan, Eurasian, Parsee and other gentlemen in the country, who, if they were to transfer their persons to England for twelve months or more, and pay certain rates, would be qualified to enjoy all the rights and privileges of British subjects. If you and I go to England we are qualified. If we return to India our character changes, and we are not qualified. In England we should be trusted citizens. In India, well, the charitably-minded among our opponents say that we are incipient traitors ! (Loud and prolonged cheers and laughter).

“ Well, the Viceroy having started upon an assumption that is not only incorrect, but is the very opposite of the fact, it follows that his condemnation does not apply to us at all, but to a fanciful piece of workmanship of which we are not the artists. The Viceroy must necessarily depend largely upon his subordinates for correct information about the details of this and other movements, and it looks to me as if one of those compilers of facts had fallen into some grievous error. The authoritative views of the Congress are to be found in its resolutions, and the resolution about the reform of the Councils is the third one of the first meeting of the Congress three years ago, and that resolution has been the one affirmed at the following meetings. We are in no way bound even by any statement or argument that any speaker may make in supporting that resolution, but I say with the greatest confidence that neither in the resolution itself, nor in the speeches of the gentlemen supporting it, is a word to be found that justifies the “ ideal authoritatively suggested ”. There may be some remarks in letters to newspapers, in pamphlets or in speeches made by members of the Congress, that give support to the “ ideal ”. I don't

know of them, and, if I should regret them, just as I might regret any of our members having a hump back ; but I should feel no responsibility for either his back or speech. If we be charged with encouraging "ideals" on such grounds, we may as logically be charged, in the other event, as a Congress for promoting deformed spines. (Here hear, and laughter). It is annoying to us, no doubt, that our friends, as I take Lord Dufferin to be, should be deceived by imitations of our ticket ; but as we have no Trade Mark Bill to protect our wares, all that we can do is to warn our friends to ask for the real article, and to see that they get it". (Loud and continued cheer).

The following foot-notes appear on page 13 of the report of the Congress Session of 1888:—

(PAGE 12.)

HOW THE SUBJECTS WERE CHOSEN ?

* Some months previous to the assembling of the Congress, the Reception Committee called upon all the Standing Congress Committees to report the subjects which the people of their respective Circles desired to have brought before the Congress. All those subjects, proposed by more than half the Committees, were then recirculated, with tentative resolutions framed in regard to each, to all the Standing Committees and by them to the Divisional Committees, so that in regard to all these subjects, which comprised the great majority of those actually brought before and discussed by the Congress, the delegates came fully prepared.

METHOD OF REPRESENTATION

** The number was fixed after much previous consultation amongst the leaders of the several circles, partly with reference to the population, wealth educational status and general importance of the circle, but more especially with regard to limiting the representatives to the smallest number, that would adequately represent all different shades of opinion and views obtaining amongst the delegates of each circle. Thus Madras, politically the most advanced circle, but where opinion is marvellously homogeneous, had fewer representatives on the Committee than the North-Western Provinces and even the Punjab.

GREATER NUMBER OF MUSLIMS ATTEND THE CONGRESS

Syed Shurf-ud-deen, a well-known Mahomedan Barrister, supported the resolution, and in his speech made some remarks as to the present position of the Congress party and the real attitude in regard to it of the Mahomedan community, that deserve special attention :—

“ Well, Gentlemen, you will remember perfectly well that in 1885, when the first meeting of the Congress was held at Bombay, it was said by adverse critics that it was a Congress of a few educated native gentlemen. Again you will remember that when the Congress was held in Calcutta in 1886, it was no longer called a Congress of a few native gentlemen, but a Congress of Bengalees; and in 1887, when the Congress was held in Madras, it was not called a Congress of native gentlemen, or of Bengalees, but a Congress of Hindus. (Laughter and cheers). Now, gentlemen, here, in 1888, we have got before us not only Hindus, Bengalees and Maharattas, but I am proud to say we have here amongst us to-day more than 200 Mahomedans, including scions of the ex-Royal families of Delhi and of Oudh. (Loud cheers). Now I think I may be right in expressing the hope and opinion that next year, when the reports of the Congress have been published, it will at last be called by its right name, and accepted as an Indian Congress (Cheers). You will remember that in 1885 there were scarcely any Mahomedans. There was an increase at the next Congress, a further increase in 1887, and now I am proud to say that there are more than 200 Mahomedans present. (Loud cheers and cries of “hear, hear”). I may tell you that in 1886, when the Congress was held in Calcutta, owing to some local or temporary reasons, the Mahomedans were charged with holding aloof, but I can assure you that, at least in my province of Eihar, the Mahomedans have the fullest sympathy with the objects of the Congress. And I can tell you that in my professional capacity I have to travel all over the division, and have consulted with my friends, many Mahomedans, and they have in every case proved to be in sympathy with and in favour of the Congress. At the same time I do not for a moment deny that there are some, indeed a good many, who, though fully sympathizing with the objects of the Congress, yet for personal and temporary reasons, think it best in their own interests to stay away. Still these gentlemen are with us and help us privately, and when official pressure diminishes will come round publicly. But abstentions of this nature—and they are more numerous amongst Mahomedans than any, except Mahomedans have any

idea of—furnish no grounds whatsoever for reckless assertions, such as that recently made in the House of Commons by Mr. Maclean, that the Mahomedans, as a body, are against the Congress, or for designating this latter by any less comprehensive title than that which it righteously bears—The Indian National Congress. (Loud cheers). There are malcontents everywhere—there must always be some who dissent from anything their neighbours approve,—but the great bulk of the Mahomedans, as the great bulk of the Hindus, Jews, Parsees and Indian Christians, are everywhere for, and not against, the Congress.”

(PAGE 16)

HUME'S APPEAL TO INDIANS

(FROM “OLD MAN'S HOPE”—A PAMPHLET ISSUED BY A. O. HUME, 1888.)

It is needless to go further into details; there is not one single Indian, high or low, rich or poor, whose position, prospects, comfort, and general welfare do not, in numberless different ways, direct and indirect, suffer by the existing autocratic form of Government and will not be improved and enhanced by substituting for this, representative Government. Before you, hangs the golden prize, worthy even of our great Indian nation's ambition. Will you despising all obstacles, press forward and grasp it? Great are the difficulties, strenuous will the struggle be; but the difficulties were greater that British reformers had to face 60 years ago; the struggle for them was even a more arduous one, for we have with us the mighty spirit of the age, that their throes gave birth to, and yet they triumphed, as I have shown you and you too may similarly triumph if you will only follow faithfully in their footsteps.

Friends, brethren, I appeal, to all who call our India home, without distinction of creed, or race, or colour. I appeal to all, high and low, gentle and simple, ignorant and learned, rich and poor. This day have I set before you, good and evil, freedom and happiness, or continued serfdom and disquiet; and that, encouraged thereto by the dauntless struggles of British reformers, you will now, one and all, alike for your own sakes and the sakes of those millions who are being crushed beneath the existing despotic system, boldly choose the nobler and the better course and throw in your lot heart and soul with us; this is my hope, my belief, my prayer; this is the OLD MAN'S HOPE; and if I can only live to see this realized, I shall die content and happy!

GOD BLESS INDIA AND ALL WHO LOVE HER!

NATIONAL MAHOMEDAN ASSOCIATION

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE JUSTICE EUDRUDDIN TYABJI.)

From

AMEER ALI, ESQR.,
Honorary Secretary,
Central National Mahommedan Association ;

To

HON'BLE BUDRUDDIN TYABJEE,
Bombay.

9, Harrington Street,
Calcutta, the 5th January 1888.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 456, dated the 28th November 1887, I have the honour to inform you that in consequence of certain erroneous impressions prevailing in some quarters as to the scope and object of the proposed conference of Mahomedans it is considered necessary by the Committee of the Central Association to address to you and other well wishers of the Mussulman Community the following observations. You cannot be unaware of the state of utter disintegration into which Mussalman Society in India has fallen within the last half century, nor of the baneful results which have followed from it and their general poverty. The absence of unanimity and cohesion in general questions of public policy and the entire neglect of all idea of selfhelp add to the difficulties of their situation. The conference does not propose to discuss high politics. The programme which we have set before us is extremely moderate and suited to our own progress. As a gathering of cultivated moslems from all over India its social and moral effect will, it is hoped be of incalculable benefit. It must be remembered that the real advancement of our people lies in the future and as nothing can be built without a foundation we hope by this conference to give a shape to our aspirations and lay the foundation stone of future good.

In proposing this conference we have not been actuated by any spirit of rivalry towards our Hindoo compatriots. It is our anxious desire to work in sympathy with Government and all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. Our main object is to bring about some degree of solidarity among the disintegrated masses of Mahomedan Society; to reconcile in some measure the conflicting aims and objects of different sections and parties, to introduce some amount of harmony among the discordant and jarring elements of which the Mussalman educated classes are composed, to devise some means of self help for Mahomedan advancement and lean less upon Government patronage; to give a real impetus to the process of self development perceptibly going on among our community; to safeguard our legitimate and constitutional interests under the British Government; to become the exponent of the views and aspirations of educated Mahomedan India; and to serve as the means of reconciliation between our Hindoo fellow subjects and our own community. It seems to us that no right minded Mahomedan or Hindoo can object to this unpretentious programme. We think that the least endeavour in the direction indicated will not be without its value, that the very intermixture of cultivated mussalmans will exercise a most beneficial effect upon Mahomedan India and prove the ground work of substantial progress.

I remain,

Yours obediently,

AMEER ALI.

P.S.—I beg to inform you that owing to certain unavoidable causes, the conference is postponed until February, 1889.

EFFORTS TO REMOVE MUSLIM MISGIVINGS

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

CAPPER HOUSE HOTEL,
MADRAS, January, 5th 1888.

Strictly Private and Confidential.

To

The Secretary to the Standing Congress Committee.

Dear Sir,

In the course of his conversations with numerous Mahomedan gentlemen, our late honoured President discovered, that, in the

minds of most of those who have been holding aloof from the Congress movement, an apprehension lurked that the Hindus, being numerically strongest, might, at some time, press and carry in Congress some Resolution directly hostile to Mahomedan interests.

It is needless to say that he is just as certain as I am myself that the Hindus, to say nothing of the growing Eurasian and European element, would never do anything of the kind, and that they feel that the Mahomedans are, in good sooth, their fellow countrymen, whose welfare, happiness, and content are their welfare, their happiness and their content. But there are ignorant men in all communities. You will remember the worthy gentlemen who desired to press a resolution on the Congress that cow-killing should be made penal. I am afraid that, even here, there are Mahomedans who do not feel sure that this question would have been summarily put out of Court, had not our President been a Mussalman.

Now, it is extremely desirable to render all such misconceptions impossible, by a definite rule on the subject. I, therefore, drafted the subjoined rule and submitted it to our late President, to whom it is needless to say that we look to effect, during the coming year, a complete reconciliation with all those sections of our Mahomedan brethren which have hitherto held aloof from us. This rule was approved by Mr. Budruddin Tyabji and mentioned by him to many Mahomedans here, who said that such a rule, if accepted, would completely obviate all remaining difficulties in the way of their hearty co-operation in the movement.

I now submit this rule to you and I hope you will be able to assure me that your Committee will be prepared to support a rule, to this effect at the next Congress the exact wording being left for determination when the rest of the rules are formally settled. If I can place in our late President's hands, such an assurance from all our standing Congress Committees, it will very greatly diminish the difficulties he will have to contend with. I feel sure that you will agree that this is a necessary and righteous rule, and one that if we mean to be true brothers to them, we cannot hesitate to accept if wished for by our Mahomedan brethren.

I earnestly beg the favour of your replying to me at the earliest possible moment, as it is essential that our late President should be placed without any avoidable delay in a position to assure all his co-religionists authoritatively of the brotherly spirit, in this matter, which does really, as I know, pervade the Hindu community.

I have, etc.

A. O. HUME,

G. Secretary.

DRAFT RULE

No subject shall be passed for discussion by the subject Committee, or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan delegates, as a body, object, unanimously or nearly unanimously, and if after the discussion on any subject, which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that all the Hindu or all the Mahomedan Delegates, as a body, are unanimously or nearly unanimously opposed to the Resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such Resolution shall be dropped without reference to whether the opposers constitute the majority or the minority.

PROPOSED RULE FOR SAFEGUARDING MUSLIM INTEREST

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

HIGH COURT, BOMBAY :

13th January 1888.

Dear Syed Ameer Ali,

I have sent a separate note in reply to your official letter as secretary to the Central National Mahomedan Association, and I trust you will pardon my writing to you privately also. You are no doubt aware that I took a some what leading part in the last Congress at Madras and I have observed with pain and regret that valued friends like yourself, Syed Ahmed Khan and Nawab

Abdul Latif have thought it their duty to keep aloof from the Congress. I have not been able thoroughly to understand the grounds on which this abstention is sought to be justified but it does seem to me to be a great pity that on matters affecting all India as a whole, any section of the Mussalman community should keep aloof from the Hindus and thus retard the national progress of India as a whole. I understand your objection to be that the Hindus being more advanced than ourselves would profit more by any concessions made by Government to educated natives but surely it is our duty if possible to raise ourselves in the scale of progress, rather than to prevent other people from enjoying the rights for which they are qualified. If any proposal is made which would subject the Mussalmans to the Hindus or would vest the executive power in Hindus to the detriment of the Mussalmans, I should oppose it with all my strength, but the Congress proposes to do no such thing. Its aims are, *and must be for the benefit of all communities equally* and any proposition that is *disliked by the Mahomedans as a body must be excluded* from it. At the last Congress I strictly followed this principle and *absolutely shut out* everything to which we *as a body* could take exception. Indeed I have already framed a rule to the effect that no proposition to which the mussalmans generally object shall be considered by the Congress. This rule will be formally embodied in the constitution of the Congress and is I think calculated to remove your objection so far as I can understand it. Please let me know what you think of it and also whether you object to *any Congress at all in any shape* or form, or only to a Congress which may possibly prejudice our community. In the latter case, I think, we could frame rules and restrictions that would obviate your difficulty. I may tell you that I have not the smallest doubt that the Congress worked on proper principles with due restrictions and with *proper safeguards for rights of our community*, is capable of doing an enormous amount of good to our country, and I think we ought all to put our heads together to see whether we cannot devise means to work in harmony with our fellow subjects, while jealously protecting our own peculiar interests. Please consider these suggestions carefully and let me know your views, about them. It is a sufficient misfortune to us to be divided from our Hindu fellow countrymen without being disunited among ourselves.

Your truly,
BUDRUDDIN TYABJEE.

Similar letters addressed to Sir Ahmed Khan and Nawab Abdul Latif

WE MUST NEUTRALISE SYED AHMED'S VIRULENCE

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

Dear old Budruddin,

MADRAS, 22nd January 1883.

Yours of the 19th. I am inclined to think you are right and any how I will not press you more on this point. Of course if by any chance it should be possible to convert Syed Ahmed into even a neutral that would be best. My fear was that having been patted on the back, for this outrageous speech, it is a speech in the worst possible taste in addition to all its other worse sins, he would go on further and render it difficult to hold our Congress next year at Allahabad—though we may not cherish the least animosity against Syed Ahmed and others, it is it seems to me most probable that we ought to take some such action against them as may tend to neutralize their virulence and limit the evil consequences of their inherent and natural poisonous nature. It was with this feeling that I wrote to you and had things remained in the position they were, I should have in my own mind still doubted whether it was not you who were marked out for the work of suppressing Syed Ahmed and whether your first step in this work should not be a formal reply to the attack on the Congress over which you presided.

There is a sense growing up that this Congress at Allahabad, will be the turning point of the movement. That invading our opponents, own dominions we must carry the day, or give up the campaign and it is beginning to be felt (I have had four letters on the subject during the last three days) that if we are to succeed we must again have a Mohamedan president and that, that president must be yourself. It is believed that with you as the president, Syed Ahmed's tirades will have no effect with the North of India Mahomedans. They feel that they cannot be boycotted for joining a conference of which a Mahomedan—such a Mahomedan—is a president whereas half of them would not dare to risk Syed Ahmed's displeasure if someone else were president. This is spontaneous feeling and it seems to be wide spread—it had not occurred to me but the moment it was mentioned it came to me as a revelation. The more I think the more I am convinced, that Syed Ahmed, who had a long interview with Lord Dufferin before he left Calcutta, has been put up to throw out this suggestion of suppression as a feeler and the more essential it is I think that this point should be made. Now you must not blame me for bothering you. The whole principle of our movement is—not that I should do this or that off my own

bat—but that—I having leisure should watch your case, and at each step get those of you whom common consent declares to be most competent to deal with that particular branch, to do the needful leaving of course yourselves to decide what exactly that needful is. This is a Mahomedan crisis—the whole country throws the responsibility on you. By this time next year I fully believe that the Mahomedan difficulty will, thanks to your personality, have disappeared but in the mean time, the interests of the country are largely at stake and despite your work, I must—I should not be doing my duty if I did not—worry you for advice and assistance. I will do exactly what you counsel, but I must make sure that you look at the question all round and really give it that careful consideration that it demands. In the mean time see the confidential circular I sent out. I have already received the assent of Benares, Calcutta and Madras and shall soon have them all I am quite sure.

Yours ever, dear Budrudin,

Very sincerely,

A. O. HUME.

“INDIA IS NOT A NATION”

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

ALIGARH,

24th January 1888.

My dear Badrudin Tyabji,

First of all I thank you for the kind letter you have sent me, and then offer my thanks for your kind congratulation on the honour which Her Majesty has been pleased to confer upon me. I hope you will accept my humble thanks.

The fact that you took a leading part in the Congress at Madras has pleased our Hindu fellow subjects no doubt but as to ourselves it has grieved us much.

The statement of our ideas about the Congress, and of our grounds of abstention from it, would have been appropriate if we had an opportunity of stating them before your taking a leading part in the Congress. But as every thing is done I see no use of stating them now.

We do not mean "to retard the national progress of India" or "to prevent other people from enjoying rights for which they are qualified" and even if we try to do so we cannot hope to succeed, but at the same time it is not obligatory on our part to run a race with persons with whom we have no chance of success.

Your remark that "it is our duty if possible to raise ourselves in the scale of progress" is quite true, yet you should not forget the saying of our old Philosopher "that before we get the antidote from Irak the snake bitten person will die"

I do not understand what the words "National Congress" mean. Is it supposed that the different castes and creeds living in India belong to one nation, or can become nation, and their aims and aspirations be one and the same? I think it is quite impossible and when it is impossible there can be no such thing as a National Congress, nor can it be of equal benefit to all peoples.

You regard the doings of the misnamed National Congress as beneficial to India, but I am sorry to say that I regard them as not only injurious to our own community but also to India at large.

I object to every Congress in any shape of form whatever--which regards India as one nation on account of its being based on wrong principles, viz., that, it regards the whole of India as one nation. Probably you will not like my ideas and therefore I hope you will excuse me for venturing to write so much.

Yours truly,

SYED AHMED.

WE SHOULD ACT FROM WITHIN

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

HIGH COURT, BOMBAY.

18th February 1888.

My Dear Sir Syed Ahmed Khan,

I would have replied earlier to your letter of the 24th January; if I had not been waiting for answers to my communications

addressed to other leading Mussalman gentlemen in different parts of India. I know that we differ materially on some important points but my object in addressing you is to ascertain if possible whether and by what means we can act in harmony with each other for the common benefit of the Mussalman community of this great Empire. No doubt where independent minds apply themselves to the consideration of great questions, differences of opinion must be expected, but at the same time I cannot help feeling that it is the duty of us to understand each other thoroughly, to appreciate their motives and by mutual concessions to bring about a common course of action. It is only with this view and with the object of healing the irritation that is now prevailing in India that I write to you again. It seems to me that there is a vital difference in the point of view from which you and I look at the Congress. In my view the Congress is nothing more and should be nothing more than an assembly of educated people from all parts of India and representing all races and creeds met together for the discussion of only such questions as may be generally admitted to concern the whole of India at large. The question then is, is it desirable that there should be a Conference of people of this description. Of course there are questions which may be for the benefit of one race or one community or one province only but such questions ought not to be discussed in the Congress at all. It seems to me, therefore, that no one can object to a Congress of this kind, unless he is of opinion that there are no questions at all, which concern the natives of India at large. Your objection to the Congress is that "it regards India as one Nation". Now I am not aware of any one regarding the whole of India as one Nation and if you read my inaugural address, you will find it distinctly stated that there are numerous communities or nations in India which had peculiar problems of their own to solve, but that there were some questions which touched all those communities and that it was for the discussion of these latter questions only that the Congress was assembled.

At the time when I wrote you I had not seen your speech at Lucknow. But I have since had an opportunity of reading it, and it is quite clear that at the time you delivered that speech, you were under the impression that the Congress was composed of Bengali Babus alone. How you should have got this idea passes my comprehension; for surely you could not have imagined that the Hindus of the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies had not taken an active part in it, even if you were unaware of the attitude of the educated Mussalmans of these Presidencies towards the Congress. Be that as it may, the facts are that so far as Hindus are concerned they unanimously and as a body support

the Congress no matter what province they belong to ; and as to the Mussalmans, the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras strongly support it while in Bengal and North West Provinces to judge from your speech there seems to be very considerable opposition to it. Under these circumstances is it not the duty of all thoughtful Mussalmans to try to remove the causes that have given rise to these differences. We can no more stop the Congress than we can stop the progress of education. But it is in our power by firm and resolute action, to divert the course the Congress shall take and my strong conviction is that the Mussalmans can by united action confine the Congress to such topics only as they may deem desirable or safe for discussion. Take for instance the question of the Legislative Councils. If the Mussalmans as a body do not like that the members should be elected they could easily modify the proposition so as to suit their own interests. My policy, therefore, would be to act from *within* rather than from *without*. I would say to all Mussalmans "act with your Hindu fellow-subjects in all matters in which you are agreed but oppose them as strongly as you can if they bring forward any propositions that you may deem prejudicial to yourselves." We should thus advance the general progress of India, and at the same time safeguard our own interests. If you think that any such action can be adopted, please let me know because I cannot help regretting the extreme irritation which now exists not only among the Hindus but among a very considerable portion of educated Mussalmans.

(Signed) BADRUDDIN TYABJEE.

BOMBAY AGAINST THE DRAFT RULE TO SAFEGUARD MINORITIES

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

73, HORNBY ROAD :

23rd February 1888.

My Dear Mr. Budruddin,

At yesterday's meeting of our Congress Committee we discussed that draft rule which Mr. Hume informs us, has your approval. Mr. Telang and others fear that practically the rule may defeat the object in view. There is a deal of ambiguity as to the word "majority". What is to constitute a "majority" of Hindus, Mahomedans, Europeans, Eurasians, Parsees etc ? Is the majority

to be of the number of delegates of each community present at a Congress? If so will it be fair if a majority of 12 Europeans out of 15 say that a particular subject be not discussed? Or again take the case of Mahomedan delegates. Suppose that for some reason or another only 15 to 20 Mahomedans attend the Congress. Say of them 3/4 propose to a particular subject as suitable for discussion, whereas a majority of 400 Hindus consider it undesirable. How are you to proceed? Can the vote of the majority of Mahomedans carry the day? There are minor difficulties in the way of the adoption of the rule as it stands. Mr. Telang and other members of our committee have under the circumstances postponed further consideration of the draft rule and have meanwhile requested us to request you to be so good as to name a day which may be most convenient to yourself to consider the matter in consultation with you. Will you kindly drop me a line stating a day which may suit you?

Yours sincerely,

D. E. WATCHA.

A METHOD TO PLACATE MUSLIMS

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

123, MOUNT ROAD :

30th August, 1888.

My dear Mr. Tyabji,

I see you have been speaking at the Anjumane Islam of Bombay regarding the National Congress. I am living with Sir Charles Lawson of the Madras Mail and he often asks me questions about Indians and the Mahomedans. I am afraid I do not always agree. I have an idea about the National Congress that might be useful to you. If it is National Institution interest of all should be looked to and the Hindus ought to take an interest in their Mahomedan brethren. Only the Mahomedans who number over 50 million ought not to be indifferent to the fate of their co-religionists in other parts of the world. Let the National Congress at its next meeting say that it views with regret that Mahomedan brothers in India have cause to feel sorrow and shame on account of the way their co-religionists are treated in other parts of the world. That the Sultan is insulted at his very doors (viz., at Livedia) by an official address to the Czar in which a hope was given that the Greek Cross would overstep the Crescent in the Sophia Mosque of

Constantinople some day. That no sooner is the Sultan of Morocco supposed to be seriously ill than efforts are made by European Nations to grasp his territory. That Tunis and Algeria, Samarcand and Bokhara Shereef are in the hands of the foreigners. That seeing the wealth and power of India and that the Queen reigns over 50,000,000 of Mahomedans that greater interest in their fate in every part of the world should be taken by the British Government. These sort of things would bring the Mahomedans over with a rush. With increasing Education among the Mahomedans there is no reason why Mahomedans from India should not have good places at Mahomedan Courts in other parts of the world—Istambul, Teheran, Morocco Governments.

Yours sincerely,

Illegible.

LET MUSLIMS HAVE THEIR OWN ELECTORAL DIVISION

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

SIMLA, 4th September 1888.

Dear Baddrudin,

I have never bothered you with letters because I have never been anxious about Bombay as others were. I knew you had the culture of Islam on your side and—besides that commonsense—and I felt quite certain of your ultimate triumph. It came sooner than I expected but I knew it would come and now that you have happily drawn the line, education and the congress on one side and ignorance and the opposition on the other, and I have read the full report of the Anjuman-Islam meeting. I am glad they are reprinting that full report, that appeared in the Morning Post all over the country. I only fear that half our people will not fully appreciate all you say and abstain from saying, more power to your elbow. I hope that a larger proportion of even the ignorant Mussalmans, will realize, who their best leader really is. I am told that the majority of the Khojas are with us. Could you not have a private gathering of the more important members of this wealthy community and have them to constitute themselves an electoral division with their own divisional committee to elect their own

delegates and establish a propaganda to explain the case to all the humbler members of their community ?

Yours affectionately,

A. O. HUME.

REAY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CONGRESS

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

GANESH KHIND,

8th September 1888.

My dear Hume,

I answer your letter at once. Of course I have never seen a Police circular making enquiries about congress members — I have never asked who belonged and who did not belong and I should not tolerate any intimidation direct or indirect.

The congress criticises the administration to which I belong and the administration of course must welcome any criticism which leads to improvement and eradication of abuses.

Good administration of course is of "*Republicae Suprema Salus*". That has always been my view and I am paid and sent here to make the administration better and stronger. My relations to the Congress are those of a stage manager to a stage critic.

With regards to the Anjuman, I have this week asked the Director of public instruction to accelerate the arrangements for their school in Bombay to which we have contributed a noble site and Rs. 38,000, so that the gossip under this head is as equally hollow as the other.

I attach as much importance to all such rumours after 3½ years in India as I do to anonymous charges which are received by me. If by this time my ideas and principles are not known and understood I must despair of ever making them clear but I should have thought that such absurd stories as those which reached you would not require any contradiction. I forgot to add that Badruddin wrote me a letter of thanks for favours received.

Yours sincerely,

REAY.

POLITICAL FREEDOM STANDS SUPREME

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

SIMLA,

13th September 1888.

Dear Budrudin,

I won't argue with you about yourself. You may or may not accept what I said about the conduct of affairs by you, but it is the truth and I who see all over the country, know that there is no other Indian, except perhaps Benerjee, who could have so wisely guided the issue.

I think the most important work is the elevation of the moral standard. The next most important, the diffusion of mental culture and only third in importance to my mind is political enfranchisement. But I throw my energies into this latter — firstly because I have read history—and have studied it under guidance of the highest character—and I have come to see that neither moral elevation nor mental culture are nationally possible without some considerable political enfranchisement. There have been periods of intellectual culture as in the Augustan age, accompanied no doubt by political serfdom, but that culture was but the fruit of seeds sown and plants nourished in an antecedent era of political freedom. You may create the grandest academies you may found the purest religious sects but without the infinitely varied inducement to mental exertion and moral restraint afforded by political freedom, your nature will never be either cultured or virtuous.

It is so great a question, that I can here only as it were glance at the propositions. I cannot pretend to give the demonstrations though if I am spared, I will some day publish the work that I have half written on this great question, and which deals with every record of the past that survives to us. Secondly because, the *political work* to be *successful*, must be treated nationally and unitedly, while both the moral and mental questions must be treated not only provincially but sectionally and hence the former alone is suited to me who belong to no province and no sect, but to the whole country and to all creeds, and also because the political work needs a wider and higher class of organisation and because while neither very clever, nor wiser, I have been given a real gift for organization and thus find my most appropriate occupation in this line in which organization is the most essential element.

But wherever I go except in your scoffing, insincere, worldly Bombay, in Madras, Poona, Gujerat, Nagpur, Lucknow, Allahabad,

Benares, Patna, I never fail in the private addresses which I deliver everywhere to point out that unless they will lead purer and better and truer lives, unless they will educate themselves, their sons and their *daughters*, they will never reap due fruit of the political concessions we may attain, and never attain half those concessions essential to the highest welfare of the nation. Well now let me tell you that at my request Bonnerjee went and saw George Yule and he most kindly said that if elected, he should deem it the greatest honour to preside at the next Congress and would do his best to discharge the duties of the office satisfactorily—and now I am writing confidentially to all the standing Congress Committees to know if this arrangement, meets their approbation so that I may be able to advance the matter another stage. If approved, Yule will come out by the end of November to Calcutta, so as to be at hand to advice or consult with, if necessary.

I do hope you read or get read to you the letters I have been writing to Dinshaw, for the committee of late. I cannot write to every man and these letters I do believe are worth reading as showing not merely what I think, but what the country with which I am to a great extent in touch feels and thinks.

Now one more point. I send you a copy, in confidence of a private letter received from Lord Reay, private—not for publication, but intended to be used. You will see a day or so after this reaches you an article of mine in the Phoenix headed the ‘Congress and its opponents’ or something to that effect in which the purport of this letter is utilised. I hope you will make a point of reading that article. You in Bombay may not know it but for the last six months our opponents in your presidency have been industriously circulating the rumour that the Government were opposed to Congress and meant to punish in some way all who supported it. Of course in Bombay itself our quasi—supporters were not such fools as to believe this rumour but in the mofussil people were getting very frightened and I received letters by the score, reporting these tales and asking me if they were true. Of course I ridiculed these. One of these was to the effect that Lord Reay had refused to preside at the distribution of prizes of the Anjuman, to mark his displeasure at your having presided at the last Congress. Of course I knew this was idiotic, but when Bhimjee came to stay with me, I not only found that he had heard it but that he himself believed it. So much so that I had some difficulty in persuading him, that Lord Reay being what he is, it was impossible. Well having thus prepared the soil our adversaries’ next direct move was at Ahmedabad where the authorities gave out that

Government had desired the police to ascertain and report the names of all persons supporting or favouring the Congress. The poor towns people were terrified and though more than 100 leading citizens signed in my presence a written resolution approving the Congress and engaging to support it, only one man Abajee Vishnu Kathawate had the pluck to send up his name and invite the police to make the most of it. Then he wrote to me full particulars. Then I saw the time had come—I wrote at once to Lord Reay—who is really a friend of mine and told him the whole thing—told him all about the rumours sent him Kathawate's letter in confidence and asked him to write me a letter, not for publication but to show and use—so as to crush summarily all this intrigue. This he at once did. He writes rather harsh English but his repudiation of hostility is emphatic. I like much his metaphor viz., he himself and the Congress are like stage manager and stage critic, i.e., that while he reserves to himself the right to form judgment on his critic's verdict, he feels bound to give it his most careful consideration and draw from it every possible hint that may tend to improve the performance for which he is responsible. I like too the plucky way in which he says, that the administration must welcome criticism that leads to improvement and the eradication of abuses.

I do not know whether you ever heard the absurd story about Lord Reay refusing to distribute prizes at the Anjuman, because you had presided at the last Congress, but you will find that in the mofussil the opponents have made great capital out of it and it is as well that you should have by you a copy of Lord Reay's letter ridiculing the idea and expressing his strong sympathy with your cause. I have brought it all out well in that article in Phoenix and I hope you will read this and if you think it can be of any use in Bombay, get it copied in part or whole into one of the Bombay papers.

Now good bye, dear old fellow and please think of me in future as one whose aims go far beyond political agitation, though his time is as a matter of duty mainly devoted to this.

Yours very sincerely,

A. O. HUME.

HUME SURPRISED AT BADRUDDIN'S VIEWS

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

SIMLA,

20th October 1888.

Dear Buddrudin,

See what is said in the enclosure. I don't believe a word about it because you gave a public promise to all the assembled delegates last year that you would be with them this year as a brother delegate and I know you are absolutely a man of your word. But it is not right for Telang because he himself may not feel sure that he will take the trouble to come, to write to the people thus about you and so spread discouragement; for I need not say that were this true it would be a severe blow to us, as whether you like it or not, your having been the President last year having so skilfully manipulated "The Rebellion" at Bombay makes you in the eyes of the country the most important man there and your defection would, no matter what the cause, cause us most serious discouragement. I don't mean to me personally but to our people generally. I don't think Telang ought to write this.

By the way do also so arrange that Sayani also comes. He has always been our friend. Entreat him from me to attend this year. This is our turning point, and he is such a leading man that his presence will be of the very greatest service this year. I do not want to bother him to come every year. But this year we do badly want his and your aid and countenance you will come, and also bring him too.

Yours ever very sincerely,

A. O. HUME.

"PROROGUE CONGRESS FOR FIVE YEARS" SAYS BADRUDDIN

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

CHOWK HALL,

27th October 1888.

My dear Hume,

I received your letter of the 20th with the enclosure from your Jabulpore correspondent. I delayed writing to you because what I am about to say is a matter of the utmost importance and though I have long been thinking about it I thought it best to take still more time about it before communicating my views to you. I write to you, of course as an ardent friend of the congress desiring nothing so much as its success. You have no doubt been watching

the movements of the Mahomedans ; but still you are probably not so well acquainted with their feelings as I am. Again I have been discussing the matter with thoughtful members of the different communities who are all in favour of the congress. What I write now, therefore, may be taken to represent the views not only of myself and other leading Mahomedans of Bombay, but such men as Mehta, Telang, etc. We are all of opinion that having regard to the distinctly hostile attitude of the Mahomedans, which is becoming daily more pronounced and more apparent, it is time for the friends, promoters and supporters of the congress to reconsider their position and to see whether under the present circumstances it is or not wise for us to continue holding congress meetings every year. My own view is that the friction and bitterness which are caused by this agitation every year outweigh the advantages to be gained. If all the communities of India were unanimous, I think the congress would be a very good thing and capable of doing a very great deal of good to the people of India. The prime object of the congress was to unite the different communities and provinces into one and thus promote harmony. As it is, however, not only have the Mahomedans been divided from the Hindus in a manner they never were before but the Mahomedans themselves have been split into two factions, the gulf between whom is becoming wider and wider every day. The Nizam and all the principal men of the state such as Salar Jung, Munir-ut-Mulk, Fateh Nawaj Jung and above all Syed Hussain Belgrami have joined the opposition led by such wellknown men as Syed Ahmed, Ameer Ali and Abdul Latif. For the purpose of my present argument I assume that all these men are wrong and that we are in the right. Nevertheless the fact exists and whether we like it or not, we must base our proceedings upon the fact that an overwhelming majority of Mahomedans is against the movement. Against this array it is useless saying that the intelligent and educated Mahomedans are in favour of the Congress. If then, the Mussalman Community as a whole is against the congress—rightly or wrongly does not matter—it follows that the movement *ipso facto* ceases to be a general or National Congress. If this is so it is deprived of a great deal of its power to do good. It may no doubt be continued by the force and determination of some men ; but it is not the same thing as if the Mahomedans had joined it as a body. I observe increasing bitterness between Hindus and Mussalmans and I observe also that a difference of views among the Mahomedan leaders produces friction and bitterness which leads to extremely evil consequences. The peculiar state of Mahomedan society renders it necessary that we should act together in all political matters but this friction comes in the way and I already find that even in Bombay we are not able to act in

the same way as we did before. Under these circumstances weighing the good against the evil, I have come to the distinct conclusion after the most careful consideration of which I am capable that it is time to cease holding the congress every year. I should like to make the Allahabad Congress as great a success as possible. I should like to have as large a representation of Mahomedans as possible and I should then like the Congress to be prorogued, say for at least five years. This would give us an opportunity of reconsidering the whole position and if necessary of retiring with dignity and would at the same time give us ample time to carry into execution our programme, which has already become very extensive. If at the end of the 5 years our prospects improve we can renew our congress. If not we can drop it with dignity conscious of having done our utmost for the advancement of India and the fusion of the different races into one.

(Signed) BUDRUDDIN TYABJI.

CONGRESS RULE FOR ASSURING MUSLIMS

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

To

THE EDITOR OF THE PIONEER.

Sir,

In the course of conversation with many of my coreligionists in regard to the late congress over which I had the honour of Presiding, I found that there were not a few, who approved of the movement in principle, and accepted the resolutions, thus far passed at the three congresses that have been held, yet felt some anxiety lest, at future congresses, resolutions that could not commend themselves to Mussalmans as a body, might in virtue of the greater numerical strength of the Hindus, be passed and they, if members, be thus committed to a participation in what they could not approve.

Having for many years in Bombay worked in public matters hand in hand with Hindus and having been a witness at the late Congress of the brotherly feeling in regard to the Muslemans that pervades the entire body of delegates of other religious denominations, I felt convicted that my friends' apprehensions were wholly needless. But, in order to be able to convince them, and others who share their doubts, that this is so, I requested the general secretary to address all the standing congress Committees and ascertain whether they were willing that a rule should be passed, that in the

case of the Mahomedan delegates unanimously or nearly unanimously objecting to the introduction of any subject or the passing of any resolution, such subject or resolution should be thereupon dropped.

All the twelve standing Congress Committees, have now replied, unhasitatingly in the affirmative, and I do therefore hope that this announcement which I am now able to make authoritatively will remove any apprehension in regard to the future operations of the congress, that may still lurk in the minds of any of my Muslim Brethern.

Of course this rule refers only to new subjects that have not already been definitely dealt with by past congresses. If there be any Mahomedans who still, after reading the discussions at the third congress, feel themselves unable to accept the Resolutions, or any of them, which have already been passed, that is another matter, but as regards all those, who though approving what has been done, yet, hesitate to take an active part in the movement for fear that at some future congress some resolutions repugnant to muslim feelings should be carried, I do hope that the assurance I have now been able to give them will convince them of the propriety of joining in an undertaking, in the success of which we are quite as deeply interested as either Hindus, Parsees or Christians.

Yours obediently,

(Signed) BUDRUDDIN TYABJI.

President of the 3rd Indian National Congress.

GOVERNMENT AND THE CONGRESS

I

Public Servants and Political Funds

(P. D. VOLUME 212/1889.)

Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department (Public), No. 36-2852, dated 29th October 1888 :—

“It has been brought to the notice of the Governor General in Council that in some parts of the country officials have without the consent of their superiors exerted themselves in collecting subscriptions for the promotion of objects of a political character.

It appears to the Government of India to be very inexpedient that Government Officials should be permitted to interest themselves in the raising of subscriptions, and I am therefore to call the attention of His Excellency the Governor in Council to the desirability of taking such steps as will effectually put a stop to the participation by public servants in the collection of subscriptions intended to promote political purposes of any kind whatever. It is obvious that great abuses and misconceptions might arise from such action or from any indiscretion on the part of Government officials between the public and private aspects of whose acts people do not always discriminate."

RESOLUTION.—Copies of the letter from the Government of India should be forwarded to all Departments of the Secretariat and all Heads of Offices for information and guidance.

(Signed) J. DEC. ATKINS,
Under Secretary to Government.

EXTRACTS FROM NATIVE PRESS REPORT

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS, 1888.)

With reference to the allegation that the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, has distributed at public expense copies of the anti-congress speech of the Maharaja of Benares, the *Arunoday* (A Marathi weekly of Thana) of the 30th September suspects that it must be at the desire of Mr. Lee-Warner, Secretary to Government, that such attempts are made in discouragement of the Indian National Congress, and says that all blame in the matter will under any circumstance be attached to the Bombay Government and not to its Secretary, and that the cause of the National Congress will not suffer in the least in consequence of opposition on the part of Government.

The Dnyan Prakash (Anglo-Marathi bi-weekly of Poona) in its issue of the 1st October, considers it right that the Director of Public Instruction should contradict the allegation if it be unfounded, as there is no connection on earth between the Director of Public Instruction and the distribution of such pamphlets.

The Rast Gofter (Anglo Gujarati weekly of Bombay) in its issue of the 30th September, writes:—The attitude hitherto preserved by Government in regard to the Indian National Congress has been unexceptionable. But we are sorry to find a letter published in the

Bombay Gazette that a departure has been recently made from the policy of wise neutrality by the Educational Department distributing the anti-congress speech of the Maharaja of Benaras. The speech, as we noticed it at the time, is a issue of nonsense, but even if it were a masterpiece of sense and reasoning in favour of the Congress, we should object to its being issued under the imprimatur of a Government Department.

The Indian Spectator (The English weekly of Bombay), in its issue of the 30th September, writes:—There is something so incredible in the allegation that the Government of Bombay have distributed copies of the speech recently made by the Maharaja of Benaras, among schools and libraries under their patronage, that we need hardly take the trouble of saying that it is totally unfounded. The correspondent, who supplied this startling information to our contemporary was probably thinking of something else. No official of Government, whatever his own views might be, would do such a thing in his official capacity.

At one time Governor Lord Reay proposed to issue a circular ordering strict neutrality of officials towards all associations but it seemed members of his executive council had different views. Hon. Mr. Richey was of opinion that "This seems to be a little too general. We do not want to check and countenance to associations for useful public purposes and charities." Another member also thought "the circular going too far". He opined, 'It is very difficult to lay down any definite rules as to our officers' personal connection with associations even if they be political associations. The broad ground of objection would be that a Government servant may not cultivate any relations inconsistent with his position and duties as such, but a public servant does not lose his rights as a citizen and as long as an association is lawfully constituted for lawful purposes and is lawfully conducted, Government would, I think, not be justified in issuing any general prohibition against its servants joining it, even though the objects of the association be political.'

Ultimately the matter was allowed to be left over at that time.

THE CONGRESS, MUSLIMS AND THE VICEROY

(FROM PRIVATE RECORDS OF THE LATE B. TYABJI.)

SIMLA,

5th November 1888.

"Dear Budruddin,

Yours of the 30th to hand this moment. Before you settle anything, please look further into this supposed "hostile attitude

of a very large number of Mahomedans". I have been enquiring town by town and district by district, wherever according to the census there is any appreciable proportion of Mahomedans. I estimate that there are no less than 8 millions of adult male Mohomedans sufficiently intelligent to understand the Congress question if properly put before them. There are probably 4 to 5 millions more who are little better than cattle and whom we cannot gain through their brains.

Now out of the 8 millions we have over one million already distinctly with us and there are not one hundred thousand really opposed to us.

All through Oudh and N. W. Province we have more than ten Mahomedans to one that is against us. (Note this against us—because there are a far larger number who though they approve the Congress and hate Syed Ahmed will not as yet *join us* because they do not feel sure that in the long run the Hindus being so enormously numerically in the majority and having considerably the start in education, will not get an undue preponderance in the Parliament into which they apprehend that our councils will ultimately, as they surely will, expand).

In the Punjab, we are sweeping Syed Ahmed away. I send you a copy of the Ludhiana Fatwa (to my mind a very clumsy document—but the Mussalmans seem to approve of it), but now dozens of Mahomedans, are carrying copies of this all over the Punjab, and the greatest Moulvis are everywhere attesting and singing it. The Ludhiana Moulvis have the absolute command of 40,000 Mahomedans. Fatwas to this same effect will be read on a Friday, in every mosque and copies placed in the hands of every Mussalman, who can read and write in the Punjab.

To return, in both Bihar and Eastern Bengal we have an over-whelming majority. In Madras, etc. the same. We want at *this* coming Congress every Mahomedan we can get (I hope you will bring as many as possible to make the best possible show). I think you may personally let your mind at rest as to the very large number of Mahomedans being *opposed to us*. There is really, looking to totals, only a very small fraction opposed to us and a really good fraction with us. No doubt, our opponents are very active against us and are making a great show and noise and unfortunately through Mehdi Ali and other influential foreigners.

They have the Nizam on their side, but the true Hydrabadis are not against us, whether Hindus or Mahomedans. And when thus upper Indian business is done, we will get all these foreigners turned out of Hyderabad.

Now all I have told you above I tell you in strict confidence for you and you only—because I can trust you, I mean your *wisdom*. (I can trust Telang Mehta and others but not to hold their tongues and we want our secret work in upper India—the mine we are digging under these Wahabi traitors—kept secret until the time comes to light the match). Syed Ahmed himself, I believe to be a little mad—and so say some of the men in immediate private contact with him. I am by no means sure that he understands the game that most of the prominent men working with him are playing. But he is puffed up to a degree—and has altogether ceased to be the man he was—bragging ceaselessly in his own entourage of the great things he is going to do, the great man he is going to be at 70 ! alas ! and that reminds me, did you see that wonderfully good letter, “an open letter to Sir Syed Ahmed” in the Tribune. (I don’t yet know who wrote it) proving from his own writings, which are quoted with chapter and verse, that a few years ago he advocated the very things he now so vehemently opposes—only (he) went further than we did or do in the Congress. But to return—having known the man as I do—I do not believe that he is the wilful and shameless liar and a turn coat that his speeches and writings would make him appear. I believe that his popularity with European officials and his K. C. S. I. and favour recently shown him by the Viceroy, and the adulation of that title and his immediate entourage have completely turned his head, and this is the view taken by some at any rate of his own personal following.

Now another secret—which I learned only this week. Lord Dufferin *now* is against us. In the first place, he has become afraid. So long as we were a mere consultative body purely native—whose views he could adopt when it suited him or ignore when they did not, he was strongly in favour of it. But now that *many* Europeans are joining—the missionary interest is going with us here and the great non-conformist party at home, is leaning also to us, and lastly that the people of the country are beginning to go with us, so that in almost every village you find our partizans in many parts of the country, he begins to fear that the time will come when we shall be in a position to compel Government not by physical force—he is too wise to feel that—but by moral pressure, to attend to what we say. In the second place—he is out of health and very irritable and the Mirror by its virulent

and unjust attacks is driving him half crazy. He is good enough to credit me personally and the Congress Party generally with participation in this business.

When Auckland Colvin wrote to me about the Congress, he sent him a copy of the letter. It appears he replied again abusing the Mirror, the Congress and myself and telling Colvin that he ought not to have written to me as it is giving me an importance I do not deserve and moreover, I learn that he has been in correspondence with Sir Syed Ahmed and that this latter's boasts that he was acting under the Viceroy's instructions were not perhaps altogether groundless.

All this has come upon me like a burst of thunder. Uptil July, twelve months, Lord Dufferin and I constantly discussed Congress details and he was informally favourable towards the end of last season.

We had as I told you a difference. I considered and still consider that he had been guilty of a breach of faith towards me (I explained it all to you—about the Star in the east, of which the proofs were submitted to him and modified in certain particulars in accordance with his suggestions). He denied this and was rather angry. I stuck to my position (the fact was that no intelligent and impartial man, could take any other view) but said I would not trouble him further. Since then, he has never written to me nor sent for me. And as he was a big man I have never written to him nor been to see him. Of course I received the usual dinner invites etc. but as I never dine out, of course, this went for nothing and I knew nothing of his volte face—our difference was a purely private matter so it never occurred to me that this could have made any difference in his feelings towards the Congress—but I fear it has—and now for 6 months past I have been innocently telling falsehoods and saying that Lord Dufferin did not look with disfavour on the Congress whereas, it now comes upon me as a revelation that it is almost certain that he does. Of course there is no public utterance of his to show this—but of private utterances there have been many—at least this is what I am assured, by more than one high official here.

Yours ever,
A. O. HUME."

HUME'S REPLY TO LORD DUFFERIN

(FROM "HINDU PATRIOT" OF 3RD DECEMBER 1888.)

The Viceroy, Mr. Hume and the Congress Party

To

THE EDITOR OF THE INDIAN MIRROR.

"Sir,

I am rejected to perceive that the national Congress is beginning to attract the attention of our Rulers.

The latest instance of this is His Excellency the Viceroy's last night's utterances, after the Saint Andrews dinner. There are many things in these utterances which lead me to fear that His Excellency is not so well informed as to Congress matters, as I hope and believe. Abler pens than mine however must set him right on the general question, but there is one passage in His Excellency's speech as reported in the "Englishman" which embodying as it does, a direct personal attack on myself, demands from me more particular notice. That passage runs as follows :—

"Nor is the silly threat of one of the chief officers, the Principal Secretary, I believe, of the Congress, that he and his Congress friends hold in their hands keys not only of a popular insurrection but of a military revolt, calculated to restore our confidence in their discretion."

Nor I can hardly believe that His Excellency really used either these words or even words to a like effect because I am positive that I never at any time publicly or privately, in writing or by word of mouth, gave expression to any thing even distantly approaching the sentiments attributed to me in this passage. Possibly His Excellency was referring to a passage in my letter published in the Pioneer of 24th November, 1887, in which in reply to Mr. Beck, I wrote as follows :—

To continue. Mr. Beck's assertions (which he conceives to be argument), in support of this monstrous proposition of his, are as

untenable as is the proposition itself. He says, "The English educated class does not at present hold in its hands the keys, of the magazines of physical force in this country. They have no control over the native army nor those classes of war like peasantry which form the inflammable material of the country". Now in the first place, no one ever dreamt of the representation being based on the English educated class. Every one confidently expects that the system which will be sanctioned by the Government will be far more perfect and not less perfect, than under which our national Congress assembled. Yet under our present imperfect, tentative system, the English educated class does not constitute 1/58 of the persons directly represented. Great stress is laid upon all the representatives understanding English, because this is now true *lingua-franca* of the Empire, and Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Gujarathi, Marathi, Sindhi, Punjabi, Urdu, Persian, Hindi, Bengali, Assamese and Uriah speakers can here all meet on a common basis. And yet at the last Congress there were many delegates and even several speakers, who were only acquainted with their own vernaculars. If we take Provincial standing Congress Committees, comprising of some 97 members, fully 1/3 of these are not English educated men and in the lower grades of the organisation the English educated are the exception but large body of more or less educated (not English educated) men who are at this moment supporting the movement, do hold in their hands, the key of the good many magazines of physical force, though they are not going to put those keys into locks.

As for the native army every sepoy and native officer has a home, and often visits it on leave and furlough, and every one of them could be got at without the slightest difficulty, and (the facts of the case are so plain, simple, and irrefutable) converted to the views held by the great mass of his educated and half educated countrymen. In two years the great bulk of the native army could be converted into sound politicians and strong supporters of the reform movement. But the policy of our readers has always been opposed to any action that could possibly incline the Government to suspect the perfect loyalty of our agitation, and therefore, not only has this not been attempted but native officers, on leave, who were desirous of taking part in demonstrations connected with the work of the National Party have been discouraged and advised so long as they remain in the army, to leave politics alone, and content themselves with loyally obeying their lawful superiors.

Now, I leave any fair minded man to say whether the above can possibly be construed as a "silly" or any kind of "threat of holding the keys not only of a popular insurrection, but of military revolt"; and I am constrained to conclude that His Excellency has either been misreported or not having done me the honour of himself reading my letter, has been misled by others as to its purport.

A. O. HUME."

BOMBAY SESSION, 1889

(President : Sir W. Wedderburn)

(FROM OFFICIAL REPORTS OF CONGRESS SESSIONS.)

It is pleasant, after the senseless opposition that, in past years, we have had to surmount, to be able to record that the fifth session of the Indian National Congress commenced and ended under the happiest auspices, no man, practically, hindering or molesting it. Naturally there were, here and there, a sprinkling of irreconcilables. An Anglo-Indian newspaper or two had their customary, though very subdued and dispirited jeers, and that paragon of veracity, the Calcutta Correspondent of the Times, telegraphed his accustomed batches of fiction; but these were only *rari nantes*, in *guragite vasto* in the full tide of public opinion wholly favourable to the Congress.

After all, a good cause is safe to win all the world over, and marvellous as is the change that a single year has wrought in the position of the Congress, it is only what, sooner or later, was certain to ensue. Still, it is gratifying to know that the tables have been turned, and that save "a microscopic minority" none of our fellow-subjects now believe us to be "seditionists" or doubt that our great congress is working towards the good, alike, of India and England.

Bombay, where the first Congress initiated our great work for the common welfare, was once more the scene of this fifth great gathering. Sir Albert Sassoon, Bart, the head of the Jewish community in India, gave the site and Mr. Mukund's genius, reared on it a vast temporary hall, intended to accommodate 4,600 persons, but into which some 6,000 people, somehow, succeeded in bestowing themselves. A hall, the quaint picturesque beauty of which has seldom been equalled and which, when crowded by the brightly clad representatives of all India's multitudinous clans and peoples, presented a spectacle that, for breadth and brilliancy of colouring, has certainly never been surpassed.

Unquestionably Mr. Bradlaugh's kindly presence had contributed in no small degree to the greatness of the gathering, both of Delegates and Visitors. This was his first visit to India to the Indians, he was still only a name—and yet millions of hearts throbbed with pride and pleasure, when present at the then coming Congress. Again no Englishman living is more trusted or more respected

throughout India, than is Sir William Wedderburn, and the news that he had consented to come out to India to preside over the assembly, undoubtedly gave a further stimulus to the country which, having crushed all serious opposition was, to tell the truth, a little lazily inclined. Partly owing to these favouring influences and partly to the great spread during the past year of the Congress idea throughout the country, this last Congress proved to be by far the greatest and grandest assembly yet witnessed—greater and grander, perhaps, than will ever again occur, in our times at least—for the physical difficulties and great expense attending, in India, the transport over the huge distances covered by the Empire of these large numbers of Delegates, and of providing for them a sufficiently large meeting Hall, accommodation, furniture, food, lights, and what not, are so great*, that the Congress was compelled to pass this time a rule (*vide* Resolution XIII, Cl. a) limiting for the future the number of Delegates from each circle to five per million of the population represented, or in fact, to about 1,000, in all.

The elections commenced rather late, and less care we regret to say, was taken to collect statistics than in the previous year. Of a great deal of the work, no reliable record could be obtained, as it was done in a very quiet and unobtrusive fashion. Although open opposition had ceased, a considerable section of the European official community and the Police, who take their cues from this community, were still credited by the people, unjustly as we hope, with nourishing in secret hostile feelings towards the Congress, and the lower classes, especially, thought it prudent to attract as little attention as possible. No groups of delegates were gathered at provincial centres and despatched to the Congress with banners

* The brunt of the work on the present occasion devolved upon Mr. Dinsha Eduljee Wacha, the Secretary of the Reception Committee. The Provision Committee also did their work, which was very heavy both well and economically, and they more especially deserve commendation because they did it themselves, whereas in Bombay the accepted method of doing anything, is to give some one else a contract to do it. Many others also in Bombay like Messrs. Daji Abaji Khare and Motilal M. Munshi, chief of the warders, really did exert themselves when the time came, but our thanks are especially due to two gentlemen from other parts of the country, and therefore in no way bound so to exert themselves. Mr. Ghosal, the Secretary of the Calcutta Standing Congress Committee, who had charge of the Delegate's Registry office and prepared the voluminous roll of Delegates appended to this report, and Capt. Banon, a delegate from Kangra.

flying and bands playing amidst the cheers of enormous crowds, as on former occasions—probably, three times as many meetings were actually held, but there were fewer, rather than more, great public meetings with elaborate speeches, and more or less enthusiastic demonstrations. Independent of the fact that amongst the lower classes, at any rate, it was held inexpedient to do anything to excite the supposed latent hostility of the officials, it was felt, amongst the better classes, that anything capable of being construed as a crowing over fallen foes would be inconsistent with our principles. *Debellare superbos, parcere subjectis* is our motto, and while always ready to fight vigorously and hit hard at those who attack us, our chief desire is to live in peace and amity with all men, whether they agree with us, or, have not as yet, come to grace.

So it resulted that elections at which over 2,500 delegates (over 1,900 of whom duly took their seats at the Congress) were elected, were carried through with a rapidity and noiselessness, that misled the few Anglo-Indian journalists, with whom the wish was father to the thought, into the idea (which they industriously disseminated and which we saw no object in contradicting, knowing well what time would bring forth), that the Congress movement was dying away. They did not reflect—do they ever seriously reflect on anything, these good people?—that a train when starting makes a good deal of noise and fuss, but runs along smoothly and noiselessly enough when steam has once been got up and the necessary momentum acquired !

In thousands of villages one or two elders were selected by the people and quietly sent off to meet similar representatives at some neighbouring fair or market, where these again selected two or three from amongst themselves, to attend a sub-divisional meeting, where sometimes delegates were elected but, more often, a few men were picked out to attend a larger and more public meeting. The consequence was that almost everywhere these meetings consisted not, as in past times they mostly did, of all the local inhabitants who could be got together, but to a large extent of people elected as their representatives by the people, or by the representatives of these. As a matter of fact, practically no opposition, worthy of the name, was anywhere experienced from the officials. Amongst the people themselves one or two individuals tried to persuade the Parsees, that they were going to hold aloof from the Congress, with the result that they attended in five times greater strength than they had ever previously done, in fact, in numbers quite disproportionate to the size of the very enlightened and wealthy, but still small community that they represented

A venerable Kazi, too, who doubtless in a past historical period did not seem to lag so conspicuously behind his co-religionists in education and intelligence, held a small meeting, of persons, who declared their determination (a wise one, considering what is now-a-days required of Delegates) of not attending the Congress-in reply to which the ablest and most learned Moulvi in Bombay, held a large meeting at which some 500 of the Mahomedans of light and leading in the place attended and elected some score or more of their co-religionists. It was noticed that, although the first meeting was trumpeted over the country and telegraphed immediately to England, the latter-which really had some little importance, though both of them were mere drops in the ocean-somehow escaped the attention of Anglo-Indian journalists !

(PAGES 1 to 3.)

LADIES ALSO ATTEND

It remains to say a few words as to the composition of this last Congress, so far as the positions, professions, and occupations of the delegates are concerned. And first we must notice that no less than ten lady delegates graced the assembly, one elected by men at a public meeting, the others by various ladies' associations, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Bengal Ladies' Association, and the Arya Mahila Samaj. They included European and Native Christians, a Parsee, an orthodox Hindu, and three Brahmo Samaj ladies. With one exception they were ladies who have for years done good work for India. It is sufficient to mention Pandita Ramabai's name which-as well as the good work she is so zealously carrying on is, we believe, as well known in Europe and America as in India.

(PAGE 8.)

NATIVE STATES AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(FROM P. D. VOLUME 212 OF 1889.)

Confidential.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT INDIA.

SIMLA :

7th November 1889.

"My dear Monteath,

I am told that efforts are being made to procure subscriptions towards the National Congress from some of the states in the

Bombay Presidency and that donations are expected from Cutch, Junagarh and Kathiawar, also that meetings in favour of the movement have been got up by Mr. Namjoshi, an agitator at Poona, in Sanghli and Miraj. It is also, I believe, the case that delegates from Sanghli and Kolhapur attended the Madras Congress in 1887.

The Government of India have signified, through political officers, to certain Chiefs under their direct control that it is not desirable for Native Chiefs to be connected in any way with political agitations amongst Her Majesty's subjects, outside their own territories. It is possible that similar suggestions have been made by the Government of Bombay, but in case no action has been taken in this direction, I am to suggest that if Lord Reay is satisfied that any of the chiefs in Bombay limits are really identifying themselves with Congress or Anti-Congress Movements some such warning should be addressed to them. It will not be difficult to make them understand that their position as rulers of separate States is very different from that of any Zamindar in British territory, and that there is something incongruous in a chief's mixing himself up in any way with political matters lying altogether outside the limits of his State.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) CUNNINGHAM."

James Monteath, Esqr.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S REPLY

Confidential.

" My dear Cunningham,

I have submitted your confidential demiofficial letter of the 7th instant to Lord Reay and am directed to reply as follows :—

With regard to the participation of Chiefs in political movements in British territory the views of His Excellency are identical with those expressed in your letter, and His Excellency has always discouraged the chiefs from spending money on philanthropic

or semi philanthropic schemes outside their own territories unless it benefits their own subjects directly or indirectly. Subscriptions from chiefs to the reception committee of the Congress are certainly undesirable. There is no doubt that neither the Rao of Cutch nor the Nawab of Junagadh has the slightest wish to identify themselves with the Congress movement, and if their Karbharies contribute, such a contribution must be considered as showing the individual sympathy of the Karbhari. If it is found that the Karbharies have used State funds for the purpose, a hint will be given that such use of State funds is considered *ultra vires* by the Government of India.

When the chiefs have contributed out of their own private funds the matter is much more delicate and will require very careful handling by the political officers, who will have to use great discretion in conveying to the chiefs the wishes of the Government of India. Several chiefs are reported to pay the Editors of Vernacular papers simply to avoid being abused by them and it is quite possible that the same motive may induce them to contribute to the Congress out of fear that mis-government may be exposed. It is of course, undesirable that money should be spent in this way, but interference with private expenditure is a very serious matter in cases where chiefs and political officers are not on intimate terms. The Greatest caution will have to be observed in carrying out these orders, which might easily lead to adverse comment in Parliament if not diplomatically enforced. With regard to meetings held in Native states on behalf of the Congress it is understood that the chiefs are not to be asked to interfere with them. It would be very difficult to invite Native Chiefs to impose limitations on public meetings which are allowed in British territory and it would probably be futile as it would only lead to private propaganda and result in a more numerous attendance of delegates from Native States. Mr. Namjoshi is a life member of the Deccan Education Society, a member of the Managing Committee of the Fergusson College in Poona, a member of the Poona Municipality, an ardent advocate of the Congress, but he can hardly be called an agitator in the sense of merely devoting his energy to destructive criticism. He is in many respects a very useful member of society and his desire to promote arts and manufacture is genuine and praiseworthy. It would certainly be impolite to single out Mr. Namjoshi as a man whom the Chiefs should exclude from their territories."

MR. HUME ON GOVERNMENT ORDERS REGARDING CONGRESS

(FROM "HINDOO PATRIOT" OF 26TH JANUARY 1891.)

Calcutta, 20th January 1891.

To the Editor of *Hindoo Patriot*,

"Sir,

I received many letters enquiring what has been the result of our late President, Mr. Pherozshah Metha's reference to His Excellency the Viceroy, on the subject of certain orders of Bengal Government to which the Congress took objection.

I am now in a position to publish His Excellency's final orders on this subject which I hereto annex. I am quite sure that all thinking men will feel deeply grateful to His Excellency for the kindly straightforward and liberal spirit in which he has dealt with the entire question of the attitude which it behoves the Government servants to assume in regard to the Congress, and all other political and *quasi* political movements working like the Congress, by open constitutional means. If now, officials throughout the country will only loyally abide by His Excellency's explicit instructions and knowing the service as I do I feel confident that great majority will do this—much of the bitterness that has hitherto characterised the struggle for reform will disappear, and it even seems possible within a few years, the time may arrive for another step, and the Government, instead of remaining neutral as now, may find itself in a position to co-operate heartily with both our liberal and conservative parties in their efforts for the common good.

Under any circumstances this candid and characteristically British declaration in favour of Freedom of opinion and actions in political matters in cases of all private persons (no less important in its way than Lord Metcalfe's in favour of freedom of the press) ought to go far to bridge the gulf which for years unhappily has been widening between the European official classes and the Indian public.

Surely, now that the Viceroy has, himself, formally decided that the Congress is a perfectly legitimate movement which every private person is free to join and that Government officials are debarred from putting any pressure, upon any one, to induce them to abstain from taking part in it, the best plan for both parties the officials and the native community would be to shape and make friends, and while tolerant of differences of opinion regarding the labours of the other party in the most charitable and sympathetic light, each on its own lines and according to its own opportunities, do its utmost to promote the welfare of India and her people.

Yours truly,

A. O. HUME.

General Secretary, I. N. C.

BENGAL GOVERNMENT CIRCULAR GOES BEYOND VICEROY'S ORDERS

(FROM 'HINDU PATRIOT' OF 26TH JANUARY 1891.)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

Calcutta, 19th January 1891.

Dear Sir,

With reference to the communications which have recently taken place, first, between Mr. Mehta and the Viceroy, and after Mr. Mehta's departure from Calcutta, between yourself and His Excellency, upon the subject of the letter received by the Secretary of the Reception Committee from the Private Secretary of the Lieut. Governor of Bengal, in reference to the attendance of Government servants at meetings of the Congress, I am authorised by His Excellency to say that Mr. Lyon's of December 26th in which it was stated that "the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings", and the circular in which that letter was communicated to the heads of the departments under the Bengal Government, were issued under a misapprehension as to the purport of the orders of the Government of India. It was at once recognised both by Government of Bengal, and by the Government of India

that the letter in question went beyond those orders, and an amended circular in which it was pointed out that the expression "absolute prohibition" had a reference only to the participation of Government officials in the proceedings of a political meeting, was subsequently issued by Bengal Government to the Heads of the Department. I enclose herewith a copy of the orders of Government of India.

These orders which arose out of a totally different matter has no special reference to the Congress movement, and were certainly not framed in a spirit of hostility to it. The publications of some of the supporters of the Congress have, in the opinion of Government of India, been open to serious questions, but apart from this, the movement is regarded as one of those which in the words of the circular are "perfectly legitimate in themselves, and which private persons are free to promote" but from the participation in which Government officials are, for the reasons specified in orders necessarily debarred.

The Government of India recognise that the Congress movement is regarded as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced Liberal party, as distinguished from the great body of conservative opinion, which exists side by side with it. They desire themselves to maintain an attitude of neutrality in their relations with both parties, so long as these act strictly within constitutional limits.

They intend that all Government servants shall preserve, a similar attitude of neutrality, and shall abstain from active participation in political or *quasi* political movements of all kinds, and also from putting pressure upon others to induce them to take part or not to take part, in any movement which is legitimate in itself. It was with the above objects that the orders of March 1890 were issued.

In reference to a specific question which you address to His Excellency, I am to say, that the orders apply only to those who are actually, at the time being, Government servants, but not to pensioners and others who have quitted the service of the Government for good.

Yours truly,

J. C. ARDAGH, Colonel,
Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

**CONTROVERSY REGARDING GOVERNMENT PLEADERS
ATTENDING NAGPUR CONGRESS, 1892**

(FROM J. D. VOLUME NO. 68 OF 1892.)

Copy of Government Resolution No. 1903, dated the 6th April, 1892 :—

Nagpur Congress.

Complaint by Mr. A. O. Hume
of the alleged prohibition by
Government of Bombay
against Government Pleaders
attending the —

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

No. 1903.

Bombay Castle, 6th April, 1892.

Read again the following documents :—

(1) "Government Resolution No. 1461, dated the 15th April, 1890, General Department.

"Letter from the Government of India, Home Department, Public, No. 11-680, dated 18th March 1890 :—

'I am directed to say that the Governor General in Council has had under consideration the attitude which should be maintained by officers in the service of Government towards political or quasi-political movements with which they may be brought in contact. Servants of Government have not the same liberty of action as private individuals, and are bound to hold themselves aloof from many movements which are perfectly legitimate in themselves and which private persons are free to promote. Their participation in such movements is open to objection, because their connection with them is likely to create, and even to be appealed to for the purpose of creating, a false impression in the minds of ignorant persons that such movements have the countenance of Government, and because their influence with the community at large is liable to be impaired by their identifying themselves with the class by which the movement is promoted.

2. For these reasons His Excellency in Council desires that the following rules may be observed by all Government servants :—

(a) As a general rule no officer of Government should attend at a political meeting where the fact of this presence is likely to be misconstrued or to impair his usefulness as an official.

(b) No officer of Government may take part in the proceedings of a political meeting, or in organizing or promoting a political meeting or agitation.

(c) If in any case an officer is in doubt whether any action which he proposes to take would contravene the terms of this order, the matter should be referred to the Head of the Department or District, and if necessary, to the Local Government or Administration.

RESOLUTION.—Copies of the letter from the Government of India should be forwarded to all Departments of the Secretariat and all Heads of Offices under those Departments for information and guidance.”

“GOVERNMENT PLEADERS SHOULD BE WARNED”

“Government Resolution No. 918-27-Confl., dated the 10th March, 1891, General Department.”

“Memorandum from the Judicial Department of the Secretariat, No. 5672, dated 16th October, 1890—Transferring the following letter from the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, No. 1346, dated 4th September, 1890 :—

‘Government Resolution No. 1461 of 15th April, 1890, General Department, having been forwarded by me to all the Government Pleaders and Subordinate Government Pleaders in the Presidency for their information and guidance the pleaders noted in the

Subordinate Government Pleader, Sarsi, Subordinate Government Pleader, Vengurla, Subordinate Government Pleader, Sangamner, Subordinate Government Pleader, Jalgaon, Assistant Public Prosecutor of Karachi.
--

margin have asked whether the order which it contains apply to them. They rely upon the

circumstance that they do not receive any fixed salary from Government, being paid by fees only for the services which they actually and, most of them, not very frequently have occasion to render.

2. 'It is open to question whether such gentlemen are, strictly speaking, officers of Government ; but I think it is very desirable that every body who accepts public duties and remuneration for their discharge from Government should be subject to the very reasonable restrictions which the above resolution imposes, and I would beg to suggest that it be ruled by the Government that that resolution should be held to apply to all Government Pleaders, and Public Prosecutors, and their Assistants, and to all subordinate Government Pleaders in this Presidency.'

"Letter to the Government of India No. 4276, dated 24th October, 1890."

"Memorandum from the Judicial Department of the Secretariat No. 1077, dated 18th February, 1891—Transferring the following letter from the Government of India, Home Department, Public, No. 5 Public-205, dated 6th February, 1891 :—

'A question having arisen whether the orders contained in Home Department Circular letter No. 11-676-88, dated the 18th March, 1890, prohibiting Government servants from participating in political movements, should be held to be binding upon Government Pleaders, I am directed to say that the Governor General in Council considers it undesirable that Government Pleaders should be treated with the same strictness, in regard to attendance at political meetings or participation in political movements, as persons who are wholly in the service of Government.'

'While, however, His Excellency in Council would, in ordinary cases, leave Government Pleaders free to follow their own inclinations in any matter of political interest, it should be recognized that the adoption of an attitude which brings a Government Pleader into notoriety as a partisan may interfere with the proper performance of his duties to the Government ; and His Excellency in Council therefore considers that any Government Pleader who takes up an attitude on a political question either inconsistent with the proper performance of his duties as a public servant, or which is liable to be misconstrued, should be warned that he must either alter it or accept the alternative of having to give up his appointment.'

RESOLUTION.—Copies of the letter from the Government of India should be forwarded to the Judicial Department of the Secretariat and the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs for information and guidance, in continuation of Government Resolution No. 1461, dated 15th April 1890.”

A. O. HUME ON GOVERNMENT'S CONFIDENTIAL CIRCULAR

“Letter from A. O. Hume, Esq., to the Editor of *Bombay Gazette*, dated Nagpur, the 17th December 1891 :—

‘I am informed that the Government of Bombay or some authority subordinate to that Government, in that Government's name, has issued a confidential circular to all Government Pleaders prohibiting them from attending the Nagpur Congress.

‘I can scarcely credit this information, but I wish to say that, if correct, orders thus issued are *ultra vires*, and in direct contravention of the explicit orders of the Government of India.

‘Lord Lansdowne has distinctly laid down that it is only persons actually in the Government service at the time, who can be required to abstain from attending the Congress as delegates.

‘Now Government Pleaders are not in Government service. They are independent professional men, who in consideration of receiving a permanent retaining fee, paid monthly, undertake all Government business as they do that of other clients.

‘Any Government or authority, therefore, who endeavours by circulars, confidential or otherwise to prevent Government Pleaders from attending the Congress as delegates, is acting in direct contravention of the Viceroy's own published instructions in which he says that the Government of India intend that all Government servants *shall* abstain from putting pressure upon any one in order to induce them not to take part in the Congress.

‘Clearly, therefore, Government Pleaders are at perfect liberty to attend the Congress, and any attempt made by any official high or low, to prevent their doing so, is made in direct disobedience to the Viceroy's orders, to whose notice as well as to that of the British press and Parliament it will, if persisted in, undoubtedly be brought.’”

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S RESOLUTION

"Government Resolution No. 63, dated the 6th January 1892, Judicial Department.

"Letter from the District Judge of Thana, No. 2355, dated the 29th December 1891—Enquiries whether any circular has been issued forbidding Government Pleaders to attend the National Congress. States that he is led to make the enquiry by Mr. A. O. Hume's statement that such a Circular has been issued in a letter, dated the 17th December 1891, which appeared in the *Bombay Gazette* of the 21st idem.

"RESOLUTION.—The District Judge of Thana should be informed that the information supplied to Mr. Hume is devoid of foundation and untrue."

RESOLUTION.—With reference to the recent correspondence between Mr. A. O. Hume and the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor published by the former it should be pointed out to the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, and through him to the several Government Pleaders, that this Government has not at any time circulated any order prohibiting the attendance of Government Pleaders as delegates at the Nagpur Congress. In September 1890 the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs wrote to Government suggesting that Government Pleaders should be held subject to an order of the Government of India by which Government servants were prohibited from participating in political movements. This Government, not accepting the suggestion of the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs made a reference to the Government of India as on a question affecting other Provinces as well as the Presidency of Bombay. The Government of India rejected the proposal of the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs; and at the same time expressed its disapproval of a Government Pleader taking up a position which would bring him "into notoriety as a partisan". This Government sent the ruling of the Government of India, as it was bound to do, for information and guidance to the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs. It was prefaced by his own letter in order that the exact effect of the Government of India's decision might be known. Both letters were given in full. This Government added no comment or direction of its own; nor, did the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs add any in communicating the order of the Government of India to the Government Pleaders.

2. His Excellency in Council has thought it desirable to republish the previous orders of Government so that Government pleaders may not be misled as to the purport of the orders of the Government of India.

(Sd.),

Secretary to Government.

“GOVERNOR LORD HARRIS WOULD SEE HUME
BLOW'D FIRST”

It is in connection with Mr. A. O. Hume's letter dated Nagpur January 13, 1892 addressed to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay (page 87 of the file) and his letter to the Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*.

WHO TOLD THE TARADIDDLE?

(To the Editor of the “Bombay Gazette”.)

Sir,

Some little time ago I wrote to the *Bombay Gazette*, stating that I had been informed that the Bombay Government or some subordinate authority in their name, had, by means of a confidential circular, been prohibiting Government Pleaders and Prosecutors from attending the Congress as delegates. The Bombay Government promptly replied by a Resolution setting forth that the information furnished to me was *untrue and entirely devoid of foundation*. In the meantime further information had reached me, and I wrote to Lord Harris, saying that I was sure he would be sorry to learn, that it was not the information supplied to me, but the resolution published in his name which was *untrue*.

He declined, but very courteously, to plead guilty to the impeachment, and challenged me to send him a copy of the circular.

With some difficulty I obtained a copy and then, on that, wrote, again, pointing out that the circular entirely substantiated the information supplied to me, and, as Lord Harris is a young man, and perhaps, not *over-wise* I suggested to him, in a kindly and fatherly spirit, that he should cancel his erring Resolution.

He replied in effect, though very politely, that he would see me blow'd first.

I said, all right, then I shall go and tell the Viceroy, which I did privately, but he naturally did not see his way to interfere.

Now, I have shown this correspondence to many persons, Indians and Europeans, officials and non-officials; and all concur with me in deprecating that "not guilty" Resolution of the Government of Bombay and even the verdict most friendly to this latter ran: "the Resolution, to say the least, is most disingenuous and, whether so intended, or not, is eminently calculated to mislead." In this verdict I concur, and as it would be unjust to allow my informants to continue any longer under the unmeritted aspersion of the Bombay Government, I now enclose the whole correspondence (which please publish along with this), and I will leave the public to judge, whether it has been my informants, or the Bombay authorities, who have told a taradiddle.—Yours, etc.,

A. O. HUME.

HUME HAS SCORED BY HIS TACTICS

(Extract from Minutes by members of the Governor's Council, in connection with Hume's correspondence regarding alleged banning by Government of Government Pleaders attending meetings of the Indian National Congress.).

(FROM J. D. VOL. 68 OF 1892, PAGES 103-119.)

"It seems to me clear that Mr. Hume has scored by his tactics in getting the personal staff of His Excellency the Viceroy to intervene with correspondence on a subject, about which they were not fully informed and had not time to obtain the requisite information, although correspondence on official subjects outside the Secretariat is I think, apt to lead to oversights and even error, yet we can hardly improve on Mr. Edgarly's statement of the case as given on February 1 of 1892. But any statement of the facts must throw over Col. Ardagh's statement as to the nature of our G. R. and the public will not be slow to suspect when the correspondence as to doubt our line of argument in this G. R. 1461, General Department dated 15th April 1890, circulated in extenso the orders of the Government of India, Remembrancer of Legal Affairs represented that certain pleaders wished for a ruling and expressed his

own opinion. The matter was referred to the Government of India who recorded their opinion. The opinion was then printed in full with Legal Remembrancer's opinion and case submitted and thereon Government resolved in G. R. 918/27 Confidential, dated 10th March, 1891 that the letter of the Government of India to be forwarded to the J. P. D. the Legal Remembrancer himself for guidance. The Legal Remembrancer's opinion served to explain and bring out in sharper contrast the decision of Government of India.

The resolution was conclusive that the order of Government of India, in sharp contrast to the views of the Legal Remembrancer placed alongside of them, were the orders to guide the Judicial Department and the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs. The reproduction of the Legal Remembrancer's opinion rendered any mistake impossible. The shade and light were placed alongside. The doubts of the pleaders and the views of the Remembrancer were set forth on the same sheet with the decision of the supreme Government; and then followed the brief unmistakable order of Government that the letter of Government of India was to guide the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs.

When then Mr. Hume wrote on December 17 that Government or its agent has issued a confidential circular to all Government Pleaders prohibiting them from attending the Nagpur Congress he was rightly informed that the information was devoid of foundation and untruth.

First because the circular issued by Government merely forwarded for the guidance of the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs and the J. D. The Government of India letter No. 5 public-205, dated 6th February 1891.

Second because his letter distinctly conveyed the impression that a special edict against the Nagpur Congress had issued and nothing had issued with special reference to the event specially mentioned by Mr. Hume.

The proper course is to reprint the two circulars with Mr. Hume's letter and to repeat the Resolution 63, dated 8th January, 1892 but we cannot give publicity to Government of India's letter marked confidential as it is without their express permission. Nor does it seem expedient to correct publicity a mistake of fact in Col. Ardagh's letter dated March 11, 1892, without prior reference to the Viceroy. Mr. Hume is safe on board ship and we might wait till His Excellency

the Viceroy arrives. As to form we can easily issue a Government Resolution without impulse or apparent impulse for any subordinate of Government.

BOMBAY GAZETTE ON THE CONTROVERSY

(EXTRACT FROM THE "BOMBAY GAZETTE" DATED THE 21ST MARCH 1892.)

We published on Saturday a letter from Mr. A. O. Hume enclosing the correspondence between himself and the Government of Bombay in regard to his allegation that a confidential circular had been issued prohibiting all Government Pleaders from attending the Nagpur Congress. When that statement appeared in our columns, the Bombay Government issued a Resolution setting forth that the information furnished to Mr. Hume was "devoid of foundation and untrue". Mr. Hume candidly owned that he had not himself seen the confidential circular. It is a very perilous course for any one to base a charge on the supposed contents of a document which he had not himself perused. It is especially astonishing that Mr. Hume, with his striking experience in such matters, should commit himself to a charge upon so uncertain a foundation. He had before this been led in entire good faith to make serious aspersions against others upon documents of which he has heard at second-hand; and when challenged to produce them he found to his dismay that there was nothing to justify his allegations. Such an example ought to be shunned, but unhappily it is one that is only too likely to be followed. There is an instance in point in a paper published in Allahabad on Saturday, which sets forth in large type that it has heard that the private and confidential letter from Mr. Hume addressed to the Standing Congress Committee is of so "incendiary" a character, so peculiarly offensive and outrageous, that the authorities "will certainly fail in their duty if they do not arrest the writer for sedition." There is plenty of time for the adoption of this course, says this heated partisan, who has not seen the document on which he founds the recommendation, for Mr. Hume does not sail from Bombay till next week. The paragraphist goes so far as to state that in this letter, of which he has heard, "the English are held up to execration, and it is affirmed that the time will come when their throats will be cut like sheep". We do not suppose for a moment that Mr. Hume gave utterance to any sentiment so foolish and ferocious. Yet these words are ascribed to him by a political opponent, who thinks he has discharged the whole

duty of a publicist in stating that he has heard that they form part of a letter which he has not seen. This is precisely what Mr. Hume permitted himself to do in respect of the confidential circular of the Bombay Government. The necessity of verification did not occur to him, even when the Government Resolution challenged the allegation, and affirmed that it was untrue. He deemed it sufficient to enclose to Mr. Edgerley an editorial of a paper published in the Punjab contradicting the Government Resolution, and stating that the editor had himself seen and read the confidential circular. On this unsubstantial basis he maintained that his assertion was substantially correct, and affirmed that facts material to a correct judgment have been withheld from the knowledge of his Excellency. The Private Secretary asked for a copy of the circular said to have been issued, in order that its authenticity might be tested, and stated that his Excellency declined to accept an imputation on officers of high position, that they had withheld material facts from his knowledge. It was only then that Mr. Hume deemed it necessary to endeavour to obtain a copy of the document on which he founded two several allegations. Some one sent him anonymously a copy of "Rules regarding the attitude to be maintained by Government pleaders towards political and quasi-political movements." The document began by reciting a letter from the Legal Remembrancer Mr. Naylor, stating that he had sent copies of the orders of the Government of India of the previous year, prohibiting Government servants from taking part in political movements, to the Government pleaders in the Presidency for their guidance. Certain of the pleaders doubted the applicability of these orders to them, on the ground that they were not Government servants. Mr. Naylor considering that this objection might be correct, the question was referred for instructions to the Government of India which decided that the orders applied to Government servants only. The circular is not given to the public with the correspondence, Mr. Hume being doubtful whether he could legally reprint it under the Officials' Secrets Act. He tells us that the Government of India, to soften their refusal to apply the prohibition to gentlemen who are not Government servants went on to say "that a Government pleader who takes up an attitude on a political question which is liable to misconstruction, must either abandon it or accept dismissal from his office." Without perusing the document, we cannot say whether these words are textually used by the Government of India. If they are we can only express surprise that a Government pleader or any one else would be liable to dismissal from office because his attitude had been misconstrued. Then penalty surely should be visited on those who misconstrue—not on the victims of misconstruction. The Government of India would do well to publish the text of the ruling, and with it the correspondence which Mr. Hume has carried on with the

Government of India on the same subject matter. The rules, such as they are or such as he conceives them to be, were regarded by Mr. Hume as conclusive proof that his original allegation was true; and he, therefore, asked that Government should cancel the Resolution stating that it was untrue, and with engaging candour he advised his Excellency in Council not to defend a disingenuous resolution by verbal quibbles. From this view of the case his Excellency dissented. The charge which had been brought against the Bombay Government was that a confidential circular had been issued prohibiting all Government pleaders from attending the Nagpur Congress; no such circular had been issued; but the rules of the Government of India for the guidance of Government servants were sent to the concerned. The Bombay Government had not issued a confidential circular forbidding pleaders to attend the Nagpur Congress and then denied the fact. Had Mr. Hume taken the trouble to possess himself of a copy of the document actually issued, he would not have committed himself to an allegation which he could not make good. In matters of controversy Mark Twain's rule should always be borne in mind; make sure of your facts and then you can do with them what you please.

ALLAHABAD SESSION, 1892

(President : W. C. Banerji)

(FROM OFFICIAL REPORTS OF CONGRESS SESSIONS.)

[HUME'S CIRCULAR—A BOMBSHELL

Hume believed that 'The cup of misery of scores of millions of our masses was well nigh full' and that 'a terrible rising was at the door'. To meet the situation he wanted Indian leaders to awaken and organise popular opinion chiefly in England. It was for making an appeal to Indians that he had issued a confidential circular letter (18th February 1892) for the Congress members only. This proved like a bomb shell both in the Congress circles and also in the official world. Hume's stern warning to the Indians—it was meant for them—was clear. "Poverty which is the mother of anarchy was pressing heavier" and "the Government will not be able to protect you or itself". The circular had its echoes in the House of Commons, where Mr. Maclean shouted that "under a less mild rule than ours, he (Hume) would be hanged or shot as a traitor". (16th February 1892, debate in Parliament.) And Maclean's amendment was supported by more than one fourth number of members present in the House. The officials in India felt insulted by the language of the circular. It created panic amongst the Congress leaders. The Allahabad, Bombay and Madras Congress committees declined courteously, to circulate it on the ground that it would amount to sedition. The furious attacks made by Anglo-Indian Press against Hume added to the fear of the Congress leaders. It appears that Rao Bahadur Mudholkar of Amaraoti, W. C. Bonnerji and Barrister Eardly Norton, the latter two being Christians and leading lawyers in the country, stood by Hume. Tilak it appears, was the only stout supporter of Hume on this side. He strongly criticised the attitude of Bombay and Allahbad leaders for letting Hume alone who, as "God's man was fighting for our cause" (Kesari-May 5, 1892). Throughout the year the Kesari and the Maratha also, seem to be vigorously championing the cause. The British India Committee also with the signatures of Caine, Dadabhai and others had disowned the circular. Thus Hume was being mercilessly attacked by Anglo-Indian Press and officials on one side and on the other hand was not getting due support from Indian leaders. But he stood to his guns. In his firm and persuasive manner he continued to persuade his Congress friends. The Congress leaders after a short time circulated Hume's letters to their members. In spite of Maclean's warnings in the Parliament Indian Government took no action against Hume's publications. D. E. Watcha

himself after about eight months published some articles and also a pamphlet giving facts and figures to vindicate Hume's assertions about the explosive nature of Indian conditions. It can be inferred from Tilak's statements (*Kesari*, December 1892) that Justice Ranade also had made some remarks of the same nature when he read a paper in the Deccan College. This might have helped to persuade the Indian leaders to support Hume. Thus Hume was vindicated. But he did not get the response that he desired from most of the leaders. This fact is testified to by contemporary articles in *Kesari* and *Sudharak* which were at that time being edited by Tilak and Agarkar respectively. (*Adhunik Bharat*—by Acharya Javadekar, page 152, 153.)]

FROM THE ADDRESS OF PANDIT VISHWAMBHARNATH,
CHAIRMAN OF RECEPTION COMMITTEE

(FROM OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CONGRESS SESSION.)

"I may, now, as well proceed to observe that our present Session is the calm eighth in contrast to the stormy fourth. In 1888 the opposition shown on the part of the local authorities, lamentably countenanced by the narrow policy of our late Pro-Consul, had naturally roused our enthusiasm to such a pitch that it not only overpowered and crushed down opposition, but frustrated all selfish designs to set one class against another. Happily, however, though there is now a lull in that respect, the movement has acquired a lasting permanency, which it is impossible to shake or disturb.

(PAGE 8, PARA. 2)

"Permit me to say a word as to the necessity or otherwise of holding these annual sessions of the Congress. Some of our critics say that it is a sheer waste of money spent upon, what they are pleased to call, "talking Camps" and that the enormous amount wasted already might have been profitably used otherwise, with far better and more practical results. I regret I am unable to share this view. We must go on, and go on vigorously, and not cease to agitate until we reach the goal of our ambition.

(PARA. 4.)

FROM THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

"Year after year we have met, each meeting vying with its predecessor in the number of delegates attending it, the sacrifices which the delegates made to attend it, in the energy, zeal and determination with which the business was passed through, and the

moderation which throughout characterised the proceedings before the Congress. There can be no doubt-say what those who do not view our proceedings with friendly eyes, may-that the Congress movement has been a success and a conspicuous success. The persons to whom I have referred have been troubling their brains from almost the very commencement of the movement, to find out how it is that this movement, which they are pleased to call only a "native" movement, has been such a success. And they have hit upon one of the causes, which they have, iterated and reiterated, in season and out of season, as the cause of the success of the Congress; namely, the influence over us of that great man Allan Octavian Hume. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) That Mr. Hume possesses, and has exercised, a vast amount of influence over the Congress movement, and over each single Congress which has met, is a fact. We are not only not ashamed to acknowledge it, but we acknowledge it with gratitude to that gentleman, and we are proud of his connection with the Congress. (Cheers.) But the movement is only to some extent, and I may say, only to a limited extent due to the influence which Mr. Hume has exercised over us. It is not the influence of this man, or of that man, or of any third man that has made the Congress what it is. It is the British Professors who have discoursed eloquently to us on the glorious constitution of their country.

(PAGE 11.)

"Some of our critics have been busy in telling us, thinking they knew our affairs better than we know them ourselves, that we ought not to meddle with political matters, but leaving politics aside devote ourselves to social subjects and so improve the social system of our country. I am one of those who have very little faith in the public discussion of social matters; those are things which, I think, ought to be left to the individuals of a community who belong to the same social organisation, to do what they can for its improvement. We know how excited people become when social subjects are discussed in public. Not long ago we had an instance of this when what was called the Age of Consent Bill was introduced into the Viceregal Legislative Council. I do not propose to say one word as to the merits of the controversy that arose over these social matters if they are discussed in a hostile and unfriendly spirit in public. But to show to you that those who organised the Congress movement, had not lost sight of the question of social reform, I may state that when we met in Bombay for the first time, the matter was discussed threadbare, with the help of such distinguished social reformers as Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao

of Madras, Mr. Mahadeo Govind Ranade, and Mr. Krishnaji Lakshman Nulkar of Poona, Mr. Norendro Nath Sen, and Mr. Janakinath Ghosal of Calcutta, and others. The whole subject was considered from every point of view, and we at last came to the conclusion, with the full consent and concurrence of those distinguished men, that it would not do for the Congress to meddle itself, as a Congress, with questions of social reform. At the same time we also came to the conclusion, that those gentlemen who were anxious, in a friendly spirit, to discuss their own social organisations should have an opportunity of doing so in the Congress Hall, after the business of the Congress should be over. The principal reason which actuated us in coming to that conclusion was that at our gatherings there would attend delegates following different religions, living under different social systems, all more or less interwoven with their respective religions, and we felt it would not be possible for them as a body to discuss social matters.

(PARA. 2.)

SUSPEND CONGRESS SESSION IN ENGLAND

The President—Gentlemen, in moving the next resolution (Resolution XV : Postponement of the English session until after the Congress of 1893) one word of explanation is necessary. We have heard from friends in England that Parliament would be so busy in the ensuing Session with domestic legislation, that the Congress would not then be able to get a hearing in England. Therefore it has been considered desirable to postpone the sitting of the Congress which it was proposed to hold in England in 1893, and I consequently move the following resolution :—

‘That, regard being had to the present political situation in England, the provisional arrangements set on foot, in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress, 1890, for holding—all things being convenient—a Congress of not less than hundred delegates in England, in 1892, be now suspended, until after the Session of the Congress in 1893.’

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

(PAGE 111.)

SENSATIONAL CRITICISM OF THE CONGRESS

(FROM “BOMBAY GAZETTE,” 29TH MARCH 1892.)

We publish below the letters of Mr. A. O. Hume and the President of the Allahabad Congress Committee marked “private and confidential” which the *Morning Post* of Allahabad has published in *extenso*.

6th Parke Street, Calcutta,

16th February, 1892.

To Every Member of the Congress Party.

Dear Sir,

I have had so many letters asking me whether any permanent memorial to late Pandit Ajudhianath is in contemplation, as also what I think about the matter, that it seems to me best to write a circular letter on the subject.

In my opinion, in the present state of the country, it is not desirable to attempt memorials to any one. We so grievously need money for the national cause that we should give to this every rupee we can spare, and not fritter away our resources in half-a dozen different channels.

No matter how deserving are individuals or institutions, these are of little moment compared to the national cause, upon the triumph of which depends the comfort, prosperity, nay the very lives of countless millions.

A very large number of you seem almost as behind as the Government. You do not, especially the rich and well to do, realize that the existing system of administration is not only ill-adapted to the wants of the country, is not only pauperizing the people—you all know and heartily deplore these facts—but is inevitably preparing the way for one of the most terrible cataclysms in the history of the world.

The people are very patient, very mild and humble, but so were the people of France, only twenty years, nay only ten years before they rose and murdered their Sovereign and practically, the bulk of the better classes; they are very ignorant, and absolutely devoid of definite aims and leaders, but so were the masses in France. It was Hunger and Misery, those great leaders and teachers that changed at last, apparently in a day (though the change had been going on unseen for years) that crowd of sheep into an army of wolves.

All history shows that, however, peaceful a population, a time comes when starvation, injustice and despair instil into them a new nature and drive them into violence and crime.

Those of you who have gone deep into the roots of the question know that the cup of misery of scores of millions of our masses is well nigh full, and that day by day, poverty, the mother of Anarchy, is pressing with a heavier and heavier hand upon an ever-growing portion of our population.

As surely as night follows day, must a terrible rising evolve, sooner or later out of this state of affairs unless we can remedy existing evils and redress the more prominent of our paupers' grievances.

Do not be buoyed up with false hopes. Providence in its mercy may delay the catastrophe, but come it must and come it will, and it may be sooner and not later.

Do not fancy that the Government will be able to protect you or itself. No earthly power can stem an universal agrarian rising in a country like this. My countrymen will be as men in the desert, vainly struggling for a brief space, against the simooms. There will be no foe to meet in the field, but rail and road will become impossible, bridges will be wrecked, telegraphs cease to exist, supplies be arrested, thousands of rioters may be killed, but to what avail, when there are millions on millions who have nothing to look forward to, but death—nothing to hope for but vengeance; as for leaders—with the hour comes the man—be sure there will be no lack of leaders.

This is no hypothesis—it is a certainty. Recall what you know of the growing poverty and sullen discontent amongst the masses, and reflect for your selves, those amongst you who have read history to any purpose, what such a state of things ever has lead to and ever must culminate in.

Now we can only avert this general ruin by those radical reforms in the administration which the Congress has, after years of patient labour, by all the ablest and wisest Indians, declared to be essential. Even these alone will not suffice, but they will do much and they will substitute hope for despair in the hearts of the masses, and give us time to work out those other changes and reforms which are required for a peaceful solution of the terrible problem, that our Rulers' failure to realise the real position of affairs, has created.

But, here in India, we pray, we argue, we protest, to men who cannot, or will not hear, cannot or will not see. Our only hope lies in the awakening the British public to a sense of the wrong

of our people—to a consciousness of the unwisdom and injustice of the existing administration. The least that we could do would be to provide ample funds—for sending and keeping constantly in England deputations of our ablest speakers to plead their country's cause—to enable our British Committee to keep up an unbroken series of public meetings, whereat the true state of affairs in India might be expounded—to flood Great Britain with pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers and magazine articles—in a word, to carry on an agitation there, on the lines and scale of that in virtue of which the Anti-Corn Law League triumphed.

As a fact,, however, but a small sum, comparatively is provided—a *wholly inadequate sum*, and even that, though promised, is paid so tardily that thousands of letters, circulars and reminders are needed to get even this ineffectual contribution.

Now perhaps you will understand, why I say “For God's sake waste no money on memorials or any other minor enterprise; give every farthing you can spare to the general cause. It is not your patriotism I appeal to only, but to your dearest interests. Your homes, your little properties, your lives and those, it may be, even, of all dearest and nearest to you, are at stake. Cherish no false hopes. You are the creation of Great Britain—of British learning, history and literature, and with British Rule you stand or fall. On the peaceful continuance of that Rule depend all that is dear to you in this life, all your earthly hopes; but that peaceful continuance can only be ensured by securing those fundamental changes in the policy and practice of that administration that you have advocated in Congress. You all know this, you feel its truth in your hearts as strongly as I do and yet you twaddle on about memorials here and memorials there, and I can hardly spur you into paying even that miserably inadequate subsidy which you yearly ‘promise’ so cheerfully, to the national cause.

I know that there are a few of you who living on pittance of £100 to £300 a year, do contribute relatively to your means, most liberally but I marvel at the short-sighted avarice of so many of the rich who grudge what for them are truly paltry sums. Are they, too, like our Rulers, wholly blind to the signs of the times? Is it impossible for you to make them realize that it is they themselves and their beloved treasure that would be the first to fall victims to the cataclysm? That they are grudging a few hundreds or thousands to the only cause that can save their lakhs and crores? Or do they comfort themselves, as some of the most far-seeing of our Rulers do, with the hope that ‘it will last our time’? It

may in the case of some, but all probabilities are against its doing so in that of the majority. They and their precious riches, which they hug so miserly rest upon an almost limitless heap of loose dynamite which any trifle may explode-how, when or where no man can say. Such troubles ever come like a bolt out of the blue ; it is always the unexpected that occurs.

Our Government, here, after seven years of persistent efforts, I give up in despair, but is it quite impossible for you to open the eyes of *your own countrymen*, to make them realize the position and induce all to join heartily and liberally in a grand effort to save that Government to whom, in the past, India has owed so much, and in whose fortunes ours are indissolubly bound up, even without its help even against its will ?

Yours sincerely,

A. O. HUME.

ALLAHABAD CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE'S REPLY

6 PARK STREET, CALCUTTA,
8th March 1892.

To Every Member of the Congress Party.

Dear Sir,

In continuation of my letter of the 16th February I now forward for your information copies of certain letters that have passed between the chairman of the Allahabad Standing Congress Committee and myself. I think these letters raise questions which will interest you all. Moreover Pandit Bishambhar Nath is a gentleman second only to the late Pandit Ajoodhinath, in wisdom, experience and the respect in which he is held by all classes in the N. W. Provinces, and it is only right that you should be made acquainted with his view on this vital question.

Yours sincerely,

A. O. HUME.

“STOP THE CIRCULATION OF THE LETTER ”

No. 378,

ALLAHABAD, 23rd February 1892.

My dear Sir,

We have very carefully considered the contents of your printed circular letter, dated the 16th instant, copies of which were received here the day before yesterday, in the afternoon. With due deference to you I beg to submit, on behalf of myself and the Members of the Committee here, that the publication of that letter is, for various reasons, inexpedient and calculated to do great injury to the cause which you and we have so much at heart. You no doubt address that letter as an independent member of the Congress Party, and not as its General Secretary, but, considering the position you occupy, the letter in question will be held to be a manifesto of the whole party ; and, though you have taken very great care to leave no room for misconstruction or misrepresentation, still we feel positively certain that our opponents will misconstrue it and misrepresent us in a way that is likely to do us serious injury as a party.

In fact, we are not only afraid of being misrepresented by our opponents, but we also think that a considerable number of men in our ranks will feel nervous at the publication of the letter.

We fully understand that such a publication would be considered wholly harmless in England, where it can only be taken as an honest expression of the deep and earnest convictions of a person who possessing an intimate knowledge of the condition of the country, and burning with a desire to promote the welfare of both the rulers and the ruled, feels it his duty to awaken them to proper understanding of the situation. You know, however, how different India is from England, and with what hostility the expression of such opinions is treated here. I beg you, therefore to reconsider the matter, and to stop the circulation of the letter by wiring to all those committees and individuals to whom it may have been sent to return all the copies of it to you.

It is with great reluctance and regret that I address you this letter, but we feel that we would be wanting in our duty, not only to the country but also to you if we did not express our honest opinion of

the matter, especially when we consider it be so extremely serious
With best respects.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

BISHUMBER NATH PANDIT.

To

A. O. HUME, Esquire, C.B.,

6 Park Street, Calcutta.

BOMBAY STANDING COMMITTEE DECLINES
TO CIRCULATE THE LETTER

(FROM "BOMBAY GAZETTE", 1ST APRIL, 1892.)

Mr. Hume's letters,
Disclaimer.

To

THE EDITOR OF THE "BOMBAY GAZETTE".

Sir,

I suppose it would be altogether futile to attempt to discuss with you the real character of Mr. Hume's letter addressed to the members of the Congress which you have published. But I am surprised that you should charge him with cowardice; and a few facts will show how altogether unfounded is such a charge. Long before his departure he sent me copies of his letter for immediate circulation. I showed them to Mr. P. M. Mehta, who at once asked me to send an urgent telegram in his name begging Mr. Hume to withdraw them. We followed up the telegram with a letter. Mr. Hume, however, still pressed us to lay the matter before the Bombay standing Committee. I did so, and the Committee formally declined to circulate the letters. Were it not for this the letters would have been in circulation long before Mr. Hume's departure. I may mention that ultimately the letters were entirely withdrawn from circulation here.

Yours etc.,

D. E. WATCHA,

March 31, 1892.

MR. HUME'S LETTER REPUDIATED BY THE ENGLISH
CONGRESS PARTY

(FROM "BOMBAY GAZETTE", 23RD APRIL 1892.)

The *Hindu* publishes the following letter and the resolution of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress sent to the English Press, repudiating the circular letter of Mr. A. O. Hume :—

April 1st, 1892.

Queen Victoria Street, E. C.

To

THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES".

Sir,

We beg to enclose the copy of a resolution passed to-day at the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, with regards to the most injudicious circular letter recently issued by Mr. Allan O. Hume, C. B. to the members of the Congress party in India. This letter appears to have been repudiated already by the standing Committee at Allahabad and no doubt, other Standing Committees have taken or will take the same course.

There are statements in Mr. Hume's letter bearing on the great poverty and misery of the agricultural population of India with which we entirely agree, but it is impossible for us to do other than to repudiate the prophecies to which Mr. Hume appears driven in face of the consideration of the deplorable condition of large portions of the Indian people.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) W. S. CAINE.

DADABHAI NAOROJEE,
CHARLES E. SCHWANN.

(Signed) JOHN ADAM (Vice-President),
Madras Congress Committee.

(Resolution referred to)

"This Committee having before it the full text of a circular letter, issued by Mr. Allan O. Hume, C. B. to every member of the Congress

party, dated Calcutta, February 16th, the substance of which was cabled by the Times correspondent, yesterday, to express their deep regret that such a letter should have been circulated, and their entire repudiation of the wild language and the unjustifiable conclusions drawn by Mr. Hume."

HUME'S CIRCULAR NOT SEDITIOUS

(FROM "BOMBAY GAZETTE", 28TH APRIL 1892).

Lecture on the Indian National Congress.

BY

Mr. EARDLY NORTON.

.....It would not be right for him to conclude without saying a word or two about Mr. Hume's last circular (Loud Applause). It has been said that the Madras Committee was to be congratulated that it has made no sign about the circular and therefore condemned it absolutely. He heard a lot talked about loyalty, but he would tell them that it was only loyalty that compelled him to say one or two words about the matter. To his mind there was absolutely no reason for any apology of exculpation for the publication of the circular. He should like them to know the views of the Madras Committee on the point. He had read the circular over and over again, up and down and inside out and he should not for the life of him find one single trace in the manifesto which justified the most caustic critic in saying that Mr. Hume acted with any hostility towards the Government of India (Loud Applause). On the contrary Mr. Hume's manifesto was based on the fact that they were what they were, and because England had given them all they had got. It was because he believed that education was panacea for all ills that he had come forward as he had done. As for his literary style he said nothing. He was not there to apologise for that. He looked to the substance of the letter, and that breathed nothing but a simple strain of the purest loyalty to the Queen (Applause). Whether his facts were absolutely true he did not know but he for one would be cautious before he ventured to cross swords with Mr. Hume, for he was a man than whom no English man had a better knowledge of the native aspirations and the causes from which they sprang. When Mr. Hume said there was grave discontent abroad he would

not be prepared to say Mr. Hume was not speaking the truth. How, the speaker asked, could they progress if there was no discontent? If they sat down with their hands folded across their breasts and simply muttered "kismet", how did they expect to raise themselves beyond the level of the mere dumb brute of creation? Discontent there must be, and he trusted in the interests of good Government that the discontent would increase. He trusted Mr. Hume's manifesto would be received by all and he was prepared to say whether it was of the character or not of that described by Mr. Hume—that there was great discontent in Madras in the whole of the presidency. He trusted the natives of Madras would remain discontented until they had got what they justly required. In conclusion, he said he did not profess to be a prophet, but he did foresee that in a very short time if only they would be preserving and loyal—he did not say they would get all they have been working for during the past seven years, for that would only come in the greater fulfillment of a greater time—they would get much of what they asked for, he trusted, before he died. (Loud applause).

HE DESERVES TO BE HANGED OR SHOT

(FROM "BOMBAY GAZETTE", APRIL 27TH, 1892).

London, April 26.

In the House of Commons last night, the India Council Bill was taken in Committee.

A series of amendments was brought forward by Sir W. Plowden, Mr. MacNeil and Mr. Schwam, all in favour of embodying in the Bill the elective principle, but they were either withdrawn or rejected.

Mr. Curyon affirmed that a representative government was impossible in India. The idea was congenial to some classes but absolutely repugnant to others.

In reply to Mr. MacNeil, Mr. Maclean declared that the Government had already clearly expressed without the consent of Parliament. He said it was a mistake to suppose that no public opinion existed in India as there was a free Press which largely criticised the proposals of the Government. Mr. Curyon, he said, had virtually admitted that the intention of the Government was to introduce the elective principle and he (Mr. Maclean) was convinced that if the principle was applied Great Britain must prepare to abandon India.

Referring to Mr. Hume, Mr. Maclean said he deserved to be hanged or shot as a traitor. The debate later continues.

Mr. Maclean's Amendment to the Indian Council Bill has been rejected by a majority of ninety-one against twenty-four votes.

Mr. Curyon opposed the amendment which he said would create friction and that it aimed at a danger which was unlikely to occur.

The debate has been adjourned.

Mr. Maclean's speech with reference to Mr. Hume is reported as follows :—

Mr. Maclean moved an amendment to the effect that no regulation should be put in force under the Act until it had received the sanction of both Houses of Parliament. It was a mistake to suppose that there were no means of ascertaining the public feeling of the inhabitants of India. They had a free platform and a free Press, while the Government took the greatest pains to ascertain that opinion before any changes were made in the law of the land. Under the Bill as it stood any Viceroy might after consultation with his colleagues at home, leave this country for India with a readymade constitution in his Gladstone bag. That was taking the whole control out of the hands of the Imperial Government. Indeed the clause contained potentialities of mischief beyond the dreams of the present generations of agitators. It would be possible under it to recognise as a legislature the Indian National Congress, which it was true, broke up with cheers for the Queen, but which was in reality a seditious gathering. (Cries of "No, No" from the opposition benches). He had expected that denial and he had with him extracts of a letter by Mr. Hume, the Secretary of the Congress, a pensioner of the Government, who under a less mild rule than ours would be hanged or shot as a traitor. What did Mr. Hume say? "Do not fancy that the Government will be able to protect you. No earthly power can protect you from an agrarian rising in a country like this. There will be no fear of it. Passage by road and rail will become impossible. Bridges will be wrecked, telegraphs will be at an end. A great many of them do not understand what a house of cards this Administration of India is. An Administration which shrivelled up like parchment flung into the fire in less than a month in consequence of the mutiny of 40,000 soldiers". This was the letter which was circulated, after a slight protest, by the Allahabad Committee. If Hon. members opposite disapproved of such

language and believed that it was contrary to the feelings of those who worked the Congress, why did they not call a meeting of Indians in London to denounce Mr. Hume and his doctrines, just as they held a meeting to denounce his (Mr. Macleans) language in the house? He should protest to the last against this irrevocable fatal step, which was leading to the ultimate overthrow of British authority in India.

MR. HUME'S REPLY TO MACLEAN

(FROM "BOMBAY GAZETTE", 17TH MAY, 1892.)

The Times of the 29th ultimo publishes the following letter from Mr. A. O. Hume :—

From the report in the *Times* of yesterday I see that Mr. J. M. Maclean in the debate on the Indian Councils Bill quoted the extracts from a letter which I addressed to my political friends in India, and founded on these extracts a personal attack upon me, charging me with inciting the members of the Congress to rise against the Government and stating his opinion that under any less mild rule I should have been hanged or shot as a traitor. My letter was one of warning and entreaty; and I am much obliged to Mr. Maclean for having given it such wide publicity, for the facts and the danger to which I draw attention are of equal moment to the British and to the Indian people. On the other hand, I have reason to complain that Mr. Maclean has made a personal attack upon me in a place where I am unable to reply to him and also that he has selected extracts which read apart from the context give an entirely wrong impression of the substance and object of my letter. Under these circumstances I trust you will be so good as to allow me space to your columns to set forth the true facts of the case.

The fact is that so far from inciting any one to rise against the Government, the whole purpose and object of my letter was to stir up the Congress party or in other words the constitutional party, to strenuous exertions in order to secure those ameliorations in the conditions of the masses in India that can alone avert the catastrophe with which the growing poverty, misery and discontent of the people threaten us, to make clear to them that their interests are indissolubly interlocked with ours and to induce them to treat the Government with greater confidence and not hide from their rulers the facts of which they are thoroughly cognizant.

I say "It is not your patriotism I appeal to only, but to your dearest interests. Your homes, your little properties, your lives and those, it may even be, of all dearest and nearest to you are at stake. Cherish no false hopes. You are the creation of Great Britain—of British learning, history and literature and with British rule you stand or fall. On the peaceful continuance of that rule depend all that is dear to you in this life, all your earthly hopes; but that peaceful continuance can only be insured by securing those fundamental changes in the policy and practice of the administration that you have advocated in Congress. Again, in my second letter, referring to the hundreds of letters to me which my first circular elicited I say, "It would seem that educated Indians throughout the country accept as facts the most wide spread poverty, misery, semi-starvation and discontent and yet, for the most part, they sit silent and passive, making no real effort to avert the inevitable consequences of such a lamentable state of affairs, I call upon each and all as honest men and loyal citizens to do their duty by themselves, their country and their Government by firmly openly and persistently pressing on the notice of all Europeans, official and non-official, with whom they are brought in contact, or whose ears they can in any way reach, a correct view of the present state of the country". It is for the public to judge whether these exhortations are in their nature an indictment to rebel, and whether they are not in truth, an appeal to the educated to act the part of good citizens and to labour earnestly in order to strengthen the real foundations of British rule.

I have been through the Indian Mutiny and know what it was. I have seen one period of anarchy in India and I do not want to see another. I have lived 43 years in India. I have served in the Administration from the lowest to all but the highest grade, and since my retirement have moved amongst the Indians in every province of the Empire, for some 11 years in a way that no other European living has done. I affirm, and the people of India will ratify my assertion that there is no man, European or Indian at this present day who possesses such an intimate knowledge of what is going on below the surface among the masses in India as I do. I have a right to be heard, and when I warn the people of India, and of England, of the impending danger, it is futile to meet my assertion by personal charges that are manifestly absurd. What does Mr. John Bright say as to the wisdom and consequences of living in a fool's paradise? This is what he says: "It may be said, 'Let us leave the great Indian problem to solve itself' well, leave it and it will solve itself, I do not doubt, in some terrible disaster to India, and some sore and lasting disgrace to England.

It is the great question which is coming up—it cannot be denied—step by step it draws nearer.” The crisis has now drawn nearer than when Mr. Bright spoke. The way to hasten it is by a policy of contemptuous refusal to listen to the reasonable and temperately expressed prayers of the Indian people.

LAHORE SESSIONS, 1893

(President : Dadabhai Naoroji.)

(FROM OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE CONGRESS SESSIONS.)

(RESOLUTION XXII—RE-APPOINTMENT OF MR. A. O. HUME AS GENERAL SECRETARY.)

The President : In the absence of our esteemed friend the Hon'ble Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee who almost always moves the resolution which is to follow, it will be moved by our esteemed and indefatigable Secretary Mr. J. Ghosal.

Mr. J. Ghosal (Calcutta, No. 5, in list) who on rising was received with loud applause said :

"It will suffice if the resolution is only read out to you. Unfortunately, however, this year there is a little difference in the circumstances connected with the matter which I am about to submit to you. The resolution is for the re-appointment of our revered General Secretary, Mr. A. O. Hume, and that little difference that I mentioned is this : Mr. Hume is unwilling to accept the office this year, not that he is unwilling to work for the Congress, or for us as he has hitherto done ; you may rest assured that he will work for us as hard as possible till he takes his last breath in this world. He is unwilling because he thinks that his failing health will not permit him to work as much as would be necessary to do justice to the office and also because he does not expect to be able to spend even a portion of the ensuing year in this country. But I can assure you, gentlemen, that there is no reason to apprehend that our work will suffer in his hands on account of his ill-health. It has been my privilege and good fortune to know him very intimately, perhaps more intimately than any one present in this hall. I worked with him before the National Congress came into existence and excepting at the last Congress when he was absent from India, I worked under him at every Congress from the very first, living together and working together for weeks, both before and after each Congress sitting and I have never seen him shirk or neglect any work nor to allow a single day's delay in doing what, though important, could, without any harm, be delayed for days and that even when suffering from fever or such other complaint. (Hear, hear), On one occasion at the time of a Congress Session, I saw him work day after day till past midnight, when he had been getting attacks of fever every evening, in order to keep everything ready for the day following.

He is an indefatigable worker and loves work, particularly work for the good of our country. Whether in good or bad health, or whether residing in or out of India, I have no doubt that he will do more work for us than any other secretary we could appoint in his stead (Applause).

Allow me gentlemen to ask you one question ; can you conceive the idea of our revered leader, the father of the Congress, being separated from us and from his infant child the Congress itself, before he is separated from or leaves this world. To me personally, and I dare say to several others present in this hall, the very idea would be really painful. May the Supreme Being grant him long life and health to continue and complete the noble work he has so disinterestedly, so earnestly and so well begun for the amelioration of the miserable condition of the helpless people (ourselves) of this country. You know very well how helpless we all Indians are without the help of Englishmen of position. Whether Mr. Hume can work or not, so long as he lives we cannot think of severing his connection with us, or with the Congress ; and so far as I know, he too never contemplates the adoption of such a course, I mean to cut off his connection India, its people or with the Congress altogether and even if he ever thinks of doing so, we who are looked upon by him as his children should personally approach and entreat him to give up the idea and I am sure that we shall not approach and entreat him in vain. (Applause). I have already spoken much more than I had intended and I believe that there is no need of my saying anything further for the adoption of this resolution by you which runs thus :

That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be its General Secretary for the ensuing year.

This resolution never required a seconder and I hope that this time, as in the former years, you will carry it by acclamation." (Lord applause and three cheers from Mr. Hume).

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

(PAGE 149.)

POONA SESSION, 1895

(President : S. Banarjee.)

(FROM OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE CONGRESS SESSIONS.)

The Eleventh Indian National Congress, which held its sittings in the closing week of 1895 at Poona amidst so much enthusiasm, is universally acknowledged to have been a most brilliant success. Whether we look at the attendance of the delegates—the largest on record save one—or bear in mind the spirit of unanimity and devotion to duty which animated the entire proceedings we can come only to one conclusion—that the Eleventh Congress more than sustained the reputation of previous Congresses. The number of visitors too was unprecedentedly large (and this in spite of the fact that for the first time in the history of the Congress, ordinary visitors were charged Rs. 10 each for admission instead of the usual Rs. 5.) The enthusiasm displayed was often of the wildest description, and when the session came to an end, every one felt that a most remarkable gathering had brought its labours to a close—a gathering in every way worthy of the great historic reputation of the Capital of the Marathas whose arms, resistless at one time in every direction, enabled them to be for more than a century the first power in India.

(Not that the work of the Reception Committee was this time as smooth as on previous occasions. A controversy—mild in the beginning—about lending, as usual, the Congress Pandal for the use of the Social Conference had in course of time developed into a relentless war of words and roused passions and prejudices which threatened at one time to do serious injury to the Congress itself. Happily the sagacity and patriotism of the Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade allayed the angry strife and saved the national cause from harm and not a trace of the bitter dissensions was to be seen in the entire course of the Congress proceedings.)

(PAGE 1.)

The proceedings of the Eleventh Indian National Congress opened with an address of welcome to the assembled delegates by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide,

There was something extremely touching in the sight of this venerable old man, with the accumulated load of seventy years on his shoulders, rising in his quiet dignity, amidst the enthusiastic cheers of over five thousand of his countrymen, to welcome men who had come from all parts of the country—far and near—to give deliberate expression to the wants and aspirations of the Indian people. Enthusiastic as the youngest delegate present, conscious of being engaged in the discharge of a high patriotic duty in spite of old age and its infirmities, Mr. Bhide presented at the time a noble object lesson. The address was extremely thoughtful, most elegantly expressed and full of sage and practical reflections.

(PAGE 2.)

Almost at the outset, Mr. Banerji thus referred to the peculiar circumstances, amidst which the Congress met in Poona :—

It would be mere affectation on my part were I to ignore those events which preceded the session of the Congress at Poona, and which for a time at least filled the public mind of India with alarm and anxiety. I am a stranger to your local politics and your local feeling. I have no right to judge. Who am I that I should judge? But spectators sometimes see more of the game than the actual players. And this I will venture to say that those who were in favour of the Social Conference being held in the Pandal and those who were opposed to it were all animated by one common sentiment of devotion to the Congress movement. They differed in their methods. We who stand outside your local controversies, while we sympathise with the deep-seated convictions of all parties and admire the noble sacrifice which the Secretary of the Conference has made to restore amity and concord, must ask you to exercise mutual charity and forbearance, to forget and to forgive, and to unite in one common effort to make this Congress worthy of the best traditions of the Congress, worthy of the capital of Maharashtra, and an example to all future Congresses. In this connection I cannot help expressing my sense of admiration at the conciliatory attitude so strikingly displayed by Mr. Justice Ranade, Secretary of the Social Conference, at a critical stage in the history of the controversy to which I have referred. It averted a crisis which might have proved disastrous to the best interests of the Congress. The Congress owes a heavy debt of gratitude to Mr. Justice Ranade.

(PAGE 7.)

POLICE REPORT OF THE SESSION

(BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT, 1895, PARA. 12.)

12. *Poona, December 29th.*—The Eleventh National Congress commenced its proceedings on the 27th instant at 1-30 p.m. A large 'mandap' has been erected capable of accommodating between four and five thousand persons and a camp has been laid all round it. "Pendals" have been put up for the accommodation of some of the delegates from different parts of India; Dispensaries, Telegraph, Post and Congress offices were opened; tents pitched; shops and booths set up; a small garden laid out; electric light laid on; arches erected and the whole fenced in.

The entire camp has been laid out with considerable skill and forethought and covers an extensive area of ground within the limits of Bhamburda. Meals are served out to the delegates in the camp, and some 300 students of various schools and colleges in Poona and Bombay have been formed into a body of "Wardens" and "Volunteers" to receive and attend on delegates and perform all duties required of them in the camp. A number of bungalows all over Poona have also been engaged for certain delegates and distinguished visitors. The general arrangements made display considerable power of organization.

As far as can be ascertained at present, it is believed some 1,560 delegates have arrived. These and visitors to the Congress deliberations pay a subscription of Rs. 10 each. The enormous "mandap" is crowded each day and the receipts on account of entrance fees alone must be considerable.

On the 27th the proceedings were opened by Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide welcoming the delegates in a speech of some length. The Honourable Mr. Surendranath Bannerji then delivered his address as President of the Congress.

The address, which was well delivered and moderate and unobjectionable in tone, dealt with the following subjects :—

- (1) The Constitution of the Congress.
- (2) Legislative Councils.

- (3) Discussion of the budgets.
- (4) The mandate theory.
- (5) Financial questions.
- (6) Chitral.
- (7) Import duties on cotton.
- (8) Exchange compensation allowance.
- (9) Indian industries and manufactures.
- (10) The Royal Commission.
- (11) Wider employment of Indians in the Public Service.
- (12) Simultaneous Examinations.
- (13) Military Service.
- (14) Criminal cases between Europeans and Natives.
- (15) Legal Practitioners' Bill.
- (16) Jury Bill.
- (17) Education.
- (18) General observations.

On the 28th idem nine resolutions dealing with—

- (a) Draft rules in connection with the constitution and working of the Congress ;
- (b) The Royal Commission ;
- (c) Curtailment of Military expenditure ;
- (d) Separation of Judicial and Executive functions ;
- (e) Trial by Jury ;
- (f) Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891, Foreign Department, on the subject of newspapers in Native States ;
- (g) Public Service Commission ;
- (h) Military expenditure in connection with the extension of the Frontier ;

and

(i) Disabilities sought to be imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa ;

were adopted.

So far there is nothing that can be styled disloyal in the speeches made and sentiments expressed, and as usual perfect harmony prevails in the Congress deliberations.

Fault-finding with Government proposals, measures and officials, which never fails to secure loud applause, or misrepresentations and exaggerations are the most noticeable features in the speeches delivered.

The following are the names of some of the principal persons present :—

- (1) Mr. Seymour Keay.
- (2) Mr. W. A. Chambers.
- (3) Mr. Vernon of Liverpool.
- (4) Mr. Taylor of Madras.
- (5) Revd. Mr. Hume.
- (6) The Honourable Mr. P. M. Mehta.
- (7) The Honourable Mr. Setalwad.
- (8) The Honourable Mr. Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu.
- (9) The Honourable Mr. M. C. Sankaran Nair.
- (10) The Honourable Mr. C. Vija Raghawa Chandra.
- (11) The Honourable Mr. C. Tambalinga Mudliar.
- (12) The Honourable Mr. Subbarao.
- (13) Mr. Manmohan Ghose.
- (14) Mr. W. C. Bannerji.
- (15) Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale.
- (16) Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha.
- (17) Mr. Kasinath Parashram Gadgil.
- (18) Dr. K. N. Bahadurji.
- (19) The second Prince of Parlakemedi.

THE SESSION CONCLUDES

Poona, January 8th.—The National Congress terminated its sittings on the 30th ultimo, on which date seventeen resolutions dealing with—

(1) The proposal to restrict the right of private alienation of lands by the Legislature as a remedy for agricultural indebtedness was denounced, and the only remedies were declared to be spread of education and relaxation in the rigidity of the present revenue system where permanent settlement does not obtain ;

(2) The right of interpellation and a demand for permission to preface questions by a short explanation ;

(3) Reform in the Civil and Military Medical Services ;

(4) Legal Practitioners' Amendment Bill ;

(5) Greater fixity of land tenure in temporarily settled districts ;

(6) Representation of the Central Provinces in the Supreme Legislative Council without asking local bodies to make recommendations for nomination ;

(7) Exchange compensation allowance ;

(8) Grievances of railway passengers ;

(9) Forest laws ;

(10) Salt duty ;

(11) Reduction of grant for higher education ;

(12) Lancashire agitation against import duties on cotton ;

(13) "Omnibus" including Income-tax, Excise, Contagious Diseases, Land water cess, Volunteering, Establishment of Military Colleges Arms Act, etc. ;

(14) Assignment of Rs. 60,000 for the expenses of the British Committee ;

(15) Vote of thanks to Sir W. Wedderburn and members of the British Committee ;

(16) Re-appointment of Mr. Hume as General Secretary ;

(17) Assembly of the next year's Congress at Calcutta ;
were adopted. , zrn

The speeches were the usual one-sided ones, directed against Government measures, proposals and officials.

Apart from the delegates who actually attended, the rest of the audience on each day was composed mostly of Brahmins and the better educated people. The poorer classes seemed to regard the Congress as a sort of show and crowds visited the camp with the object of sight-seeing. Except among the Brahmin and English-knowing community there appeared to be little interest displayed in or information available as to the objects and work of the Congress.

The eloquence of the speakers was received with applause by the audience, among whom, in reserved seats, were several Native ladies.

The attendance inside the "pandal" each day was full.

The President left Poona on the 31st idem after receiving an address from the students of Poona and attending a party given in his honour and in honour of the delegates by Baba Maharaj.

During the Congress, Sakaram Vishnu Gurjar of the Arya Dharma Raksha Mandali of Bombay, preached actively outside the enclosure in support of the Congress and the benefits the people of India would derive from it ; and in opposition to the Social Conference, which he described as a movement directed against Hindu religion. He enjoined on all the necessity of actively supporting the Congress movement.

He also spoke in support of cow-protection, against the salt-tax and on forest grievances in the usual strain, denouncing Government.

CALCUTTA SESSION, 1896

(President : R. M. Sayani.)

(FROM OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE CONGRESS SESSION.)

The Congress, therefore, once again stands on its trial. It has to render an account of itself. It sees very few friendly faces about itself. It stands before a critical and prejudiced public as at once a stranger and a criminal. It stands in that position through no fault of its own ; it has been made to assume it through a mere ungrounded suspicion of its adversaries. It has become necessary, therefore, to introduce it to its judges with some, at least, of the credentials it has been able to secure during its eventful career of twelve years ; to place before those judges its very latest transactions ; to call their attention to the spirit which manifestly animates its work ; to vindicate afresh its programme and its methods ; to plead, not only for a continuance, but for an expansion of those just and liberal English methods according to which the country has been so far governed ; and to wait for a verdict of all who claim to be judges, on the materials so placed before them.

The Congress has outlived much calumny. It has done so not by waging against it a war of words, but by falsifying it by deeds. Sir William Hunter after having carefully watched the movement in its early years, wrote in 1889 :—

The history of India has yet to be written, and when it is truly written, Englishmen will learn that the present movement is the inevitable result of causes which we ourselves have set in motion. those who misrepresent us, speak of our movement as isolated, dangerous, or unimportant. But I believe this political movement in India is an indestructible part of that great awakening in India which is showing itself not only in the intellectual progress of the Indian people, but in India's commercial development and in many signs of a new national life. We have got a great force to deal with, a force which must be powerful either for the disintegration of our Indian Empire or for the consolidation of our Indian Empire ; and therefore as an old official I say it is our duty to use it as a consolidating and not as a disintegrating force.

And again in 1890 :—

I may therefore briefly say that those political movements are the legitimate and inevitable result of Western Education in India.

The men who conduct them are the men to whom in all other respects, intellectual and moral, we are accustomed to point as the highest products of British rule in India. They are the men who form the natural interpreters of our rule to the masses of the people. To speak of such men, when their activity takes a political direction, as disaffected, would be equally unjust and untrue. For they are the men who, of all our Indian fellow-subjects, realise most clearly that their interests, present and future, are identified with the permanence of British rule.

Sir Charles Dilke in his *Problems of Great Britain* has honoured the movement with an elaborate notice from which we quote the following :—

The recent attitude of the leading Anglo-Indians towards the Indian National Congress has been confused, and we gain no certain guidance from it when considered as a whole. The general position has been hostile, but some of the thoughtful men, as, for example, Sir William Wedderburn, the President of the National Congress of December 1889, have given under the form of benevolent neutrality, a full and general approval. The high authority of Sir William Hunter has been set upon the side of approbation, and his pen has conferred upon the last three Congresses a considerable publicity—the meetings of 1885 and 1886 having passed almost unnoticed. Sir William Hunter's support outweighs much opposition. His unrivalled knowledge of India makes him a most trustworthy guide, in everything, may I say, but spelling. The attention which was excited in the United Kingdom by the Congress of December 1888 was curiously enough, aroused by Mohammedan opposition to it. Some leading Indian Mussulmans, able to write an excellent letter of the orthodox English type, stated their views in opposition to the Congress through the most influential English journals. The result of this opposition was to attract much notice in England, which led to an examination of first principles that had not the result that the Mohammedan gentlemen intended and a study of Sir William Hunter's letters and articles has completed the educating process. He has conclusively shown, with the calm of the historian rather than with the partial spirit of a contemporary writer, that the present native movement is the necessary outcome of the principles on which our rule of India has been based, and that it is to our interest, as much as it would be to our honour to satisfy it in some measure.

As has been well shown, men who speak better English than most Englishmen ; who conduct able newspapers in our tongue ; who form

the majority on Town Councils which admirably supervise the affairs of great cities ; who, as native judges, have reached the highest judicial posts ; who occupy seats on the Provincial, the Presidency and the Viceregal Councils, or, as powerful ministers, excellently rule vast Native States, can no longer be treated as hopelessly inferior to ourselves in governmental power.

Argument upon the matter is to be desired, but not invented, and there is so much reason to think that the Congress movement really represents the cultivated intelligence of the country that those who ridicule it do harm to the imperial interests of Great Britain bitterly wounding and alienating men who are justified in what they do, who do it in reasonable and cautious form, and who ought to be conciliated by being met halfway. The official class themselves admit, that many of the natives who attack the Congress do so to ingratiate themselves with their British rulers and to push their claims for decorations ; and, while I am on this point, I may add that it is an almost universal opinion among officials themselves that some of the recent appointments in the various classes of our orders have been unfortunate. Our first duty in India is that of defending the country against anarchy and invasion, with which I have dealt in the last chapter ; but our other greatest duty is to learn how to live with what is commonly called the Congress movement, namely, with the development of that new India which we have ourselves created. Our past work in India has been a splendid task, splendidly performed, but there is a still nobler one before us, and one larger even than that labour on the Irish problem to which our public men on both sides seem too much inclined to give their whole attention.

Mr. Justice McCarthy says that he understands most thoroughly and appreciates most keenly the bureaucratic regime, which is the rule of the local officials, by which the local officials pass on their reports to the governing office in London, and the governing office in London are under the impression, in accepting that report and that statement, that they are getting a precise and accurate account of the feelings of the people. He then goes on to observe :—

We have been governing India far too long on that system ; it is quite time that we now at last hear and listen to the views of the Indians themselves. As I understand the movement, that and nothing more is what the Indian Congress desires and demands ; its members only ask to be allowed to make known the views of the populations of India from those populations themselves.

They are willing, when that has been done, to submit those demands to the clear common sense, the impartiality, and the justice of the English people. That is the beginning of all representation. You must hear the voice of India, you must know what its populations wish for themselves and claim for themselves, and till you hear that voice speaking to you directly, as people unto people, you cannot possibly hope to govern with stability and with safety a great country like India. You cannot control India except by the consent of the various populations whom this Empire undertakes to govern. That is what we want. We want to win the consent of the different populations, to instil in them confidence in our intelligence, in our goodwill, in our anxiety to make them happy and prosperous, and when we have attained that consent and can act on and with that consent, then, and not by any possibility till then, can we make a stable, a strong and a permanent Imperial State.

Colonel J. C. Ardagh, Private Secretary to Lord Lansdowne, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, wrote in a letter to Mr. A. O. Hume, dated the 19th January 1891 :—

The Government of India recognise that the Congress movement is regarded as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced Liberal party, as distinguished from the great body of Conservative opinion which exists side by side with it. They desire themselves to maintain an attitude of neutrality in their relations with both parties, so long as these act strictly within constitutional limits.

The *London Times* wrote on the 13th January 1893 :—

There can be no doubt that in all these matters the Indian National Congress of last month really represented the views of the Indian people ; and represented them in a spirit alike conscientious to its constituents and loyal to the British Government. The Congress as it has grown older, seems to feel the responsibilities of a maturer strength. It is divesting itself of that tendency towards extreme proposals which three years ago imperilled its usefulness.

And again on the 5th January 1894 :—

The many movements, moral and political, now stirring the life of the Indian peoples, are doing still more. These movements are the direct result of the enfranchisement of thought, the individual security, and the freedom of speech and opinion which

British rule has secured for India. Among such movements the Indian National Congress holds a foremost place. But it is from the fact that it is only one of many, and that it is the product not of an isolated agitation, but of a general social awakening, that it derives its true significance.

The last testimonial that we shall cite shall be like the first, from the pen of Sir William Hunter. It is of a very recent date, the year 1896. It embodies the results of a rather close scrutiny maintained for about eleven years by a mind singularly acute and well-informed. Whatever men might think of the details of the programme of the Congress, it represented, according to Sir W. Hunter, a political power in India which no Indian statesman or Member of Parliament could afford to disregard. It was the child of British rule, the product of Schools and Universities. "We have created and fostered the aspirations which animated the Congress. And it would be both churlish and unwise to refuse now to those aspirations both our sympathy and our respectful consideration". The following is from the same pen :—

The leading native journals are loyal critics of the Government and a true strength to the British rule. But some of the more ignorant sections of the Native Press have shown that they are unable to enjoy that liberty without abusing it. The Congress clearly perceives this. Cheers greeted the President's impressive warning to local agitators and newspapers who "have not fully realised the distinction between licence and liberty; and have not wholly grasped the lesson that freedom has its responsibilities no less than its privileges." If the Congress at its yearly meetings thus wisely confines itself to proper consultative functions, and thus firmly separates itself from disaffection of every sort, it may render great service to India. In that case, and in that case alone, it will justify the opening words of its venerable convener at Madras : "To well balanced minds such a gathering must appear the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the great British nation".

(PAGES 1 TO 4.)

SURAT SESSION, 1907

(President: Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose.)

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT, 1908, PAGES 4 TO 16.)

The C. I. D. report that on the evening of the 23rd instant Tilak of Poona delivered a lengthy lecture to the people of Surat on the open maidan near Balaji's Tekdi. The burden of his speech was to persuade the people of Surat to help the Nationalists to bring pressure to bear upon the Moderates to pass resolutions in the Congress on the subject of Boycott and National Education. The only reference to his address to Government was when he told the audience that boycott was a necessary weapon to be handled by the people of India to force Government to give them swaraj because all the memorials sent to Government by the Congress during the last 20 years on the subject have proved fruitless. He defined swaraj as the administration of the people by the people and for the people. The resolutions of the Congress in past years, he said, regarding the Abkari and Forest Act were with reference to the demands of the Congress for swaraj. Mr. Khaparde of Amraoti proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Tilak. The meeting lasted for about an hour and a half and was composed of over 8,000 people including the people of Surat and the visitors and delegates for the Congress.

This afternoon the Nationalists' Conference will begin its proceedings in a Mahajanwadi situated near the Nationalists' Camp.

THE CONGRESS SESSION

*Copy of telegram from an officer of the C. I. D. at Surat,
dated the 26th instant.*

Congress commenced 2 P. M. Chairman of the Reception Committee read address. Divan Bahadur Ambalal proposed Doctor Ghose as chairman of the Congress; Surendranath Banerjee rose to second; serious obstruction offered by Extremists. Ultimately Congress suspended for to-day. Chairman not appointed.

*Copy of telegram from District Superintendent of Police,
Surat, dated 27th December.*

Congress became very disorderly to-day. Police called in to disperse, and cleared mandap and grounds. Order now quite restored; no one reported seriously hurt; no arrests.

Congress opened quietly at 1 p.m. Surendranath's speech seconding resolution for electing Doctor Ghose Chairman quietly heard. Resolution when supported elicited strong disapproval of Extremists. Tilak approached platform to move amendment to Resolution regarding chairman's election. Meanwhile Dr. Ghose occupied chair; Tilak then reached Chairman's table insisting his right to move amendments whereof notice was given to Moderates in the morning; confusion resulted. Extremists supported Tilak. Moderates pressed Chairman not to allow Tilak to speak, but deliver Presidential address; Tilak positively refused to leave platform asserting right to address in moving amendment. Dr. Rutherford talked to Tilak; during conversation Tilak was nearly assaulted by some Gujerathis who were dispersed by the Honourable Gokhale and Pandit of Allahabad. Great uproar ensued; shoes, chairs and sticks freely flung around. Meeting suspended; Police called in and requested to clear mandap and grounds; everything orderly. No arrests, no serious injuries reported. Details posted.

NATIONALIST CONFERENCE

Surat, December 25th, 1907.—The first meeting of the Nationalists' Conference was held on the 24th December in the afternoon. Babu Arvind Ghose, of the Bande Mataram fame, presided. The meeting was not open to the public. Only those who paid the fee of Re. 1 and signed the pledge of being Nationalists were admitted. There were more than a thousand persons present. On the motion of Mr. Khaparde of Amraoti Mr. Ghose, being elected to the Chair, observed that the object of the Conference was to disseminate the gospel of Nationalism and that for that purpose the Nationalists must be prepared to make all sorts of sacrifices. For the purpose of pushing forward the work of Nationalism an organisation was necessary and hence this conference. It was the object of the Conference to enforce the views of the Nationalists on the Indian National Congress and to make the Congress, which had hitherto been a body for the concentration of opinion, a body for the concentration of work. He then called upon Mr. B. G. Tilak to state in detail the object of the Conference. Mr. Tilak spoke to the following effect.

TILAK'S SPEECH

The object of the Nationalists Conference which was part and parcel of the National Congress, was not to secede from the Congress, but to make the members of the Congress Nationalists. This was quite constitutional, and was just like one party in power trying to deprive the other party in power of its power; the difference between the Nationalists and Congress was this: The Congress wants self-Government on Colonial lines, while the Nationalists want Independence. No educated man in India can have any other desire but this. Many who hoped for this ideal did not venture to express their thoughts for fear of offending Government; there was, however, no fear even if the authorities did frown, so long as constitutional and honest methods were adopted. A man naturally does not wish to part with what he had got, but a man likewise does not naturally wish to endure perpetual slavery. The Nationalists expressed their ideal freely and were prepared to suffer for their outspoken words. If they were forced to transgress the law, like the Asiatics in the Transvaal, the fault would not be theirs. The methods of the Congress for attaining its ideal are prayers, petitions and protests. Since the partition of Bengal, however, boycott has been regarded as a strong weapon, not merely boycott of industries, but political boycott as well. Besides boycott, the other weapons are passive resistance and self-reliance. These weapons the Congress was taking up but gradually. The methods of the Nationalists for attaining their ideal were more effective than the Congress methods. The Congress, however, does not like its affairs to be regulated by the advice of others. But as time progresses, progressive methods must be adopted. The drain of wealth from India, as shown by Dadabhai Naoroji, must be accepted as a fact by the younger generation, and from that basis of fact they may proceed further. In other words as in science, the younger generation must go on from the point where the elder generation left off without analysing their discoveries over again.

Education in the hands of a bureaucracy could not be National Education-the pupils of the school of National Education must aspire for Independence. National Education must be spread in India, and to that end the Congress must be persuaded to work. There is also the question of curtailment of Rs. 30,000 a year on account of the expenses of the British Section of the Indian National Congress. Finally there is the question of the election of the President of the ensuing Congress. The Various reasons brought forward against the appointment of Lala Lajputrai as President of the Congress are all groundless. The thing was to force Nationalist views on the Congress, or at any rate to see that it did not slide back.

LETTERS TO CONGRESS

On the motion of Mr. S. M. Paranjpe of the Kal, Mr. N. C. Kelkar of the Mahratta was appointed Provisional Secretary of the Conference. It was then arranged to send two letters to the Secretary of the Congress in one of which it was notified that the Conference would propose amendments to any resolution moved in the Congress.

In the other letter the Conference requested the Congress to move resolutions on Swaraj, Boycott and National Education. It was also decided that the Congress should circulate a memorandum among all the delegates of the Congress requesting them to express their views as to the urgency of the Congress moving the resolutions on Swaraj, Boycott and National Education. The Conference then adjourned till 1 p.m. to-day, Wednesday, 25th December 1907.

REPORT OF THE CONGRESS SESSION

Surat, December 26th, 1907.—The sittings of the 23rd Indian National Congress commenced on the 26th instant at 2-30 p.m. A few ladies belonging to the Gujerathi and Parsi families sang the Vande Mataram song. The President of the Reception Committee, named Mr. Malvi, a Solicitor of the Bombay High Court, read an address of welcome to the Delegates. He was interrupted frequently by the cries of 'no, no' and 'yes, yes' as he referred to the term "Moderation" and "Moderates". He said, in the course of his address, that eminent persons were seriously suspected and charged with sedition in many cases without justification. He advised, further in his address, that his countrymen should allay the present cause of irritation by resorting to conciliation and that they should tell the Government the same thing.

Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, late Chief Justice of the Baroda High Court, proposed that the Honourable Dr. Rash Eihari Ghose should take the Chair. (He was interrupted by the cries of "no, no".) He nevertheless continued as follows:—We should ask him to preside on this occasion. (Cries of "no, no"). He is a member of the Viceregal Legislative Council and has done yeoman's service. (Cries of "no, no"). His abilities as a lawyer are superior to those of any living lawyer in India to-day. He has rendered patriotic services to Bengal especially and to the whole of India. (No. no.) There is no better choice that could be made than that of selecting him to the chair by asking him to accept the chair. (Cheers.)

PROCEEDINGS INTERRUPTED

Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji of Calcutta in seconding the above proposition rose to address as follows in the midst of the cries of "no, no". He said :—

Brother Delegates, I must be heard before anyone in this Hall (cries of "no, no" and "go on") opposes. (At this stage the cries and confusion grew so rampant that the speaker had to stand on the President's table and continue his address in this midst of "Huryo", meaning "shame".) Brother Delegates cries of no, no), I must be heard. (Cries of "no, no" and "go on"), I must be heard by you, gentlemen, from this side of the house. (Points with his finger to the direction whence the cries of "no, no" ensued.) You are making an attempt, an unworthy attempt (cries of "no, no") that brings discredit upon everybody associating with you. Utterance is the privilege of every Congressman, no matter whether he is a Constitutionalist or otherwise. I appeal to you, Delegates, to express your full disapproval of the attempt to howl down speakers who make attempts to say things, and leave them to the judgment and opinion of a particular section. (Cries of "go on"). I wish to associate myself with the resolution that of all the distinguished men who, from time to time, have adorned the great place of the President of the Congress, Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose is one. (Cries of "no, no"). Dr. Rash-Bihari Ghose is (cries of "no, no" and great confusion in the Hall.).

The President of the Reception Committee : Brother Delegates, please sit down (cries of "go on" to Mr. Bannerji). It is impossible to go on with the business in this manner, unless, Mr. Bannerji is allowed to go on with his speech, I shall be compelled to suspend the sitting. Please, therefore, allow him to go on. Please, therefore, listen to him. *Mr. Bannerji continued* :—Brother Delegates (cries of "no, no" and "hear him"). I want to associate myself in spite of your howls and in spite of this unseemly demonstration (cries of "no, no" and "go on"). Gentlemen, (cries of "no, no" and "go on"). If (cries of "no, no"). If you go on in that way the sitting will be suspended. (Cries of "shame"). *The President of the Reception Committee* :—Sit down Brother Delegates. (Cries of "no, no"). Sit down, be quiet. (Cries of "no, no") (The President of the Reception Committee rang the bell asking the people to sit quiet and let Mr. Bannerji finish his speech, but he was met with the response in the shape of the cries of "no, no"). Gentlemen, be quiet, silence. I suspend this sitting, the meeting is dissolved, I suspend the sitting. (Loud cries

of "shame".) (*The President of the Reception Committee at this stage mounted his table and rang the bell again*). Gentlemen, I hear there comes a promise from the quarter from which the disturbance to Mr. Bannerji's speech comes. If that is so, I will request him to commence his speech again. If he is again disturbed I will suspend the meeting for the day. Mr. Bannerji alone will be heard now and no one else (cries of "no, no"); otherwise, the meeting will be suspended. (Cries of "no, no".) (Mr. Bannerji stands on the table and tries to address the meeting, but is received with the cries of "no, no".) Brother Delegates (cries of "no, no" and a voice: "we have not forgotten the Bilaspur incident"). Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish to associate myself with the proposal for the election of Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose (cries of "no, no") as President of the Congress (cries of "no, no".) Every man in this Congress has a right to vote according to his own conscience, but no man has a right to howl in the way that you are doing. (Cries of "no, no," "yes," "yes" and "go on".) Of all the distinguished men. (Cries of "no, no" grow so violent at this stage that Mr. Bannerji had to retire). *The President of the Reception Committee* :—I suspect the meeting for the day. (Cries of "shame")

The meeting was then dispersed at 3-45 p.m., the Bengal and the Gujerath Delegates being asked to remain in their places.

MEETING OF MADRAS DELEGATES

Surat, December 27th, 1907.—On the morning of the 27th instant a private meeting of some of the Madras delegates was held under the Presidentship of Mr. N. Subbarao for the purpose of condemning the rowdy proceedings of previous day's Congress meeting and for the purpose of expressing the regret of the Madras delegates generally that some of them should have taken a sympathetic part in those proceedings. One Mr. Rameshwar, a Madrassi gentlemen, is reported to have originated the meeting. It was attended by about 96 persons of whom one went away without voting either way, three did not vote at all and 92 voted for the object of the meeting.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

The proceedings for the Indian National Congress were re-opened on the 27th instant by Mr. Malvi, President of the Reception Committee, at 1 p.m. by an address.

Brother Delegates, the proceedings will be resumed at the point at which they were left off yesterday. (Hear, hear.) I request Babu

Surendranath Bannerji to proceed with his speech of yesterday's. (Hear, hear.) (A cry of three cheers for Babu Surendranath Bannerji was raised.) *Mr. Bannerji.*—Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition which was laid before you yesterday by Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Sarkarlal proposing the election of Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose as President of the Congress. It was a pleasure which was denied to me yesterday by an incident which I trust will now be forgotten and forgiven. (Hear, hear.) May I further couple it with the hope that such an incident may not again occur. (Hear, hear, and cries of never to darken the annals of the Congress.) For, Sir, speaking for myself, I will say this that nothing could be more disastrous to the Congress, to which some of us have dedicated our lives, in whose service some of us are grown grey and to which some, at any rate, is the very vital breath which we are drawing. I say that nothing can be more disastrous to the Congress than a demonstration such as we had the misfortune to witness yesterday. I will not refer further to that painful consideration. Of the many distinguished men who from time to time have adorned the Presidential Chair of the Congress, one of the most distinguished men is my friend Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose. He is a profound lawyer and perhaps the greatest on our side of India. An erudite scholar and an eminent citizen. His purse is always responsive to the demands of public will. His left hand does not know what his right hand giveth. His renown is so great that any man may well be proud of it. Two years ago he presided at the Town Hall Meeting chiefly at my instigation in connection with a certain speech delivered by Lord Curzon on the affairs of the Calcutta University. (Shame.) At that meeting my friend was pleased to say that he had not been the hero of one-hundred platforms, but I venture to predict that he will soon make himself the hero of at least one platform. The fascination of the importance of public work has brought forth the scholar from the seclusion of his books and of his study into the front rank of public life, and may he long continue to adorn it is the hope and aspiration of every Bengali. He is in close sympathy with the new-born National Movement. There is no more hopeful and promising feature of that movement than the lessons of self-help and self-reliance which it teaches and enforces in the domain of education. My friend is the official head of the national movement for education in Bengal. He is the President of the National Council of Education. He is also the President of the Technical Institute which has been founded by the munificence and public spirit of Mr. Taraknath Pallik. Dr. Ghose is a keen swadeshi. He does not indulge in the glory of rhetoric, but he rejoices in practical work. Out of his own private funds he has advanced a sum of Rs. 40,000 in starting the only swadeshi

match manufactory that we have in Bengal. At the most critical times he has proved himself to be the ablest, wisest and truest of the children of India. Therefore, we have, sir, enthroned him in this place of honour in the full confidence that he will direct the deliberations of his great national assembly with that tact, that judgment and that pre-eminent knowledge of human affairs which has distinguished him in other walks of life. I second this resolution that Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose be elected to the chair. (Cheers and cries of Hurya.) At this stage there was heard a rustling in the audience and Mr. Tilak of Poona was seen to make his way with great difficulty through the crowd up to the platform.

Mr. Malvi : Gentlemen, Mr. Subbarao will support this resolution.

Mr. Subbarao : I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution that has been so ably put before you, that Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose be elected President of the Congress. (Cries of Hurya.)

Mr. Malvi : Gentlemen, I declare that Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose is elected chairman of the Congress. (Deafening cries of Hurya.)

Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose occupied the Chair in the midst of thundering applause from the Moderates and frantic cries of "no, no", from Extremists.

TILAK RISES TO MOVE AMENDMENT

At this stage Mr. Tilak came upon the platform and bending forward to the President of the Congress, across the table, said to him something in an under-tone. In the meanwhile the pandal resounded with the cries of "shame" to Mr. Tilak. He (Mr. Tilak) then, turning towards the audience, planted himself in front of the President and began to address the meeting thus : I shall speak. We gave notice this morning. He could not speak further because there were loud cries of "we don't want you to speak" and "shame" greeting him from all parts of the Hall where the Moderates were sitting. The President then stood upon the table and began to read his address. His voice, however, was drowned by the cries raised vehemently by the Extremists that he was not yet elected to the Chair. He then rang the bell and asked Mr. Tilak to go back to his seat. Mr. Tilak insisted on his right to move the amendment, of which he had already given notice, and had also sent a reminder therefore, regarding the resolution for the election of Dr. Ghose to the Chair. He point-blank told the President that he would not allow him to speak. He kept on saying "I have a right to speak, I have

a right to move the amendment. I won't leave this place". At this stage the confusion in the Hall became acute and the air was rent with the cries of "Don't allow him to speak" and "shame" from one party, and "He must speak, he must be allowed to speak" from the other.

Sir Pherozshah Mehta : The Chairman's ruling is that you should go out.

Mr. Tilak : I won't.

SHOE HURLED AT TILAK

The President again stood on the table and began to read his address. Mr. Tilak stood firmly in his place on the platform. Cries of "shame" from the side of the Moderates were again hurled at him. At this stage some Gujerathi gentlemen rushed upon him, but they were driven back by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya of Allahabad, and the Hon'ble G. K. Gokhale of Poona. Dr. Rutherford spoke something to Mr. Tilak in a whisper. Mr. Tilak assumed an unbending demeanour and showed his preparedness to calmly bear the hustling, with which he was threatened by the Gujerathi gentlemen on his left. The President, in response to the cries of the Moderates to "Go on," again went up the platform and began to read his address, but Mr. Tilak told him he could not do that until he (Mr. Tilak) had moved the amendment, as the appointment of the Chairman had not been unanimously made. Mr. Tilak added "I will not leave the place". The President said he had ruled the amendment out of order. Mr. Tilak rejoined "I have a right to move it". His assertion was greeted with repeated cries of "shame" on the part of the Moderates. He replied by saying "Let it be". The President began to read his address by saying "Erother Delegates and Gentlemen (uproarious confusion followed and was continued in spite of the President having rung his bell twice or thrice). 'Mr. Tilak go to your place; *Mr. Tilak* : 'I am standing here very quietly, I won't sit down, I have a right to address the meeting'. (At this stage the uproar in the Hall assumed a violent character resulting in a shoe being cast forcibly at Mr. Tilak.)

Mr. Tilak : You can throw at me anything, dirt or shoe or anything, but I won't move from this place.

FURTHER DISTURBANCE

The President (speaking at the top of his voice so as to raise it above the tumultuous confusion in the Hall) : Gentlemen, I appeal

to you to allow me to speak. If you don't, I shall be obliged to suspend the sitting. (At this stage the cry of "stop the use of sticks" went up from the platform.) Nevertheless sticks were indiscriminately flung around and so were chairs. The greatest possible excitement prevailed in the Hall and the members of the Reception Committee, the President of the Congress and some of the visitors suddenly left it after the President had declared that the meeting was suspended. Within a few moments the whole platform was deserted by its occupants. Mr. Tilak alone remained at his post near the table surrounded by the Nationalists. The disturbance was only quelled by the appearance of the Police on the scene, it is said, at the suggestion of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. Mr. Beatty, the District Superintendent of Police, came up and, at the request of Sir Pherozeshah, dispersed the crowds from the Pandal and its compound.

Up to the time of posting this there is no report of any one being seriously injured in the "Melee".

Copy of a telegram from an Officer of the C. I. D., dated the 28th instant.

"Congress suspended *sine die*. Instead Convention meets to-day. Tilak holds a separate Conference this evening. All is quiet".

Copy of a telegram from the D. S. P., Surat, dated fifth instant.

"Everything remains quite. No probability for a further disturbance. People are leaving. Newspaper assertions regarding the use of lathis and arrests are incorrect."

MEETING OF THE CONVENTION

S. B., Bombay, January 11th.—The Criminal Investigation Department reports:—

The following is a report of the proceedings of the Convention of the Indian National Congress that met in the Congress Pandal at 1 p.m. on December 28th. In opening the proceeding Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta said as follows :—

That when he once spoke of an Unconventional Convention for the purpose of promoting the interests of the country, he did not think that such a convention would really have to meet to

resuscitate the work of twenty-three years' efforts of the Indian National Congress. Here they were met, however, for that purpose, and he proposed Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh to the chair.

Babu Surendranath Banerji seconded the proposition in a short speech :—

“Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution. We are about to enter upon what might be regarded as a new stage in the development of this great Congress movement. The King is dead. Long live the king. (Hear, hear). The Congress is dead. (Cries of “no, no”) Long live the Congress, and I am perfectly certain that with the constitution reviving, resuscitating and reincarnating our views and our aspirations, the Congress will have entered upon a stage of usefulness fraught with the most momentous results to the fortunes of this country.” (Hear, hear).

Lala Lajpatrai supported the motion in the following words :

“Gentlemen, thanking you from the bottom of my heart for the kind reception you have greeted me with, I beg to associate myself with the proposal which has been placed before you. I wish it had not been necessary for me to associate myself with the proposal to-day had we gone on with our proceedings in the ordinary manner. But as misfortune will have it that was not destined to be, and to-day we, at any rate, express the desire that notwithstanding all our misfortunes we are determined to continue our work. (Loud applause). We are, therefore, going to prove to the world that with all our internal quarrels we have agreed to serve the country by helping the Congress under whose banner we have been battling for the last twenty-two years. (Cheers). I don't want to detain you any further, because this is not the time for making but for hearing speeches.” (Cheers.)

The motion was further supported by Mr. Subbarao of Madras and by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of Allahabad and was carried unanimously. Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose then took the chair amidst loud applause. Dr. Ghose then addressed the meeting as follows :—

DR. GHOSE'S SPEECH

“Gentlemen, you are all aware of the painful circumstances under which I had most reluctantly and most painfully to suspend the sitting of the Congress yesterday. We meet this afternoon not in the Congress, but in the Convention which consists of all the

delegates who have subscribed to what I may describe as the fundamental articles of our creed, viz.—

(1) That the attainment by India of self-Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and the participation of her in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members is the goal of our political aspirations.

(2) That the advance towards this goal is to be by strictly constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit, and improving the condition of the masses.

Gentlemen, these are the fundamental articles of our creed and we shall never suffer any departure from them. With the object of formulating a constitution of the Congress and laying down the lines on which our political agitation should be carried on, it is proposed to form a representative Committee which will frame rules for the purpose of the order in our future political work in the country. It is not necessary to say anything further, and I call upon the Honourable Mr. Gokhale to place the proposition before you."

HON. GOKHALE'S MOTION

Mr. Gokhale : "Mr. President and Gentlemen, the proposition that I have to place before you is a simple one. It refers to the formation of a Committee of which the President has already made a mention to you in his speech just now. It runs as follows :—

"That a Committee be formed of certain gentlemen in order to draw up a constitution on the lines laid down in the first two paragraphs of the declaration which is signed by us".

Gentlemen, we have to draw up a constitution on these lines for the purpose of carrying on the work of the body that we have to bring into existence by the end of this year. The work is to be carried on hereafter in accordance with certain conditions of our creed as laid down in these two paragraphs. But how the members of that body should be brought together and what should be the programme of work, and other matters of smaller importance have to be settled. It is impossible to settle such matters in a meeting of this kind. It is, therefore, necessary that a small Committee be appointed in order to consider the whole question. It is difficult

to say when this Committee will be able to finish its labours. If possible if you make sufficient progress in our work, we must try to hold a meeting of this Committee during the Easter or if it is found to be impossible, we have to meet in September. I propose that after this Convention is dissolved today the Committee should meet within half an hour just for the first time. One thing I want to say, however, I have no authority to speak on anybody's behalf and I only speak in my own name. It is as well to say that as far as one could see the programme of the body we are trying to bring into existence will, for all practical purposes, be the same as that of the Congress which have worked for these 22 years.

I shall now read out the names of the members of the Committee. (Reads names of representative men from Bombay, Madras, United Provinces and Benares, etc.). These gentlemen should form the new Committee to draw up a constitution in accordance with which the work of the body which we are bringing into existence is to be carried on."

Mr. Govind Raghawan Ayar of Madras seconded the proposition. The Honourable Mr. Gokhale of Poona and Mr. D. E. Watcha of Bombay were appointed Secretaries of the Committee.

CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE

A Conference of this new Committee was arranged to be held, in the evening, at 4 O'clock at the residence of Sir Pherozeshah. Sir Pherozeshah appealed to the members to create public opinion in their respective Provinces on the question of the new reformed scheme of Mr. Morley and to send to Government closely-reasoned representations on the subject. He said it was the duty of the people of all parts of India to stir up their Provinces in order to send to Government cogent and well-reasoned representations on the new reformed scheme. He continued : "Gentlemen, it will not be enough to say in your representations that this should be done and that should be done. The crisis is of a different character. There is an attack upon the educated portion of India, particularly upon the lawyers which is absolutely unjustifiable and undeserved." In concluding his remarks he proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by Mr. K. Ayer of Madras and Mr. Jinnah of Bombay.

Mr. Surendranath Eannerji proposed a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee for the Congress of Surat.

Sir Pherozeshah seconded the motion and it was carried unanimously. Mr. Bannerji observed that, so far as he was able to gather, there was no foundation whatsoever for saying that the Resolutions on 'Swaraj', 'Swadeshi', Boycott and National Education were kept out of the Draft Resolutions by the Reception Committee. He desired to dispel the delusion that the Reception Committee wanted to keep those Resolutions back.

Mr. Ghosal of Calcutta asked for three cheers for the King-Emperor and they were lustily given. The Convocation was then dissolved.

CONFERENCE OF THE CONGRESS

S. B., Bombay.—The Criminal Investigation Department report :—

That on the 28th December after the Convention of the Congress was dissolved, a Conference of the Congress was held in the Congress Pandal under the Presidentship of Babu Surendranath Bannerji to informally pass the Resolution that would have been formally passed by the Congress if everything had gone on smoothly.

Mr. Bannerji said as follows :—

OPPRESSION IN TRANSVAAL

"Gentlemen, I desire to thank you most heartily for the honour which you have conferred upon me for electing me the Chairman of this Conference. The subject of the Transvaal Indians' grievances, which we are about to discuss here, is one of the deepest possible interest to us, as it affects our fellow-countrymen in the Transvaal who have been victims of a grievous oppression and outrage at the hands of the Colonial Government. They are fighting their cause in a most manful manner. They have called into requisition that great weapon which we have been using in Bengal for the last two years—the irresistible weapon of passive resistance. Our sympathies go forth for them, and we are here to consider how we should help them. Some representatives have come here from Transvaal at considerable expense and great inconvenience. They are here and will address you. I hope you will attentively listen to them and then deliberate upon the ways and means that we can devise for the purpose of helping them.

I will now call upon Mr. Umer Haji Ahmed Zaveri of Transvaal to lay before you the grievance of his people. He has come from Transvaal and proposes to lay before you his grievances and those of his fellow-countrymen in that part of the world."

Mr. Zaveri then addressed the meeting.

Mr. Ameerudin, another Transvaal Indian, addressed the meeting in Hindi. He said he went there from India at the age of 21. During the Dutch Government in the Transvaal the Indians were subjected to certain strict laws, but under the British Government they were subjected to much stricter laws, in that the Indians were treated as mere slaves, and therefore, the Indians had resolved to go to jail rather than submit to the laws which devolved on them the status of slaves. Either they would go to jail or leave the country, but would not agree to live there as slaves. He concluded thus:—

“Many of our people have left Transvaal at great pecuniary loss. I hope you will help us. We have come with that hope. Do give us that help”.

Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimji of Eombay said in Hindustani : “Gentlemen, our brethern in Transvaal are called coolies. I will just show you specimens of such coolies (calls forward on the platform four Muhammadan gentlemen of respectable appearance who have come here from Transvaal). Gentlemen, I want to show you these coolies (laughter and cries of “shame” and “disgrace”). Gentlemen, Mr. Zaveri, who addressed you a few minutes ago, has travelled through England, Italy, Switzerland, Germany and other parts of Europe, but no one there ever called him a cooly. In fact, he is so very rich that he can employ under him some of the white people who look upon him as a coolie. In 1881 when the Dutch Government passed a law enforcing certain conditions on the Indian settlers in the Transvaal, President Kruger, in reply to a representation, assured the Indians that he would see that they would not be subjected to any hardship in virtue of the law in question. When the Boer War broke out the British Government gave out as an excuse for the War that the Hindustani people were treated harshly by the Boer Government, but when the Transvaal came directly under the British Government, the self-same Hindustani people were subjected to laws which were more oppressive than the Boer Laws ! Under the British laws our brethern are treated as coolies ! They are obliged to give the impressions of 18 fingers ! For this oppressive treatment our brethern—whether Mussalmans or Hindus—have come to you asking for your sympathy and help. A Hindu Pandit Swami having refused to “Register” was ordered to leave the country and, having failed to do so, was sent to jail ! We are loyal subjects of the English Government and we remind the Government of their obligations to treat us as British subjects are treated. These obligations were assumed by

the Government in the Queen's Proclamation. When a European comes here from Europe he enjoys the same liberties and privileges as we do. But when we got out of India to a country which is subject to the British Empire we are not allowed the same privileges as those enjoyed by the white inhabitants thereof. The Englishmen say they like to call a devil a devil. They call a spade a spade and they say "speak the truth and shame the devil". (Cheers.)

At this moment Mr. Abbas Tyabji came forward and announced that he had just received a telegram from Transvaal stating that Mr. Gandhi and other Asiatics were arrested under the Asiatic Act for non-registration and that they were to be tried to-day (29th December 1907). He expressed deep regret at the shameful prosecution to which these persons were subjected. He expressed his sympathy for them and asked the audience to help them to the best of their abilities.

Mr. Ram Bhoj Dutt of Lahore said that the news of the fate of Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues had stung the audience to the quick. He said if foolish people called the Transvaal Indians coolies, the Indians would not call them masters.

It was then proposed to send a telegram of sympathy to Mr. Gandhi and his friends, who are to be tried to-day.

Upendranath Bose of Calcutta said that inspite of the disturbance in the Congress on Thursday last the meeting which he was then addressing was attended by more than two-thirds of the total number of the Congress delegates and that they represented the intelligence and culture of assembled India.

After this the draft resolutions which were prepared for the Congress by the Reception Committee were passed by the Conference.

DEPORTATION OF LAJPAT RAI

Mr. Abbas Tyabji in seconding the second resolution re : Lala Lajpatrai's deportation said as follows :—

"Gentlemen, our worthy friend, Mr. Lala Lajpatrai, and others never created any bad feeling in the Punjab. Nobody ever believed for a moment that they did it. Lala's deportation was one of the most shameful acts of the present Government."

Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimji in seconding the resolution regarding the partition of Bengal said as follows :—

“Gentlemen, I heartily second this resolution, but I have got a word to say about boycott of which so much is made. Do you know what I read in a shop in Liverpool last June or July? “Only Englishmen employed here”. There the boycott was against the Scotch, the Irish and the Welsh. We, in India, do not boycott any person of any nation. We only boycott foreign goods.”

RESOLUTION ON EDUCATION.

Pandit M. M. Malaviya of Allahabad in proposing the 9th resolution about Education said as follows :—

“Gentlemen, there are two parts of this resolution, one deals with what we expect by right to have from Government, the second deals with an appeal to the nation to provide for the education of our boys and girls which should not be left to the care of Government alone. You should know that you ought to promote education of our people. We know that our country is most backward educationally. Government have long recognized it their duty to extend education; they have said in that great Despatch that they regard the extension of education as one of the most sacred duties that devolved upon them. But in that very Despatch they also point out that they cannot be expected to perform this duty without the fullest co-operation of the people. Now, we have not sufficiently recognised this fact. While we pray to Government that they should spend more and more-much more than they are doing at present—on education. Let us clearly recognize that it is our duty also to spend as much as possible upon education. It is necessary that we should bring into requisition all the resources that we can possibly command in order to extend education among our brethren and sisters. The taxes that we pay to Government are partly spent for our education. It is our duty and it is our right to ask Government to spend more of our taxes for our education. We shall be neglecting our duty in a very important matter if we did not ask the Government to spend more of the taxes of the people for the promotion of education of the people. At present we must not entirely depend upon what Government will do in the matter. We must ourselves move in the matter. In England although education is in a very much advanced condition and appeals are made to Government for further help, still appeals are also made to the nation at large to spend large amounts of money on education.” (Cheers).

MILITARY EXPENDITURE

Mr. A. Chowdhari in proposing the 10th resolution regarding the Military Expenditure, said :—

“Gentlemen, Russia does not intend to do anything with regard to India, and having regard to the Partition of Persia, there is no danger that anything is likely to burst out there. So far as India is concerned there is no danger, also so far as the East is concerned. There is the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Therefore, India has not been threatened on any side at all, and it is not necessary that very large sums of money out of our revenue should be spent on huge Military establishments.” (Cheers.)

The President moved a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee of the Surat Congress for their excellent arrangements for the comfort of the Delegates.

He reminded his audience of the appeal made to them, while sitting in the Convention a short time before, by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta as to the advisability of going back to their respective provinces to create public opinion and to send to Government well-reasoned memorials on the subject of the new “Reform Proposals” of Mr. Morley. He warned them against allowing the judgment of the public going against them by default. He concluded thus : “Government may attach little or no importance to your views, but you have a duty to do to the country and I hope and trust you will do it.”

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

“Gentlemen, I wish to say a word on the subject of Swadeshi and boycott. Don't you know how strong is the feeling in the Bengal on this subject. Our young men there have been whipped, sent to jail (deep cries of “shame”), punished and sentenced with imprisonment for their devotion to the swadeshi cause ! They are being subjected to the grossest persecutions, but such repression will never daunt us in the prosecution of this glorious work. We have learnt a great lesson from history, that within the school of repression, there is the school of liberty, and in that school are fostered those noble qualities of the head and heart which are embalmed in our National character and constitute its greatest and most precious heritage. We, the people of Bengal, are not to be dissuaded from the swadeshi-boycott campaign by the terrors of persecution. Gentlemen, I have heard some distinction made between swadeshi and

boycott. I am unable to follow that distinction. I have a high authority for saying so in my friend Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal. He is not unfriendly to the Government of this country nor am I unfriendly to the Government of this country.

"I have his high authority for asserting that swadeshi is "boycott" and "boycott" is swadeshi. You must displace the foreign article from the market before you can substitute in its place a home-made or indigenous article. Boycott is a negative and swadeshi a constructive process in this operation. How can you have the one without the other? Swadeshi is "boycott" and Boycott" is swadeshi. You cannot close your eyes to the situation. Truth is truth."

SWARAJ

"There is another matter which is equally close to my heart. That is, swaraj, that is, the attainment of self-Government by the people of India. You have to-day affirmed the principle in your former resolution that Colonial self-government is your goal. You are resolved to have it with the aid of the constitutional resources at your disposal, and in that you have all the sympathies of civilised mankind. We realize the difficulties in our way. Mr. Morley has told us that so far as his imagination could work there is no form of Government more suitable to the people of India than the Government that is personal and arbitrary. (Shame.) I protest against an assumption which condemns our race to a state of servitude. There is no reason why the fur cap should not suit us. It is the veriest fallacy to assert that moral considerations are determined in their application by latitude and longitude. Am I to understand that murder, which is an offence in Asia, is an act of merit in Europe? Am I to understand that the Commandments, which are applicable to the land of their birth, are inapplicable elsewhere? It is a monstrous proposition to lay down. Against it the conscience and judgment of mankind rises in revolt. Therefore, I must protest against this doctrine. I confess I am not always able to follow our rulers through that process of Logic by which they convince themselves and sometimes others of our unfitness for self-government. When it comes to the question of excluding us from higher appointments in the service of the Crown, then they tell us that their Government is Western Government, adapted to Western modes and based upon Western ideas. When it comes to the question of excluding us from self-government, then they tell us that we are Orientals and that as such, are accustomed to the arbitrary authority and no violence should be done to our time-honoured and ancient traditions! In one case we are excluded because the administration is Western

and in the other case we are excluded from self-government because we are Oriental people so that we are fairly between the devil and the deep sea. I hope you will continue this agitation in favour of self-Government, and in fulness of time we are bound to get it.

APPEAL FOR UNITY

“One essential quality, one essential condition that is needed is that you must act in unity and with discipline under your leaders. Uniformity of opinion there cannot be, but unity of action there must be, if you are to attain self-government. Gentlemen, as from year to year we stand upon this Congress platform exchanging brotherly greetings, are not these demonstrations calculated to inspire us with that fervid love for our country and that devotion to the country without which political salvation is impossible? Let the Congress be what it has always been—a source of peace and unity from which we may derive inspiration for the work that is before us in the presence of the mangled, bleeding and prostrate form of the motherland. I ask “Is it moral, is it wise, is it not suicidal that we should be engaged in discord?” Therefore, with the cry of *Bande Mataram* we should lift the sliding genius of our motherland and carry on the work of the Congress movement by forgetting all the causes of disagreement and devoting ourselves to the service of that motherland which we love so well and in whose service some of us, at any rate, have consecrated the best years of their lives. May you all be inspired with this brotherly love, this fraternal devotion and this consecration of your lives to the services of your motherland. Then once again the glory of the ancient *Aryawarta* will be revived and once again our great motherland will take her place amongst the great nationalities of the world.” (Cheers.)

Mr. Eannerji was then garlanded by Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal who also proposed a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Bannerji for presiding on the occasion. The Diwan Bahadur also proposed three cheers for Mr. Bannerji and they were heartily given. Mr. Bannerji proposed a vote of thanks to the Surat Congress Reception Committee for kindly lending the use of their pavilion for the business of the Conference. The Conference was then dissolved.

SURAT SESSION—VERSION OF NATIONALIST LEADERS

*An account of the proceedings as published in the form of a pamphlet
by leaders of the Nationalist group*

A Press Note containing an official narrative of the proceedings of the 23rd Indian National Congress at Surat has been published over the signatures of some of the Congress Officials. As this note contains a number of one-sided and misleading statements it is thought desirable to publish the following account of the proceedings :—

Preliminary

Last year when the Congress was held at Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Congress, consisting of Moderates and Nationalists, unanimously resolved to have for its goal Swaraj or Self-Government on the lines of self-governing Colonies, and passed certain resolutions on Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education. The Bombay Moderates, headed by Sir P. M. Mehta, did not at the time, raise any dissentient voice, but they seem to have felt that their position was somewhat compromised by these resolutions; and they had, since then, been looking forward to an opportunity when they might return to their old position regarding ideals and methods of political progress in India. In the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Surat in April last, Sir P. M. Mehta succeeded by his personal influence in excluding the propositions of Boycott and National Education from the Programme of the Conference. And when it was decided to change the venue of the Congress from Nagpur to Surat, it afforded the Bombay Moderate leaders the desired-for opportunity to carry out their intentions in this respect. The Reception Committee at Surat was presumably composed largely of Sir Pherozshah's followers, and it was cleverly arranged by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to get the Committee nominate Dr. R. B. Ghose, to the office of the President, brushing aside the proposal for the nomination of Lala Lajpatrai, then happily released, on the ground that "We cannot afford to flout the Government at this stage, the authorities would throttle our movement in no time." This was naturally regarded as an insult to the public feeling in the country, and Dr. Ghose must have received at least a hundred telegrams from different parts of India requesting him to generously retire in Lala Lajpatrai's favour. But Dr. Ghose unfortunately decided to ignore this strong expression of public opinion. Lala Lajpatrai, on the other hand, publicly declined the honour. But this did not satisfy the people who wished to disown the principles of selecting a Congress President on the above ground, believing, as they did that the most effective protest against the repressive policy of Government would be to elect Lala Lajpatrai to the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale was entrusted by the reception Committee, at its meeting held on 24th November 1907 for nominating the President, with the work of drafting the resolutions to be placed before the Congress. But neither Mr. Gokhale nor the Reception Committee supplied a copy of the draft resolutions to any delegate till 2-30 p.m. on Thursday the 26th December, that is to say, till the actual commencement of the Congress Session. The public were taken into confidence only thus far that a list of the headings of the subjects likely to be taken up for discussion by the Surat Congress was officially published a week or ten days before the date of the Congress Session. This list did not include the subjects of Self-Government, Boycott and National Education, on all of which *distinct* and *separate* resolutions were passed at Calcutta last year. This omission naturally strengthened the suspicion that the Bombay Moderates really intended to go back from the position taken up by the Calcutta Congress in these matters. The press strongly commented upon this omission, and Mr. Tilak, who reached Surat on the morning of the 23rd December, denounced such retrogression as suicidal in the interests of the country, more especially at the present juncture, at a large mass-meeting held that evening, and appealed to the Surat Public to help the Nationalists in their endeavours to maintain at least the *status quo* in these matters. The next day, a Conference of about five hundred Nationalist Delegates was held at Surat under the chairmanship of Sri. Arbindo Ghose where it was decided that the Nationalists should prevent the attempted retrogression of the Congress by all Constitutional means, even by opposing the election of the President if necessary ; and a letter was written to the Congress Secretaries requesting them to make arrangements for dividing the house, if need be, on every contested proposition, including that of the election of the President.

In the meanwhile a press-note signed by Mr. Gandhi, as Hon. Secretary, was issued to the effect that the statement that certain resolutions adopted last year at Calcutta were omitted from the Congress Programme prepared by the Surat Reception Committee, was wholly unfounded ; but the draft resolutions themselves were still withheld from the public, though some members of the Reception Committee had already asked for them some days before. On the morning of 25th December, Mr. Tilak happened to get a copy of the draft of the proposed constitution of the Congress prepared by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. In this draft the object of the Congress was thus stated "The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by the other members of the British Empire" etc. Mr. Tilak addressed a meeting of the Delegates the same morning at the Congress Camp at

about 9 a.m. explaining the grounds on which he believed that the Bombay Moderate leaders were bent upon receding from the position taken up by the Calcutta Congress on Swaraj, Boycott and National Education. The proposed constitution, Mr. Tilak pointed out, was a direct attempt to tamper with the ideal of Self-Government on the lines of *Self-Governing* colonies, as settled at Calcutta and to exclude the Nationalists from the Congress by making the acceptance of this new creed an indispensable condition of Congress membership. Mr. Tilak further stated in plain terms that if they were assured that no sliding back of the Congress would be attempted, the opposition to the election of the president would be withdrawn. The Delegates at the meeting were also asked to sign a letter of request to Dr. Ghose, the president-elect, requesting him to have the old propositions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education taken up for reaffirmation this year; and some of the Delegates signed it on the spot. Mr. G. Subramania Iyer of Madras, Mr. Karandikar of Satara and several others were present at this meeting and excepting a few all the rest admitted the reasonableness of Mr. Tilak's proposal.

Lala Lajpatrai, who arrived at Surat on the morning of that day, saw Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde in the afternoon and intimated to them his intention to arrange for a Committee of a few leading Delegates from each side to settle the question in dispute. Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde having agreed, he went to Mr. Gokhale to arrange for the Committee if possible; and Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde returned to the Nationalist Conference which was held that evening (25th December). At this Conference a Nationalist Committee consisting of one Nationalist Delegate from each Province was appointed to carry on the negotiations with the leaders on the other side; and it was decided that if the Nationalist Committee failed to obtain any assurance from responsible Congress officials about the *status quo* being maintained, the Nationalists should begin their opposition from the election of the President. For the retrogression of the Congress was a serious step, not to be decided upon only by a bare accidental majority of any party, either in the Subjects Committee or in the whole Congress (as at present constituted), simply because its Session happens to be held in a particular place or province in a particular year; and the usual unanimous acceptance of the President would have under such exceptional circumstances greatly weakened the point and force of the opposition. No kind of intimation was received from Lala Lajpatrai this night or even the next morning, regarding the proposal of a joint Committee of reconciliation proposed by him, nor was a copy of the draft resolutions supplied

to Mr. Tilak, Mr. Khaparde or any other delegate to judge if no sliding back from the old position was really intended.

On the morning of the 26th December, Messrs. Tilak, Khaparde, Arbindo Ghose and others went to Babu Surendranath Eannerji at his residence. They were accompanied by Babu Motilal Ghose of the Amrit Bazar Patrika who had arrived the previous night. Mr. Tilak then informed Babu Surendranath that the Nationalist opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn, if (1) the Nationalist party were assured that the *status quo* would not be disturbed, and (2) if some graceful allusion was made, by any one of the speakers on the resolution about the election of the President, to the desire of the public to have Lala Lajpatrai in the chair. Mr. Eannerji agreed to the latter proposal as he said he was himself to second the resolution ; while as regards the first, though he gave an assurance for himself and Bengal, he asked Mr. Tilak to see Mr. Gokhale or Mr. Malvi. A volunteer was accordingly sent in a carriage to invite Mr. Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, to Mr. Bannerji's residence, but the volunteer brought a reply that Mr. Malvi had no time to come as he was engaged in religious practices. Mr. Tilak then returned to his camp to take his meals as it was already about 11 a.m. ; but on returning to the Congress pandal an hour later he made persistent attempts to get access to Mr. Malvi but could not find him anywhere. A little before 2-30 p.m., a word was brought to Mr. Tilak that Mr. Malvi was in the President's tent, and Mr. Tilak sent a message to him from an adjoining tent, asking for a short interview to which Mr. Malvi replied that he could not see Mr. Tilak as the Presidential procession was being formed. The Nationalist Delegates were waiting in the pandal to hear the result of the endeavours of their Committee to obtain an assurance about the maintenance of the *status quo* from some responsible Congress official, and Mr. V. S. Khare of Nasik now informed them of the failure of Mr. Tilak's attempt in the matter.

First Day.

It has become necessary to state these facts in order that the position of the two parties when the Congress commenced its proceedings on Thursday, the 26th December, at 2-30 p.m. may be clearly understood. The President elect and other persons had now taken their seats on the platform ; and as no assurance from any responsible official of the Congress about the maintenance of the *status quo* was till then obtained, Mr. Tilak sent a slip to Babu Surendranath that he should not make the proposed allusion to the controversy about the Presidential election in his speech. He also wrote to Mr. Malvi to supply him with a copy of the draft resolutions if ready, and at about 3 p.m. while Mr. Malvi was reading his speech, Mr. Tilak got a copy of the draft resolutions, which, he subsequently

found, were published the very evening in the "Advocate of India" in Bombay, clearly showing that the reporter of the paper must have been supplied with a copy at least a day earlier. The withholding of a copy from Mr. Tilak till 3 p.m. that day cannot, therefore, be regarded as accidental.

There were about thirteen hundred and odd delegates at this time in the pandal of whom over 600 were Nationalists, and the Moderate majority was thus a bare majority. After the Chairman's address was over, Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal proposed Dr. R. B. Ghose to the chair in a speech which, though evoking occasional cries of dissent, was heard to the end. The declaration by the Dewan Bahadur as well as by Mr. Malvi that the proposing and seconding of the resolution to elect the President was only a formal business, led many delegates to believe that it was not improbable that the usual procedure of taking votes on the proposition might be dispensed with ; and when Babu Surendranath Bannerji, whose rising on the platform seems to have reminded some of the delegates of the Midnapur incident, commenced his speech, there was persistent shouting and he was asked to sit down. He made another attempt to speak but was not heard, and the session had, therefore, to be suspended for the day. The official press-note suggests that this hostile demonstration was pre-arranged. But the suggestion is unfounded. For though the Nationalists did intend to oppose the election, they had at their Conference, held the previous day, expressly decided to do so only by solidly and silently voting against it in a constitutional manner.

In the evening the Nationalists again held their Conference and authorised their Committee, appointed on the previous day, to further carry on the negotiations for having the *status quo* maintained if possible, failing which it was decided to oppose the election of Dr. Ghose by moving such amendment as the Committee might decide or by simply voting against his election. The Nationalists were further requested, and unanimously agreed, not only to abstain from joining in any such demonstration as led to the suspension of that day's proceedings, but to scrupulously avoid any, even the least, interruption of the speakers on the opposite side, so that both parties might get a patient hearing. At night (about 8 p.m.) Mr. Chunilal Saraiya, Manager of the Indian Specie Bank and Vice-Chairman of the Surat Reception Committee, accompanied by two other gentlemen, went, in his unofficial capacity and on his own account, to Mr. Tilak and proposed that he intended to arrange for a meeting that night between Mr. Tilak and Mr. Gokhale at the residence of a leading Congressman to settle the differences between the two parties. Mr. Tilak agreed and requested Mr. Chunilal if an interview could be arranged, to fix the time in consultation with Mr. Gokhale, adding

that he, Mr. Tilak would be glad to be present at the place of the interview at any hour of the night. Thereon Mr. Chunilal left Tilak but unhappily no word was received by the latter that night.

Second Day

On the morning of Friday the 27th (11 a.m.) Mr. Chunilal Saraiya again saw Mr. Tilak and requested him to go in company with Mr. Khaparde to Prof. Gajjar's bungalow near the Congress pandal, where by appointment, they were to meet Dr. Rutherford, who was trying for a reconciliation. Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde went to Prof. Gajjar's, but Dr. Rutherford could not come then owing to his other engagements. Prof. Gajjar then asked Mr. Tilak what the latter intended to do ; and Mr. Tilak stated that if no settlement was arrived at privately owing to every leading Congressman being unwilling to take any responsibility in the matter upon himself, he (Mr. Tilak) would be obliged to bring an amendment to the proposition of electing the President after it had been seconded. The amendment would be to the effect that the business of election should be adjourned, and a Committee, consisting of one leading Moderate and one leading Nationalist from each Congress Province, with Dr. Rutherford's name added, be appointed to consider and settle the differences between the two parties, both of which should accept the Committee's decision as final and then proceed to the *unanimous* election of the President. Mr. Tilak even supplied to Prof. Gajjar the names of the delegates, who, in his opinion, should form the Committee, but left a free hand to the Moderates to change the names of their representatives if they liked to do so*. Prof. Gajjar and Mr. Chunilal undertook to convey the proposal to Sir P. M. Mehta or Dr. Rutherford in the Congress Camp and asked Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde, to go to the pandal and there await reply. After half an hour Prof. Gajjar and Mr. Saraiya returned and told Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde that nothing could be done in the matter, Mr. Saraiya adding that if both parties proceeded constitutionally, there would be no hitch.

* The names given to Prof. Gajjar were as follows :—UNITED BENGAL—Babu Surendranath or A. Chaudhari, Ambikacharan Mujumdar, Arbindo Ghose, Ashwinikumar Dutt ; UNITED PROVINCES—Pandit Madan Mohan, Jatindranath Sen ; PUNJAB—Lala Harkisonlal, Dr. H. Mukerji ; CENTRAL PROVINCES—Raoji Govind, Dr. Munje ; BERAR—R. N. Mudholkar, Khaparde ; BOMBAY—Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, B. G. Tilak ; MADRAS—V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Chidambaram Pillai, Dr. Rutherford. This Committee was to meet immediately and decide on the question in issue. The names of the Nationalist representatives in the above list, except Mr. A. K. Dutt, were those of the members of the Committee appointed at the Nationalist Conference on the previous day.

It was about 12-30 at this time, and on the receipt of the above reply Mr. Tilak wrote in pencil the following note to Mr. Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee:—

Sir:—I wish to address the delegates on the proposal of the election of the President after it is seconded. I wish to move an adjournment with a constructive proposal. Please announce me.

Your sincerely,

B. G. TILAK,
Deccan Delegate (Poona).

This note, it is admitted, was put by a volunteer into the hands of Mr. Malvi, the Chairman, as he was entering the pandal with the President-elect in procession.

The proceedings of the day commenced at 1 p.m. when Babu Surendranath Bannerji was called upon to resume his speech, seconding the election of the President. Mr. Tilak was expecting a reply to his note but not having received one up to this time asked Mr. N. C. Kelkar to send a reminder. Mr. Kelkar thereupon sent a chit to the Chairman to the effect that "Mr. Tilak requests a reply to his note". But no reply was received even after this reminder, and Mr. Tilak, who though he was allotted a seat on the platform, was sitting in the front row of the Delegate's seats near the platform-steps, rose to go up the platform *immediately* after Babu Surendranath, who was calmly heard by all, had finished his speech. But he was held back by the volunteer in the way. Mr. Tilak however, asserted his right to go up and pushing aside the volunteer succeeded in getting to the platform just when Dr. Ghose was moving to take the President's chair. The Official Note says that by the time Mr. Tilak came upon the platform and stood in front of the president, the motion of the election of Dr. Ghose had been passed by an overwhelming majority; and Dr. Ghose being installed in the Presidential chair by loud and *prolonged* applause, had risen to begin his address. All this, if it did take place, as alleged, could only have been done in a deliberately hurried manner with a set purpose to trick Mr. Tilak out of his right to address the Delegates and move an amendment as previously notified. According to the usual procedure Mr. Malvi was bound to announce Mr. Tilak, or if he considered the amendment out of order, declare it to publicity, and to ask for a show of hands in favour of or against the motion. But nothing of the kind was done; nor was the interval of a few seconds sufficient for a prolonged applause as alleged.

As Mr. Tilak stood up on the platform he was greeted with shouts of disapproval from the Members of the Reception Committee on the

platform, and the cry was taken up by other Moderates. Mr. Tilak repeatedly insisted upon his right of addressing the Delegates, and told Dr. Ghose, when he attempted to interfere, that he was not properly elected. Mr. Malvi said that he had ruled Mr. Tilak's amendment out of order to which Mr. Tilak replied that the ruling, if any, was wrong and Mr. Tilak had a right to appeal to the Delegates on the same. By this time there was general uproar in the pandal, the Moderates shouting at Mr. Tilak and asking him to sit down and the Nationalists demanding that he should be heard. At this stage Dr. Ghose and Mr. Malvi said that Mr. Tilak should be removed from the platform; and a young gentleman, holding the important office of a Secretary to the Reception Committee, touched Mr. Tilak's person with a view to carry out the Chairman's order. Mr. Tilak pushed the gentleman aside and again asserted his right of being heard, declaring that he would not leave the platform unless bodily removed. Mr. Gokhale seems to have here asked the abovementioned gentleman not to touch Mr. Tilak's person. But there were others who were seen threatening an assault on his person, though he was calmly standing on the platform facing the Delegates with his arms folded over his chest.

It was during the confusion that a shoe hurled on to the platform hit Sir P. M. Mehta on the side of the face after touching Babu Surendranath Bannerji, both of whom were sitting within a yard of Mr. Tilak on the other side of the table. Chairs were now seen being lifted to be thrown at Mr. Tilak by persons on and below the platform, and some of the Nationalists, therefore, rushed on to the platform to his rescue. Dr. Ghose in the meanwhile twice attempted to read his address, but was stopped by cries of "no, no," from all sides in the pandal, and the confusion became still worse. It must be stated that the Surat Reception Committee, composed of Moderates, had made arrangements the previous night to dismiss the Nationalist Volunteers and to hire *bohras* or Mahomedan goondas for the day. These with lathis were stationed at various places in the pandal and their presence was detected and protested against by the Nationalist Delegates before the commencement of the Congress proceedings of the day. But though one or two were removed from the pandal, the rest who remained therein, now took part in the scuffle on behalf of their masters. It was found impossible to arrest progress of disorder and the proceedings were then suspended *sine die*; and the Congress officials retired in confusion to a tent behind the pandal. The police, who seem to have been long ready under a requisition, now entered into and eventually cleared the pandal; while the Nationalist Delegates who had gone to the platform safely escorted Mr. Tilak to an adjoining tent. It remains to be mentioned that

copies of an inflammatory leaflets in Gujrathi asking the Gujrathi people to rise against Mr. Tilak were largely distributed in the pandal before the commencement of the day's proceedings.

It would be seen from the above account that the statement in the official note to the effect that Dr. Ghose was elected President amid loud and prolonged applause before Mr. Tilak appeared on the platform and that Mr. Tilak wanted to move an adjournment of the whole Congress are entirely misleading and unfounded. What he demanded, by way of amendment, was an adjournment of the business of the election of the President in order to have the differences settled by a joint Conciliatory Committee of leading Delegates from both sides. Whether this was in order or otherwise, Mr. Tilak had certainly a right to appeal to the Delegates and it was this consciousness that led Mr. Malvi and his advisers to hastily wind up the election business without sending a reply to Mr. Tilak or calling upon him to address the delegates. It was a trick by which they intended to deprive Mr. Tilak of the right of moving an amendment and addressing the Delegates therein. As for the beginning of the actual rowdyism on the day, some of the members of the Reception Committee itself were responsible. The silent hearing given by the Nationalists to Mr. Surendranath, on the one hand, and the circulation of the inflammatory leaflet and the hiring of the goondas on the other, further prove that if there was any pre-arrangement anywhere for the purpose of creating a row in the pandal, it was on the part of the Moderates themselves. But for their rowdyism there was every likelihood of Mr. Tilak's amendment being carried by a large majority and the election of the President afterwards taking place smoothly and unanimously. But neither Dr. Ghosh nor any other Congress officials seemed willing to tactfully manage the business as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji did last year.

Dr. Ghose's speech though undelivered in the Congress pandal had been by this time published in the Calcutta papers, and telegrams from Calcutta received in the evening showed that he had made an offensive attack on the Nationalist party therein. This added to the sensation in the Nationalist Camp that evening, but the situation was not such as to preclude all hope of reconciliation. Sriyut Motilal Ghose of the "Patrika", Mr. A. C. Moitra of Rajshahi, Mr. B. C. Chatterji of Calcutta and Lala Harkisonlal from Lahore, accordingly tried their best to bring about a compromise, and, if possible, to have the Congress Session revived the next day. They went to Mr. Tilak on the night of the 27th and the morning of 28th to ascertain the

views of his party, and to each of them Mr. Tilak gave the following assurance in writing :—

Surat, 28th December 1907.

“ Dear Sir,

With reference to our conversation, and principally in the best interests of the Congress, I and my party are prepared to waive our opposition to the election of Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose as President of 23rd Indian National Congress, and are prepared to act in the spirit of forget and forgive, provided firstly, the last year's resolutions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education are adhered to and each expressly reaffirmed, and secondly, such passages, if any, in Dr. Ghose's speech as may be offensive to the Nationalist Party are omitted ”.

Yours etc.,

B. G. TILAK.

This letter was taken by the gentlemen to whom it was addressed to the Moderate leaders but no compromise was arrived at as the Moderates were all along bent upon the retrogression of the Congress at any cost. A Convention of the Moderates was, therefore, held in the pandal the next day, where Nationalists were not allowed to go even when some of them were ready and offered to sign the declaration required. On the other hand those who did not wish to go back from the position taken up at the Calcutta Congress and honestly desired to work further on the same lines met in a separate place the same evening to consider what steps might be taken to continue the work of the Congress in future. Thus ended the proceedings of the 23rd Indian National Congress ; and we leave it to the public to judge of the conduct of the two parties in this affair from the statement of facts herein before given.

(Signed) B. G. TILAK.

(Signed) G. S. KHAPARDE.

(Signed) ARBINDO GHOSE.

(Signed) B. G. CHATTERJEE.

(Signed) H. C. MUKERJEE GHOSE.

Surat, 31st December 1907.

APPENDIX

HOW THEY WANTED TO GO BACK

The Congress Ideal

At the Calcutta Congress, under the Presidentship of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, it was resolved that the goal of Congress should be Swaraj on the lines of Self-Governing British Colonies, and this goal was accepted by all. Moderates and Nationalists, without a single dissentient voice. The resolution on Self-Government passed there is as follows :—

“*Self-Government.*—This Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the Self-Governing British Colonies should be extended to India and that as steps leading to it, urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out.”

(Here followed certain administrative reforms such as simultaneous examinations in England and India, reform of Executive and Legislative Councils and of Local and Municipal Boards).

The Congress Reception Committee at Surat did not publish the draft Resolution till the commencement of the Congress sessions ; but a draft Constitution of the Congress, prepared by the Honourable Mr. Gokhale, was published a day or two earlier. In this draft the goal of the Congress was defined as follows :—

“The Indian National Congress had for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire and a participation by her in the privileges and responsibilities of the empire on equal terms with the other members ; and it seeks to advance towards this goal by strictly constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and improving the condition of the mass of the people”.

“Those who accept the foregoing creed of the Congress, shall be members of the Provincial Committee.” “All who accept the foregoing creed of the Congress shall be entitled to become members of a District Congress Committee”.

“From the year 1908, delegates to the Congress shall be elected by Provincial and District Congress Committees only”,

Remarks.—It will at once be seen that the new Constitution intended to convert the Congress from a national into a sectional movement. The goal of Swaraj on the lines of self-governing Colonies as settled last year, was to be given up; and in its stead Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members (not necessarily self-governing) of the British Empire, was to be set up as the *ultimate* goal, evidently meaning, that it was to be considered as out of the pale of practical politics.

The same view is expressed by Sir Phirozshah Mehta in his interview with the Correspondent of the Times of India, published in the issue of the Times, dated 30th December 1907. The Hon. Gokhale must have taken his cue from the same source. The reform of the existing system of administration, and not its gradual replacement by a popular system, was to be the immediate object of the Congress according to this Constitution; and further no one, who did not accept this new creed, was to be a member of Provincial or District Committees, or possibly even a delegate to the Congress after 1908. This was the chief feature of retrogression, which Sir P. M. Mehta and his party wanted to carry out this year at a safe place like Surat. It is true that the old resolution of Self-Government was subsequently included in the draft Resolutions published only after the commencement of the Congress Session. But the draft Constitution was never withdrawn.

Swadeshi Movement

The Calcutta resolution on the Swadeshi Movement was as follows :—

“This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi Movement and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries, and to stimulate the production of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities even at some sacrifice”.

At Surat the draft resolution on the subject was worded as follows :—

“This Congress accords it most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement, and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and stimulate the consumption of indigenous articles by giving them preference where possible over imported commodities.”

Remarks.—Last year the words “even at some sacrifice” were introduced at the end after great discussion and as a compromise between the two parties. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale or Sir P. M. Mehta now wanted to have these words expunged, converting the old resolution into a mere appeal for preference for the indigenous over imported goods.

Boycott Movement

The Calcutta Resolution was as follows :—

“Having regard to the fact that people of this country have little or no voice in its administration and that their representations to Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the Boycott Movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against partition of that Province was and is legitimate”.

The proposed resolution at Surat was :—

“Having regard to the fact that people of this country have little or no voice in its administration and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration this Congress is of opinion that the boycott of foreign goods resorted to in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of the Province was and is legitimate”.

Remarks.—This subject was not included in the list of subjects published at first but seems to have been subsequently inserted in the draft Resolutions, when the first omission in the list was severely noticed in the press. The words *Boycott Movement* in the old resolution have, however, been changed into *Boycott of foreign goods*.

National Education

The Calcutta Resolution was as follows :—

“In the opinion of this Congress time has arrived for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of National Education for both boys and girls and organize a system of Education—Literary, Scientific, Technical—suited to the requirements of the country on National lines and under National control.”

The proposed resolution at Surat runs thus :—

“In the opinion of this Congress time has arrived for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of National Education for both boys and girls and organise an independent system of education—literary, scientific, technical—suited to requirements of the country”.

Remarks.—The change is significant in as much as the word “on National lines and under National control” are omitted in the Surat draft, for “control” is the most important factor in this matter. The phrase “an independent system” does not convey all that is desired.

NEWSPAPER COMMENTS

(EXTRACTS FROM NEWSPAPERS FROM 1886 TO 1915.)

हिंदुस्थान सरकारचें सर्व्युलर व काँग्रेस (बऱ्हाड समाचार)

ता. ११ एप्रील १८९९

हिंदुस्थान सरकारचा हुकूम आहे कीं, सरकारी नोकरांनीं राजकीय चळवळींत शिरू नये. त्या हुकमाचा मूळ उगम राष्ट्रीय सभेत आहे. कायदेशीर व राजनिष्ठपणाच्या राजकीय संस्था लोकांनीं उभारल्या आहेत. त्यापासून अगदी निराळें तिऱ्हाडताप्रमाणें रहाण्याचा सरकारचा उद्देश आहे. लोकांनीं राजकीय प्रकरणाविषयीं भवति न भवति करावी आणि त्या वादविवादाच्या खलांत सरकारचे दोष जनांच्या नजरे समोर आणावे हें सरकारास सर्वथैव पसंत असावें हें संभवत नाहीं. राष्ट्रीय सभेसारख्या संस्था बंद करण्यापुरता सरकारला योग्य अधिकार पोचला असता तर ही सभा चालली आहे तशीच चालली असती किंवा नाहीं याचा आम्हांस संशय आहे. योग्य अधिकार असता असें म्हणण्याचें कारण कीं, सरकार आपल्या हुकमानें राष्ट्रीय सभा एका क्षणांत बंद करू शकेल. परन्तु अशी मोगलाई करणें म्हणजे त्यांच्या इतक्या दिवसाच्या सुनीतीला हरताळ लावल्यासारखें होईल. आणि लोकमताची पायमल्ली झाल्यानें लोकांचा सरकार वरील विश्वास उडेल व तेणेंकरून राज्यास अनेक विघ्नें येतील. राज्याच्या चिरस्थायीपणाला ह्या बाधक गोष्टी टळाव्या व राष्ट्रीय सभेला महत्त्व पोचूं नये म्हणून सरकार ह्या राष्ट्रीय चळवळीसंबंधी अगदी तटस्थ राहिलें इतकेंच नव्हे तर सरकारच्या पदरचीं चाकरमाणसें राष्ट्रीय सभेंत असली तर कदाचित् सरकारची संमति व अनुकूलता राष्ट्रीय सभेला आहेच असें अडाणी लोक समजतील म्हणून त्यांनाहि राष्ट्रीय सभेंत न शिरण्याविषयीं सक्त हुकूम सरकारनें फर्माविले.

हल्लीं मुंबई सरकारनें गेल्या सहावे तारखेस हिंदुस्थान सरकारचा मुख्य हुकूम घेऊन त्याखालीं सर्व लोकांच्या माहितीकरिता तीन नवीन नियम घाळून दिले आहेत त्याचा मतलब येणेंप्रमाणें.—

(१) ज्या राजकीय सभेला गेल्यानें आपल्या जाण्याचा भलता अर्थ होण्यासारखा आहे आणि त्यामुळें अधिकारी या नात्यानें आपल्या चाकरीला कमीपणा येणार आहे त्या सभेला सामान्यतः कोणीही सरकारी अधिकाऱ्यानें जाऊं नये.

(२) राजकीय चळवळींत कोणत्याही प्रकारें सरकारी नोकरांनीं अंग ठेवूं नये. किंवा राजकीय घडामोडी करूं नये.

(३) ज्या कोणा सरकारी नोकराला एखाद्या राजकीय प्रकरणासंबंधाने आपल्या स्वातंत्र्याबद्दल संशय येईल त्याने आपल्या वरिष्ठांकडून आपल्या प्रश्नांची फोड करून घ्यावी.

वरील तिन्ही नियमांचा रोख अगदी निराळ्या प्रकारचा आहे. हा मुंबई सरकारचा किंवा इतर प्रांतीय सरकारचा असेल असाही संभव आहे. तेव्हा त्या नियमांच्या वास्तविक स्वरूपांशी लोकांची पक्की ओळख करून दिली पाहिजे.

[The above extract from * *Varhad Samachar*, dated 11th April 1899 comments on the government order of 6th April 1899 directing government servants (1) not to attend political meetings which may create misunderstanding about them or degrade their official position, (2) not to participate in any way in political activities; and (3) to refer to higher authorities when they were in doubt regarding their freedom concerning political matters.]

THE MAHOMMEDANS AND THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

“The attempts of some mischeivous Anglo-Indian papers on the other side of India to encourage racial jealousies and disunions on which according to them mainly depend the stability of the British Empire have been so far successful. The National Mahommedans, Association of Calcutta has resolved not to take part in the proceedings of the Second National Congress on the ground that there is no question before the Congress which has not been receiving the attention it deserves from the Government. We are glad that the Mahommedans on this side do not agree with them.”

(*Mahatha*, Poona, dated 16th December 1886, page 2.)

ह्यूम काँग्रेस व रानडे

(वन्हाड समाचार २१ मे १८८८)

मि. अ. ओ. ह्यूम ह्या युरोपियन सद्गृहस्थाचे राष्ट्रीय समेच्या उत्कर्षासाठी उत्तर हिंदुस्थानांत चाललेले श्रम पाहून आनंदाश्चर्य तर वाटतेच पण अगदी परस्थानी आमच्या एका हितप्रद गोष्टीकरितां झटावें आणि आमच्यातील चळवळ्यांनी त्याच

* This and other extracts from the *Varhad Samachar* (started 1865, closed 1918), an Anglo-Marathi weekly from Akola-Vidarbha, were collected by Ravindra R. Jain, M.A., of Nagpur, who kindly allowed to use them for this publication.

बाबतीत शिथिलता धारण केलेली असावी. हे मनांत आले म्हणजे एक प्रकारची लाज वाटते. परवां वक्तृत्व प्रसंगी शेवटीं भाषण करतांना रा. ब. रानडे यांनीं सांगितले कीं राष्ट्रीय समेविरुद्ध हालचाल करणारे सर सय्यद अहमद केवळ मुसलमानातच आहेत असें नाहीं; तर आमच्यातील कांहीं व्यक्तिमुद्धां हा सय्यद अहमदीपणा भरला आहे. अशा लोकास वाटते कीं राष्ट्रीय समेसारख्या शुष्क चळवळीपासून कांहीं एक उपयोग होणार नाहीं. खरें आहे. आज कांहीं उपयोग नाहीं पण उपयोग होण्याचे जे अनेक राज्यमार्ग आहेत त्यांपैकींच हा एक आहे ह्यांत संशय नाहीं व या मार्गानें आपण संगन मतानें व चांगला नेट धरून गेल्याशिवाय यश प्राप्ती होणार नाहीं. याकारितां सर्वांनीं असल्या देशहितकारक गोष्टींविषयीं आपली उदासिनता टाकून देऊन तिला यथाशक्ती साहाय्य करण्यास तत्पर असलें पाहिजे. रावबहादुरांच्या ह्या उपदेशाचा जनांवर कांहींतरी परिणाम होवो.

[The above extract from *Varhad Samachar*, dated 21st May 1888 eulogises A. O. Hume's efforts for India's political progress and quotes M. G. Ranade's view that the Indian National Congress possessed great potentialities and people must help in building up the organisation. Ranade deprecated that there were Sayed Ahmed not only among the Muslims but also among the Hindus who opposed the Congress movement.]

THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT

(Extract from the *Hindu Patriot*, dated 8th September 1888, page 484.)

“To every candid and thoughtful person, whether European or Indian, the movement called the National Congress must commend itself as the natural outcome of that higher education which, under the auspices of an enlightened and beneficent Government, is being imparted to the upper and middle classes of Indian Society. That its birth-place is Bengal, only proves the truth of the assertion we have just made.”

But though the movement originated in Bengal it met with ready and cordial sympathy from the educated classes of Bombay and Madras, and the sympathy is in proportion with the intelligence of the community.”

HUME ON SIR A. COLVIN'S LETTER REGARDING CONGRESS

(From the *Hindu Patriot*, dated 5th November 1888, page 511.)

News.—Hume's letter to the *Morning Post* regarding the letter lately addressed to him by Sir A. Colvin says :—

“I notice a paragraph in your paper of yesterday's date referring to a letter which Sir Auckland Colvin was kind enough to address to me in regard to certain aspects of the Congress question. It is true that he kindly authorized me to publish this letter and it is in the Press, and I hope that until they read it for themselves your readers will suspend their judgment in regard to it. In the meantime, I will only say that while it is an admirable letter, deserving the most careful consideration of all interested in the Congress Movement, it certainly cannot by any stretch of language, be said to “speak of this in the warmest terms throughout”. On the contrary, beginning to end, criticism of both the methods and measures of the Congress, a calm kindly temperate criticism, which with my reply to it (also in the press) will, I believe, greatly assist the clearing up of many misapprehensions that still exist as to the Congress party and its opponents. I look upon this letter of our Lieut. Governor's as one of the most valuable contributions to a right comprehension of and though differences of opinion must, “in this world of error, ignorance and strife”, no doubt continue to exist, I think that all thoughtful men at all interested in the subject will be, as I am, very grateful for it to Sir A. Colvin.”

मुधोळकरांचे हचुमच्या सक्थूलर वरील पत्रक.

(वऱ्हाड सभाचार ता. १८ माहे एप्रिल १८९२.)

उमरावती येथील सुप्रसिद्ध वकील मि. आर. एन्. मुधोळकर यांनी ‘ह्युमसाहेबांचे पत्रांत बाउ वाटण्यासारखें कांहीं नाहीं, त्यांनीं भावी दुःखस्थितीचा बावटा उभाखून जागे केले त्याबद्दल त्यांचे उतराई होणेंच योग्य आहे, अशा अर्थाचें एक पत्र इंग्लिश पत्रांत प्रसिद्ध केलें आहे. ह्युमसाहेबांच्या पत्रानें लोकमत बाहेर पडण्यास तूर्त जागा केली आहे खरी.

[The above extract from *Varhad Samachar* of 18th April 1892 refers to R. N. Mudholkar's letter to the press which states that A. O. Hume's Circular letter contained nothing objectionable.]

ह्यूम आणि काँग्रेस.

(केसरीतील निवडक उतारे)

(केसरी तारीख २४ मे १८९२)

ह्यूम साहेबांचें सरक्युलर निघाल्यापासून काँग्रेस पक्षाची कशी काय स्थिति होते याची सर्वांसच काळजी पडल्यासारखी झाली आहे. हे सरक्युलर खाजगी रीतीने वाटण्या-करितां काढिलें असतांही त्यामुळें आमच्या कित्येक काँग्रेस कमिठ्यांची कशी गाळण झाली हें सर्वांस माहीतच आहे. सरक्युलर उघडपणें प्रसिद्ध होण्यापूर्वीच जर ही स्थिती तर इंग्रजी वर्तमानपत्रकारांनीं याची उघडपणें प्रसिद्ध केल्यावर कित्येकांची काय अवस्था झाली असेल याचा विचार करण्याचीहि जरूर नाहीं. मुंबई, अलाहाबाद व मद्रास वगैरे कमिठ्यांकडून याचा उघड निषेध करण्यांत आला, व कांहीं लोक राजद्रोहाच्या भीतीनें स्वस्थ बसले, परन्तु हा भित्रेपणा आमच्या सुदैवानें सर्वत्र फैलावला नाहीं. ह्यूम साहेबांनीं वर्णिलेली स्थिति खरी आहे, किंबहुना अक्षरशः खरी आहे, असें जरी पुष्कळांस वाटत होतें, तरी आपले विचार स्पष्टपणें व खणखणीत रीतीनें बोलून दाखविण्याचें इंग्रज लोकांत जे धैर्य आहे तें आमच्यांत नसल्यामुळें ह्यूमसाहेबांचे विचार कितीहि खरे असले तरी त्यांचीं भाषा कितपत कायदेशीर आहे, या विवंचनेंतच आम्ही गुरफटून पडलों व आमच्यापैकीं कांहीं जणांनीं तर धडधडीत इंग्रजी वर्तमानपत्रकर्त्यांची बाजू स्वीकारली. आमच्या मध्ये अशा रीतीनें जरी उघड मतभेद झाला होता, तरी एकंदरीत नेटिव वर्तमानपत्रकारांनीं हळू हळू ह्यूमसाहेबांचीच बाजू धरून त्यांचे सरक्युलरास आपली पूर्णपणें अनुमति दर्शविली, व काँग्रेसच्या पक्षांत फूट पाडण्याचा जो संभव होता तो बराच नाहींसा केला. × × × राजद्रोही सरक्युलराचें लेखक ह्यूमसाहेब यांस अद्यापि काँग्रेसचे सेक्रेटरी राहूं देतील कीं, काय ? असे कुटिल प्रश्न कित्येक विघ्नसंतोषी लोक विचारीत आहेत ; परंतु सदर प्रश्न करणारांची हौस फिटण्याचा निदान आमचेकडे तरी कांहीं संभव नाहीं, इतके त्यांस आम्हीं खात्रीनें कळवितों. काँग्रेस सभेची उपयुक्तता आणि ह्यूम साहेबांनीं सदर सभेंसाठीं आजपर्यंत केलेले अविश्रांत व निरपेक्ष श्रम ही लोकांच्या मनांत इतकी बिंबून गेली आहेत की, ह्यूम साहेब जे म्हणतील त्यांस मंडळी रुकार देण्यास तयार आहेत. मग ह्यूम साहेब आमच्या देशांच्या सद्यःस्थितीचें हुबेहुब चित्र काढून ते आम्हांस व आमच्या राज्यकर्त्यांस दाखवून दोघांसहि आपआपल्या कर्तव्यविषयीं जागृत करण्याचा उद्योग करित असतां आम्ही त्यांस अर्ध्या वाटेंतच सोडून देऊं ही गोष्ट आमच्या हातून कदापिही घडणार नाहीं.

(केसरी ता. ६ डिसेंबर १८९२)

ह्युम साहेबांचें हें कडकडीत सरक्युलर आणि त्यावरील इंग्रजी वर्तमानपत्रकारांचे प्रतिकूल अभिप्राय हे जेव्हां प्रथमतः आमच्या मंडळींच्या नजरेस आले तेव्हां त्यांचीहि पांचावर धारण बसली. अलाहाबाद कमिटीने सदर सरक्युलराचा उघड निषेध करून त्याबद्दल आपले प्रतिकूल मत प्रदर्शित केलें व तिचे मागोमाग मुंबई व मद्रास येथील कमिथ्यांनीहि तोच मार्ग स्वीकारला. खुद्द विलायतेच्या कमिटींतहि ह्युम साहेबांस जितके पाठबळ मिळेल असे वाटत होतें तितके मिळालें नाहीं. हें राजद्रोही सरक्युलर आपणांस पसंत नाहीं असें कित्येकांनीं मत दिलें व कांहीं थोडे जण मात्र ह्युम साहेबांस पाठबळ देण्यांस तयार झाले. सारांश, यां सरक्युलरानें काँग्रेसच्या संस्थेसही कांहीं धक्का पोचतो कीं काय अशी सर्वत्रास क्षणभर भीती वाटली होती; परंतु लवकरच सुदैवानें तो विषय व तें सरक्युलर लोकांच्या नजरे-पुढचें नाहीं झालें. सरकारने त्याबद्दल कांहींएक विचारपूस केली नाहीं इतकेंच नव्हे, तर खुद्द इंग्लंडचे माजी प्रधान लॉर्ड सॉलिसबरी यांच्याहि तोंडांतून आयलंडा-बद्दल अशाच तऱ्हेचें उद्गार बाहेर पडले, आणि दोनचार महिन्यांतच पुनः जिकडे तिकडे सामसूम झालें. मात्र आमच्या लोकांनीं ह्या आणीबाणीच्या वेळीं जो भेकडपणा दाखविला तेवढाच पुढेमागे राष्ट्रीय सभेच्या इतिहासांत कायम राहिलेला दृष्टीस येणार आहे.

(केसरी ता. ६ डिसेंबर १८९२)

आज या गोष्टीला आठ महिने होऊन गेले आणि यंदाची राष्ट्रीय सभा भरण्याची वेळहि जवळ येऊन ठेपली आहे. अशा प्रसंगीं या विषयाचें पुनः स्मरण होण्याचें कारण असें कीं, मुंबई येथील राष्ट्रीय सभेचे सेक्रेटरी मि. दिनशा एदलजी वाळा यांनीं ह्युम साहेबांचें सरक्युलर साधार व सप्रमाण होतें असें दाखविण्यासाठीं सेक्रेटरी ऑफ स्टेट पासून कलेक्टरापर्यंत निरनिराळ्या सरकारी कामदारांचे वेळोवेळीं रिपोर्टांतून त्या त्या प्रसंगीं विलायतेंत टाइम्स स्पेक्टेटर वगैरे वर्तमानपत्रांतून आलेले लेख आणि कांहीं नॉन-ऑफिशियल लोकांचीं मतें मिळून सर्व पुस्तकरूपानें प्रसिद्ध केलीं आहेत. ह्युम साहेबांचें सरक्युलर निघालें तेव्हां मुंबई कमिटीने त्यावर जो अभिप्राय दिला त्यावरून सदर सरक्युलराचें इतक्या चांगल्या रितीनें मुंबईतील गृहस्थाकडूनच समर्थन होईल असें वाटत नव्हतें; परन्तु मि. वाळा यांनीं बाजू संभाळून अगदीं योग्यवेळीं यंदाची राष्ट्रीय सभा होण्याच्या सुमारासच आपला हा लेख प्रसिद्ध केला व राष्ट्रीय सभेच्या सेक्रेटरींनीं वाढिल्लें सरक्युलर अगदीं यथार्थ व सप्रमाण आहे असें सरकारी

कागदपत्रावरून सिद्ध करून दिलें, याबद्दल आम्ही त्यांचे मनापासून आभार मानतो. यंदाच्या वर्षी राष्ट्रीय सभेच्या संबंधानें महत्वाच्या म्हणून ज्या कांहीं दहापांच गोष्टी घडल्या त्यांपैकीं सदर सक्क्यूलर ही एक असून त्याचें पुष्टीकरणार्थ आपल्याजवळ कोणता पुरावा आहे, हे प्रत्येक मुक्त्यारास अलाहाबादेस जाण्यापूर्वी माहित करून घेणें अवश्य होतें. तेव्हां मि. वाछा यांनीं ही माहिती अगदीं योग्य वेळेवर प्रसिद्ध केली असें म्हटलें पाहिजे. ह्यूम साहेबांचें सक्क्यूलर तुम्हांस कसें काय वाटलें असा एखाद्या मुखत्यारानें दुसऱ्यास प्रश्न केल्यास आतां कोणासहि तोंड खालीं घालून भेकडपणा दाखविण्याची जरूर नाही.

(केसरी तारीख १३ डिसेंबर १८९२)

गेल्या खेपेस मि. वाछा यांच्या निबंधांतील थोडासा सारांश दिला होता. त्यावरून एकंदर हिंदुस्थानांतील शेतकऱ्यांची स्थिति उत्तरोत्तर कशीकशी निष्कृष्ट होत चालली आहे हें लक्षांत येईल. रा. ब. रानडे यांनीं कांहीं महिन्यापूर्वी डेक्कन कॉलेज गॅदरिंग-पुढें जो निबंध वाचला होता, त्यांतहि सामान्यतः हिंदुस्थान देशासंबंधानें अशाच तऱ्हेचे उद्गार आहेत. सदरील निबंध शेतकऱ्यास विशेष अनुलक्षून नसल्यामुळें त्यांत शेतकऱ्यांच्या स्थितीचें जितकें सविस्तर वर्णन यावें तितकें आलें नाहीं हें खरें आहे ; तथापि हिंदुस्थान व इतर देशांची तुलना करून इतर देशांस हितकारक होणारे अर्थशास्त्राचें नियम आपल्या देशास कां लागू करूं नयेत, याबद्दल रावबहादुरांनीं जीं कारणें दाखविलीं आहेत, ती हिंदुस्थान देशांतील शेंकडा ८०-९० लोकांचा शेतकी हाच धंदा असल्यामुळें, शेतकऱ्यांस व एकंदर देशांतील लोकांस सारखीच लागू पडतात.

(केसरी तारीख १३ डिसेंबर १८९२)

ह्यूम साहेबांनीं या कामांत जो कित्ता घालून दिला तोच आपणांस गिरवला पाहिजे. मग बडेबडे नीति निपुण कामगार अगर त्यांचे तरफदार इंग्रजी वर्तमानपत्रकार आह्मास शिष्या देवोत वा वंदोत. आम्ही जर या वेळेस मौन धरूं तर शेतकऱ्यांस उत्तरोत्तर जी विपन्नावस्था येत चालली आहे तिनें त्रासून ते एखाद्या अवचित प्रसंगीं दंगा अगर बंड करण्यास खरोखरच प्रवृत्त होतील, यांत शंका नाहीं. मि. ह्यूम यांच्या लेखानें जर कोणाची खात्री झाली नसेल, तर मि. वाछा यांनीं दिलेले आधार व प्रमाणें वाचून

त्यांनी आपल्या संशयाची निवृत्ति करून घ्यावी, अशी त्यांस आमची सूचना आहे. ह्युम साहेबांस नुसता दोष देत बसण्यांत कांहीं हांशील नाही. इंग्रजी राज्यावर जर पुढें मागें कांहीं संकट येणार असलें तर उत्तरेकडून अगर वायव्येकडून येणार नाही. असलीं संकटें कितीहि असली तरी तीं निवारण करण्याइतकें आमच्या सरकारचें सामर्थ्य आहे. पण सर्व देशांतील प्रजाच अन्नास महाग होऊन दंगा करण्यास प्रवृत्त झाली म्हणजे मात्र वेळ कठीण येणार आहे. ती आल्यावर मग कांहीं इलाज चालणार नाही, करितां आत्तांच सावध व्हावें हें बरें.

[The five extracts given above from *Kesari* numbers of 24th May, 6th December and 13th December, 1892 advance arguments in support of A. O. Hume's circular letter.]

WHO IS IN THE RIGHT—SIR AUCKLAND OR MR. HUME ?

(From the "Maratha", Poona, 11th November 1888.)

We have not had time to go carefully through the whole of Sir Auckland's note or Mr. Hume's reply and our criticism on them will, therefore, be naturally of a less searching nature than that of other advocates or opponents of the scheme of the Congress. So far as we can gather from what has been said by these lucid writers we think truth lies somewhere in the middle. Sir Auckland appears to us to be rather too slow and Mr. Hume rather too enthusiastic and each one's view has therefore to be discounted a little so as to be acceptable to all moderate men. We ourselves have had occasions to differ from Mr. Hume as to measures and methods. But we have no reason to be sorry for the difference. We most honestly believe that until some practical steps are taken to strike off the distance between the uppermost and the lowest strata of Indian Society a national movement like that of the Congress cannot expect to be organised with reasonable pretensions to continuancy and permanence.

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The same would be the case if on the authority of the pamphlets the Congress is taken to task as entertaining ideas which might be called extra-radical. If the Congress is good but its methods and measures bad the attempt of those who happen to be in the confidence of Government and of the people ought always to be to use methods of correction by joining the movement itself.

Mr. HUME AND HIS CRITICS

(From the "Maratha", Poona, 10th April 1892.)

No document we believe has ever evoked such a diversity of sentiments and opinions as Mr. Hume's Circular to "every member of the Congress party". While one section of the Anglo Indian fire-eaters are urging the Government to arrest Mr. Hume and deport him to Port Blair, for having written this "seditious rhodomontade", others of the same class, like the MADRAS TIMES, see nothing in it, and even repent for their past violence. Similarly, some of our native contemporaries also who have been opposed to the Congress movement from the first are, as a matter of course, availing themselves of this splendid opportunity to denounce Mr. Hume and the Congress too, as a nest of Indian Nihilists.

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But what strikes us most is the indifferent attitude assumed by some partisans of the Congress, whose known sympathy with the cause, and reverence for Mr. Hume, led us to expect greater courage and candour from them on this occasion. We can well understand the Allahabad Standing Committee's reluctance to publish the circular, on the ground that it will be misconstrued by enemies and terrify friends; but when once it was published, we fail to see what good can be served by disowning it, as Mr. Wacha has been too hasty in doing on behalf of the Bombay Standing Committee. The policy is suicidal, and rather betokens a want of courage than foresight. Similarly the opinion of a man like Mr. Dosabhai Framji can safely be ignored but Captain Beauclerk and Dewan Bahadur Raghunathrao could certainly have done better in keeping silence, especially the latter who is reported to have out-Humed even Hume, in his lecture on Village Communities.

But the great question remains whether the statements of Mr. Hume are true which however no one denies. Even men like Sir C. Dilke and experienced officers in India have declared that the poverty of people is rapidly increasing, and that the exacting policy of the Government is responsible for it. So Mr. Hume's premise is substantially correct. As to his conclusion that hunger and starvation may at any time drive the people to lawlessness history abundantly proves that there is a limit to a people's capacity for suffering however mild they may be. Perhaps the allusion to the French Revolution was unfortunate owing to its bad associations, but even in England, which is especially noted for its bloodless revolutions popular disturbances caused by unbearable poverty are not quite unknown. The rickburning and Luddite riots which preceded the passing of the first Reform Bill, and which eventually compelled

even a staunch Tory like the Duke of Wellington, to yield, were certainly not rebellious, but only a rough way of expressing popular discontent with the existing administration. In India too the Deccan riots and Salem agrarian riots are still fresh in memory and we also know how the former forced the Government to improve the position of the cultivator by passing the Agriculturists Relief Act. Partial measures of this, kind however though successful in stemming the tide for the time, are totally ineffective in the end; Mr. Hume therefore advises the Government and the educated classes to prevent the impending catastrophe by radical reforms. The Bombay Gazette calls this an incitement to rebellion by interpreting, "will" as "should" thereby only showing its wilful ignorance of English grammar. But even granting that it is so, and that a rebellion is inflamed by little bit of paper certainly the blame will not attach to Mr. Hume but rather to the authorities who in their blindness allowed the evils to grow and also to their apologizers who by varnishing every Official act and abusing every one who pointed mistakes in the administration, assisted in prolonging their deception. British rule, we are sure, is based on sufficiently solid foundation to be shaken by thousands of such circulars; and if the people become discontented it will not be these circulars, but the mal-practices of Anglo-Indian officials that will make them so. Those therefore who have raised this cry of sedition and rebellion have, in our opinion, rather supported Mr. Hume's declaration that the British administration is a house of cards which might be blown up by every little whiff of a confidential circular. We do not indeed entertain either the stability of the British rule, or such a low opinion of the understandings of those who get nervous about it on every occasion; we would rather think that the cry has been intentionally raised with the very obvious motive of discrediting the Congress and creating a split in our camp by playing upon the fears of some weak minded persons. Such tactics are however now too well-known to the people to deceive them, and the National Congress has out lived them all, and many more of the same sort. Whatever we may think of Mr. Hume and his circular, one thing is certain that the crocodile sympathy of the *Times* will never induce the Congress party to disown a man, who is justly regarded as the Father of the Indian National Congress.

NECESSITY OF CHANGE IN CONGRESS POLICY

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING 21ST JULY 1906,
PAGE 24, PARAGRAPH 31.)

Indu Prakash of 16th July 1906.

"The Congress movement is passing through a crisis. The old methods have lost their efficacy, the old leaders seem to be losing

their influence. There is a desire for change and for some new lines of action, but none is yet able to hit upon the change required. The Congress has so far done invaluable work in unifying national thought and sentiment throughout India.....The time has now come to devise means to strengthen this tie of brotherhood. Thinkers and orators who hitherto led the Congress movement have done the work of tilling the soil and sowing the seed : we want now either these men or new actors who will water and fructify it.....Questions of reform in administrative details or even of the improvement of the executive machinery are of secondary importance when people, high and low, in all parts of the country are seriously asking whether the present constitution of the Indian Government itself is compatible with our national well-being.....Income Tax, Salt Tax, University reform, Abkari policy and Military expenditure—these may be good topics for petitions or speeches in Council. But they are not fit to occupy the whole attention of the representatives of the country when they gather together from thousands of miles for three precious days only and are pressed for time. The question of questions now before us is, shall we live and grow as a nation, or are we to die ? This is probably what Mr. Khaparde and others who advocate a change of Congress policy mean, and one may be tempted to sympathise with this cry of despair. The Bengal partition agitation has taught us a lesson. The whole native public opinion, declared and emphasized in all possible ways, counts for nothing even with a liberal-minded and philosophical statesman like Mr. Morley. British prestige, which is the foundation of British supremacy all over the world must be maintained at any cost. We are Beginning to appreciate British policy better and we shall have to revise our political ideas accordingly.”

NEED OF A NATIONALIST AGENCY IN EUROPE

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING
26TH DECEMBER 1908, PAGE 32, PARAGRAPH 38.)

Rashtramat of 26th December, *Madratha* of 27th December 1908.

Messrs. G. S. Khaparde and Bipin Chandra Pal have issued the following circular from London :—

‘Recent events in India tend to shift the centre of the directing forces of the Indian Nationalist movement beyond the geographical

limits of that country. The mild character of the British despotism in India had led us to believe that the story of civic freedom in our country would be different from what it had been in Italy, France or America. And our attempt has, from the very beginning, been to organise and apply the methods of peaceful passive resistance to the working out of the problem before us. We still hold as strongly as ever to the principle and policy of lawful passive resistance, but, with our platforms proclaimed, our Press practically gagged, our prominent men in prison and with the possibilities of guiding and controlling the Nationalist movement from India all but completely closed, it threatens to fall a prey to the angry passions of the hour. Our only chance now lies in organizing a propaganda from outside India; for, those of us who still believe in passive resistance and in the necessity of an open propaganda, can only carry on their work, under existing conditions in India, from outside that country. And it is exceedingly necessary that this should be done, because the inevitable result of the present repressive policy in India will be to drive the Nationalist movement practically underground. Underground activities must be acknowledged to be always more or less unhealthy. And the only way to avoid these in India at the present time is to continue the open propaganda on the old lines, from outside India, when it cannot be carried on safely and freely from within the limits of that country. It is, therefore, proposed to start a Nationalist Agency in Europe. It will be registered under the name of the 'Hind Nationalist Agency Limited,' with a capital of £5,000 divided into shares of the value of a £ each. Its head-quarters will, at present, be in London. Its objects will be (1) to start a fortnightly magazine of 52 pages, Royal Octavo; (2) to collect and circulate useful information for the industrial, agricultural and commercial advancement of India among the Indian people; (3) to organise international relations, for the educational, industrial and commercial progress of the people of India; (4) to circulate accurate information about Indian affairs among the civilised peoples of the world, and (5) generally to take such steps as may be found necessary from time to time to secure the sympathy and moral support of enlightened world-opinion on behalf of the movement for National Freedom in India. A sample copy of the paper, to be named Swaraj, will be posted to India next week, together with forms of subscription, order and application for shares." (The Maratha also publishes the circular).

CONGRESS ATTACKED BY OXFORD PRESS

FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING 23RD OCTOBER
1915, PAGE 15, PARA. 10.)

Hindusthan, 22nd October 1915.

In the course of an article headed "Is Congress a disloyal Body?", the *Hindusthan* quotes a passage from an article on India contributed by Sir Richard Temple to the second volume of a set of six books dealing with the British Empire recently published by the Oxford Clarendon Press. In the passage above referred to Sir Richard states that "the British Indian educational system has produced two varieties of educated men", viz., those of "the type of the late Mr. Justice Ranade" and of the type of "a highly taught national youth without those wholesome home influences that build up a sound moral character". The passage concludes with the sentence, "To use very general terms, just as the National Movement may be taken as a natural sign of loyal social evolution in modern India, so the National Congress may be taken as that of the disloyal." The paper then remarks: "It is necessary for the Indian Press to raise an emphatic protest against such calumny of the Congress. Writings such as these cause harm to the Empire instead of doing any good, at a time like the present. Sir Richard Temple believes that excepting social reformers like Mr. Justice Ranade, the National Congress and those who are taking part in politics are disloyal. A bare list of those who have hitherto joined the Congress movement would suffice to convince anybody that the Congress is not a disloyal body. Though Mr. Ranade participated in the social reform movement it is no secret what great sympathy he had for the Congress. If he had survived after retirement from Government service he would certainly have taken part in the Congress. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar is a member of the Prathana Samaj and a great advocate of social reform; and still he has presided over the Congress. Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt was a Civilian, and after retiring from Government service he had joined the Congress. Sir S. P. Sinha, the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, has joined the Congress fold. Though the Indian National Congress has been pronounced by Lord Morley to be a loyal body, the fact that men of Sir Richard's type present disloyalty in it shows that unfavourable impressions about the Congress are still lingering in the minds of some Anglo-Indians. It would have mattered little if an attack like the present had been made in one of the newspapers, but it is a matter for regret that such grossly defamatory remarks about the Congress should appear in a publication which will be extensively read in all parts of the Empire.

It is necessary for the Congress to make still further endeavours to educate public opinion in England."

राष्ट्रीय सभा कोणाची !

(केसरी २७ ऑगस्ट १९०७)

पाश्चिमात्य देशांतून इकडे आलेल्या व येणाऱ्या राजकीय कल्पना आणि संस्था इकडच्या लोकांच्या अद्याप पुऱ्या अंगी भिनल्या नाहीत किंवा भिनत नाहीत, अथवा हिंदुस्थानच्या उष्ण हवेत त्या नीट बद्धमूल होत नाहीत, आणि तेवढ्याकरितां पाश्चिमात्य राष्ट्रांतील प्रजाजनास जे राजकीय हक्क आहेत ते इकडील लोकांस देऊन उपयोग नाही, अशा रितीनें कांहीं अंग्लो इंडियन अधिकारी आणि पत्रकार आम्हांस नेहमीं हिणवीत असतात ; व दुःखाची गोष्ट अशी आहे की, या त्यांच्या हिणवण्यास कधीं दुरभिमानानें तर कधीं अज्ञानानें आमच्यापैकीं शहाणे लोकही आपणास पात्र करून घेत असतात. गुदस्ता व यंदा राष्ट्रीय सभेसंबंधानें जो वाद झाला व होत आहे त्यांत जुन्या पक्षाच्या कांहीं पुढाऱ्यांकडून अशाच प्रकारची अेक चुक घडली व घडत आहे. नागपुरच्या सभेसंबंधानें जुन्या व नव्या पक्षांमधील तंत्र्यांचा उदापोह करताना अेका शहाण्या व्यवसाय बंधूनें अशीही वलगना केली आहे की, असे तंटे वाढविण्यापेक्षां नव्या किंवा जहाल पक्षानें आपली दुसरी काँग्रेस करावी हें चांगलें ! ही वलगना वाचून आमच्या मनांत ह्या विषयासंबंधानें पूर्वीं जरी कांहीं लिहावयाचें नव्हतें तरी ते लिहिण्याची साहजिक स्फूर्ती आली आहे. राष्ट्रीय सभेचा अध्यक्ष यंदा कोणास करावें या वादांत आम्ही पडूं इच्छित नाही, व त्याचें कारणही उघड आहे. पण राष्ट्रीय सभा—हल्लीं आहे तशीच कां होइना—ही अेक अमक्या पक्षाची वतनदारीची संस्था आहे, अशा रितीनें लोकांचा गैरसमज करण्याचा जेव्हां प्रयत्न करण्यांत येतो तेव्हां काँग्रेसच्या व लोकांच्या हिताकरितां दोन शब्द लिहून तो गैरसमज दूर करणें हें आमचें कर्तव्य होय. इंग्लंडचा मुख्यप्रधान कोणी व्हावें असा तंटा चालला असतां पार्लिमेंट सभा ही कॅन्सर्व्हेटिव्ह, लिबरल किंवा रॅडिकल यांपैकी अेकाच पक्षाची आहे, दुसऱ्या पक्षास आपलें वर्चस्व पाहिजे असल्यास त्यानें निराळी पार्लिमेंट सभा काढावी, असें जर विलायतेंत कोणी प्रतिपादन करूं लागला तर तेथील लोक त्यांस “स वै मूर्खोऽथवा पशुः” ह्या कोटींत ओढल्याखेरिज रहाणार नाहीत. आमच्याकडिल काँग्रेस किंवा राष्ट्रीय सभा ह्या संस्थेसही हाच न्याय लागू आहे. हिंदुस्थानांतील सुशिक्षित वर्गाचे हल्लीं येथें चालू असलेल्या राज्यपद्धती-संबंधानें काय मत आहे हें प्रदर्शित करून सदर राज्यपद्धतिंत जे दोष आहेत ते कसे काढावें ह्याचा विचार करण्याकरितां राष्ट्रीय सभेची स्थापना झालेली आहे. ही स्थापना करण्याचे वेळीं तत्कालीन कांहीं विद्वान लोकांनीं पुढारीपणा घेणें अवश्य होतें, व त्याप्रमाणें त्यांनीं घेतला ही गोष्ट निर्विवाद आहे, व त्याबद्दल त्यांचे आभार मानणेंही

जरूर आहे. पण राष्ट्रीय सभेस अशारीतीने आरंभ करतांना आम्हीं पुढें होतो म्हणून सदर सभेसंबंधानें वतनदारांचे हक्क आम्हांस व आमच्या शिष्यपरंपरेस प्राप्त झाले आहेत असें जर कोणी प्रतिपादन करील, तर आपण स्थापलेल्या संस्थेवर स्वतः आपल्या हातानें धोंडा टाकण्यास हे राजश्री तयार झाले आहेत असें म्हणावें लागेल. देवालयें किंवा राज्यकारभारातील अधिकार वंशपरंपरेनें आपल्या हातांत ठेवण्याची आम्हां लोकांत प्राचीन संवय आहे, आणि त्या संवयीस अनुसरून पाहिलें असतां राष्ट्रीय सभेसारख्या सार्वजनिक सभांचीही वतनदारी आपल्याकडे व आपल्या शिष्यपरंपरेकडे रहावी असें कित्येकांस वाटत असेल; नाहीं असें नाहीं. पण असें वाटणें सध्याच्या कालांत योग्य नाहीं, इतकेंच नव्हे तर ज्या हेतुनें किंवा ज्या धर्तीवर राष्ट्रसभा स्थापन झाली आहे त्या हेतूस किंवा त्या धर्तीस हें मत अत्यन्त विरुद्ध व विघातक आहे. कळकळ बाळगणाऱ्या राष्ट्रांतील सुशिक्षित वर्गाच्या बहुमतानें राष्ट्रीय सभेंत ज्या विषयाची चर्चा किंवा निकाल व्हावयाचा त्याबद्दल कोणीही एका पक्षानें आग्रह धरून “तुम्हास या बाबतीत बोलण्याचा अधिकार नाही” असें दुसऱ्या पक्षांस सांगणें शुद्ध वेडेपणा होय. जे लोक सुशिक्षित असूनही राष्ट्रीय सभेंत येत नाहीत त्यांची गोष्ट निराळी; त्यांना राष्ट्रसभेंत येऊं नये असा जोंपर्यन्त कोणी निर्बन्ध केलेला नाही तोपर्यंत घरी बसून त्यांनीं केलेली ओरड व्यर्थ होय. एकंदर राज्यांत कोणत्या तऱ्हेची राज्यपद्धती सुरू झाली असतां लोकांचे हित होईल हा वाद राष्ट्रीयसभेंत कधीही गुप्तपणें होत नाही. अशा बाबतीत विलायतेप्रमाणें येथेही मार्गदर्शक पुढाऱ्यांची जरूर असते खरी, आणि अशा मार्गदर्शक पुढाऱ्यांपैकीं कांहींचे म्हणणें अखेरीस लोकमान्य होऊन तडीस जातें, हेंही खरें. पण ज्या संस्था सार्वजनिक असून लोकांच्या बहुमतानें चाललेल्या आहेत त्यांत बहुमत आपल्या बाजूला वळवून घेतल्याखेरीज कोणी पुढारी जर “ही संस्था माझी आहे व येथें माझ्या मताचाच विजय झाला पाहिजे” असा आग्रह धरील तर तो आपल्यास लोकांच्या उपहासास मात्र प्राप्त करून घेईल यांत शंका नाही. मुसलमानांसारखें कांहीं लोक दुराग्रहानें काँग्रेसला न आले तरी इंडियन नॅशनल काँग्रेस अथवा हिंदुस्थानची राष्ट्रीय सभा ही संस्था हिंदुस्थानांतील सर्व जातींच्या व पंथाच्या लोकांची असून विलायतेंतील लोकानियुक्त संस्थांच्या नमुन्यावरच तिची रचना झाली आहे, याबद्दल आतां कांहीं वाद नाही; आणि ही गोष्ट जर निर्विवाद आहे तर देशातील अमक्या पक्षाला काँग्रेसची हल्लीची दिशा मान्य नसल्यास त्यानें दुसरी काँग्रेस काढावी असें म्हणणें अगदीच पोरकटपणाचें होय.....

राष्ट्रीय सभा ही कांहीं वतनदारीची संस्था नव्हे, हें सर्व पक्षांनीं लक्षांत ठेवलें पाहिजे. व मवाळ पक्ष असो वा जहाल पक्ष असो, नेमस्त असो वा समधात असो, प्रत्येकानें बहुमत आपले बाजुचें करून घेण्याचा प्रयत्न केला पाहिजे. बहुमत आपलें

वाजुचे बनले म्हणजे मग राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रमांत त्याप्रमाणे खुशाल फेरफार करून घ्यावा. लोकमताच्या ओघाबरोबर राष्ट्रीय सभेचे धोरणही पालटत जाणार, गेलें पाहिजे, व जईल.

[The above extract of a leading article in *Kesari*, dated 27th August 1907, states that in a public body like the Indian National Congress decisions must be taken in accordance with the opinion of the majority and disapproves the idea of starting a separate organisation. The executive has no power to set aside public opinion and monopolise the policy and working of the National Body. It should be noted that the article was written when the controversy regarding holding the Congress Session at Nagpur was at its height and the cleavage between the Extremists and Moderates had reached its high pitch.]

सुरत काँग्रेस.

(केसरी १९ नोव्हेंबर १९०७)

नागपुरच्या राष्ट्रीय पक्षानें स्वतः काँग्रेसच्या व्यवस्थेंतून अंग काढून घेऊन गप्प बसण्याचें, “शिल्क राहिल्यास परत द्या नाहीतर देऊं नका” अशा शर्तीवर दहा हजार रुपयाची मदत करण्याचें, व स्वतः काँग्रेसचें काम करण्याचें कबूल केलें असतां आणि अखेरीस “तुम्ही काय पाहिजे तें करा, पण नागपुरास काँग्रेस भरवा” असें ऑल इंडिया काँग्रेस कमिटीस कळविलें असतांही नागपुरच्या मवाळांनीं आणि त्यांच्या सल्ल्यानें वागणाऱ्या व त्यांच्याच पक्षाचें बहुमत असलेल्या ऑल इंडिया काँग्रेस कमिटीनें अखेरीस सुरतेसच काँग्रेस भरविण्याचें ठरविलेलें पाहून पक्षाभिमानानें अंध न झालेल्या कोणाही काँग्रेसच्या हितचिंतकास वाईट वाटल्याखेरीज रहाणार नाही.

ऑल इंडिया काँग्रेस कमिटींत या प्रश्नाचा असाच निकाल होईल असें आम्हास पूर्वीपासूनच वाटत होतें, व तसेंच अखेरी घडून आलें. त्यांत राष्ट्रीय पक्षाचा बिलकूल दोष नाही. मवाळांच्या मनांतच नागपुरास काँग्रेस भरवायची नव्हती व सर फेरोजशहा यांचें त्यांस पहिल्या पासूनच पाठबळ होतें, त्यामुळें हा प्रकार घडून आला. मि. विजय राववाचार्य यांस सर फेरोजशहा यांनीं जे अखेर उत्तर दिलें, त्यावरून ही गोष्ट सिद्ध होत आहे. सर फेरोजशहा जिकडे तूर्त काँग्रेस भरवतील तिकडे राष्ट्रीय पक्षानें सध्यां गेले पाहिजे, कारण काँग्रेस मोडावी असा राष्ट्रीय पक्षाचा मुळीच हेतु नाही.

[The above extract from *Kesari* of 19th November 1907, protests against the decision of the A. I. C. C. to hold the Congress Session at Surat instead of at Nagpur in spite of the earnest efforts of Nationalists to come to an understanding. It calls upon the Nationalist Party to attend the Congress Session, wherever it was held as the nationalists did not want to break up the Congress.]

II

LOKMANYA TILAK

LOKMANYA TILAK

[The period 1885-1920, particularly after 1895, is mainly dominated by the political activities of the Lokmanya.. Naturally a major portion of the police reports is covered by these activities. Much of the information has already seen the light. But Tilak's pen-picture from the Police has its own flavour. It shows with what suspicion Government looked to him from the beginning. The reports also show how some of the police comments are malicious and far from truth. The report by Mr. Harry Brewin, Assistant I.G.P., C.I.D., Poona, submitted to Government on 31st July 1902 (J.D. Vol. 232 of 1902) giving his opinion regarding the charges against Tilak in the Tai Maharaja Case is, however, an important document, in as much as he expressed his opinion that (1) the charge of Forgery would not stand and that (2) as the remaining charges were connected with personal affairs "Government should assume an attitude of neutrality". This, as well as Government reports regarding Tilak's four trials (1882, 1897, 1902 and 1908) have not been included in this volume, as all the cases have been widely published.

The Labour disturbances at Bombay (June 29 to July 27, 1908) at the time of his arrest and trial were, perhaps, the first expression of the people's political discontent exhibited on such a wide scale. These disturbances, it seems, had attracted Lenin's attention and evoked his comments. ("India to-day" By Rajani Pam. Dutt, page 356). Tilak's History ticket from the Mandalay Jail is very interesting and gives some details of his jail life including his health reports. His memorials to the King, etc. from jail were traced from his history ticket only.

The London Secret Police report of his activities in England (1919) is another important document. The report says "Tilak has the strongest hope of the deliverance of India by the Bolesheviks and was delighted with the Afganistan imbroglio and Amritsar riots." The very idea to utilise for Indian cause the possible regrouping of World powers as a result of the war is significant. The short extract from Khadilkar's editorial in the Lokmanya gives information about what Tilak was contemplating to do when Gandhiji's Satyagraha Movement would start. This information goes to show that the Lokmanya was thinking and planning to live in England when the Satyagraha movement would start. This he wanted to do, as is reported by Khadilkar, to avoid the diversion of public attention towards his and Gandhi's incarceration. Such a diversion would necessarily result in the toning down of the National demands. This information is full of meaning and can be interpreted in more than one way.

Tilak's expectations about the probable achievements of the Satyagraha movement are also significant. His letter to Dr. D. D. Sathaye shows that he wanted his followers to fully support the Satyagraha movement. Tilak's talks to the labourers in Bombay on the subject of Swadeshi point out the importance he gave to the organisation of labour in India. He also has written a few articles on Trade Union Movement and its utility in the Kesari about the same time.

II.

The Congress reports show how poorly Hume was supported on the organisational front in the early years of the Congress. Tilak did this though he belonged to the group of juniors in the Congress. Within the next five years it was seen that the leadership of the Congress could not keep pace with Hume, and Tilak was one of the few leaders who supported Hume's "aggressive" propaganda methods.

He appears to be one of the earliest leaders who correctly perceived the conflict of interest between the rulers and the ruled and saw the futility of petitions and protests. He in his small field attempted to organise the masses, who were dreadfully backward and perpetually under semistarvation, for creating sanctions in the districts of Kolaba, Thana, Bijapur, Belgaum, etc., for compelling the government to apply the famine code and alter the forest laws. That is one of the earliest of mass agitations, in the real sense of the word. Thus Tilak in effect took up such programmes which Hume had placed before the Congress. The Commissioner, Central Division, Mr. Logan in his report (1897) stated that "Tilak had flooded the country with proclamations against payment of land revenue and urging resistance to any attempt to collect it." He also says that there was a "partial mutiny amongst the police and the Village Officers were almost passive or active connivers with the disturbances."

The pen-portrait prepared by the police also shows how he trained his lieutenants to organise the masses. Through his writings and speeches he has propagated that the Congress was intended to serve the interest of the masses and not only of the classes. It is well known how after the Bengal partition he became the leader of the popular will and the cleavage between the moderates and the extremists then came to the forefront. Some of the extracts given below show how anxious he was before the Surat session to avert the breach. In fact Tilak knew best the mind of the Rulers. He knew it well that they could fight under the Congress-leadership alone, which was well acknowledged by the government as an instrument of constitutional agitation. The officials must have desired to see a rift in its ranks with a view to expose the extremists. Tilak was most anxious to avert this calamity.

The moderates led by Mehta-Gokhale-Surendranath and the Nationalists led by Tilak-Arvind-Khaparde had published their versions of the Surat incident at that time. The nationalist version is very clear and is found to be corroborated by the police reports even in its small details. These Police reports, are perhaps seeing the light for the first time. They clearly show how earnestly the Lokmanya strove to suggest some compromise; and how shabbily he and his young friends were treated by the office bearers of the Congress. These reports show that an attempt was made to remove Tilak forcibly from the dias but he (Tilak) brushed the man-one of the office holders of the Reception Committee aside. Gokhale and Malaviya seem to have prevented that attempt.]

TILAK'S LIFE SKETCH

(A life sketch prepared by the Government of Bombay from Tilak's birth to 1917.)

(EXTRACT FROM FILE No. 3074/H/1, POLICE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, BOMBAY.)

History Sheet.

Name.	Father's name and surname	Year of birth.	Caste.	Native place.	Present Residence.	Education.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bal (Balwant)	Gangadhar Tilak.	1856	Chitpawan Brahmin.	Chikalgau, taluka, District Ratnagiri.	Poona City.	B.A., LL.B.

Profession or occupation.	Social status and sphere of influence.	Notes as to property, income, etc.
8	9	10
Proprietor and Editor of the <i>Mahratta</i> and <i>Kesari</i> newspapers.	Has raised himself to the highest social status among Natives. His influence extends throughout the Maratha-speaking portion of the Presidency and to some extent in the Central Provinces.	Has no ancestral property. Is a "Khote" of his native place and allows the small income derived from his "Khoti" to go to his representative. Owns the "Wada" he lives in the Poona City and two small houses at Sinhghad. Annual income from his papers about Rs. 30,000.

Names of relatives and connections

NEPHEWS—

- (1) Dhondu Wasudeo Vidhvansa, manager of the "Kesari" office.
- (2) Gangadhar Wasudeo Vidhvansa, partner in Karandikar and Co.'s grocery business.
- (3) Damodhar Wasudeo Vidhvansa, student.

SONS—

Ramchandra, age 13, and Shridhar, age 11.

DAUGHTERS—

- (1) Krishnabai, married to V. G. Ketkar, pleader, Nasik.
- (2) Durgabai, married to P. R. Vaidya, E.A., L.C.E., Overseer, P. W. D., Satara.
- (3) Mathubai, married to S. M. Sane of Allahabad.

Names of Lieutenants and Associates

LIEUTENANTS—

- (1) Narsinh Chintaman Kelkar.
- (2) Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe.
- (3) Bhaskar Balwant Bhopatkar.
- (4) Krishnaji Prabhakar Khadilkar.
- (5) Laximan Ramchandra Pangarkar.
- (6) Shankar Ganesh Lawate.
- (7) Ramchandra Narayan Gurjar.
- (8) Krishnaji Wassudeo Karmarkar.
- (9) Sitaram Keshav Damle.

ASSOCIATES—

- (1) Wassudeo Ganesh Joshi.
- (2) Balwant Ramchandra Natu.
- (3) Honourable Mr. Daji Abaji Khare.
- (4) Dr. Moreshwar Gopal Deshmukh.
- (5) Ganesh Krishna Garde.
- (6) Dr. Vinayak Ramchandra Partwardhan.
- (7) Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar of Satara.
- (8) Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde of Amraoti.
- (9) Mahadev Govind Abhyankar.

Tilak's father was Government servant and at the time of his death in 1872 was Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector. Tilak was educated in the Poona High School; took his B.A. degree with honours from the Deccan College, Poona, in 1876, and three years later obtained his LL.B. degree from the Bombay University. It is said that, while in college, he and Gopal Ganesh Agarkar made a mutual resolution never to take Government Service and to devote their lives and talents to the education of their countrymen. In pursuance of this object they, with Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar, opened the New English School, Poona, on the 2nd January, 1880, and a little later started the *Mahratta* and *Kesari* newspapers. His political career may, therefore, be assumed to have begun early in 1880. In 1882, Tilak and Agarkar, as registered Editors and Publishers of the *Mahratta* and *Kesari* newspapers, were tried in the Bombay High Court for defamation in connection with articles which had appeared in these papers criticising the treatment accorded to His Highness Shivajirao, late Raja of Kolhapur, and on conviction sentenced in two cases to three months' simple imprisonment apiece in each case, the sentence being ordered to run concurrently. While they were in jail Chiplunkar died. The success of their Educational institution induced Tilak and Agarkar to formulate a scheme for an Education Society, the life-members of which were to undertake to work in the Society for 20 years. The idea took, and in 1884, the Deccan Education Society came into existence with Tilak, Agarkar and others as life-members. A year later the Society opened its own College. Shortly after the establishment of the Deccan Education Society, the life-members began to wrangle among themselves and it was decided to separate the interests of the newspapers and press from those of the Educational institutions. In 1886, the separation was effected and under its terms Tilak and two others became owners of the papers and press. About the same time differences of opinion between Tilak and Agarkar led the latter to start his own newspaper under the name of the "*Sudharak*" which eventually became the organ of the "Reform" or "Moderate" Party. In 1890, Tilak severed his connection with the Deccan Education Society. Shortly after, he quarrelled with his partners in the newspapers and became sole proprietor of both. He thus became master of his own time and with his wonted energy and zeal threw himself into the stream of politics. The "Age of Consent Bill" was then on the political anvil and it afforded him the opportunity of making a bid for the political leadership of his community. He attacked the policy of the leaders of the community in regard to the measure, and did not scruple to

misrepresent their intentions, with the result that he caused a division in the community and became the leader of the "Orthodox" or "Extreme" Party. His—attitude towards Government has always been that of an irreconcilable opponent and on each successive occasion he has, from the platform and through his organs, opposed, and at times misrepresented, its actions. His political creed may be defined as a determined and persistent effort to obtain "Self-Government" for the natives and in preaching it he advocates even rebellion provided it holds out a prospect of success. His influence among the educated extends to the radical section only; the other sections admire his ability, energy and zeal, but do not agree with his methods. His power lies in the support afforded him by pleaders and students generally. Personally he is of small stature and poor appearance and by disposition self-willed and impatient of control. Amongst Natives he is considered to be moral and strictly honest in all pecuniary dealings; and in political matters to hold that the end justifies the means.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS*

(Paragraphs 277, 285, 435, 450—Political.)

In the Abstracts of 1889, Tilak is alluded to as one of the Secretaries of the Deccan Branch of the National Congress in which capacity he appears to have been chiefly used to draft circulars, letters, etc., explaining the objects of the Congress and soliciting contributions for the one which was to assemble in Bombay that year. At the end of the year he and Mahadev Ballal Namjoshi were, at the request of the Sarvajanic Sabha, sent to Bombay to arrange for the reception of the delegates.

1890.

REFORM OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

(Paragraphs 47, 96—Political.)

In the early part of this year the Mahratta informed its readers that the Secretary of the Deccan Congress Committee would shortly circulate for signatures copies of a petition to Parliament asking for certain reforms in the Legislative Councils.

Tilak is reported to have been the draughtsman of this memorial.

*The information from here onwards has been taken by the Compiler of this sketch from the Bombay Secret Abstracts, the paragraphs being indicated in brackets.

SOCIAL REFORM

(Paragraphs 184 and 259—Political.)

In August Tilak with 13 others, amongst whom was Mr. (afterwards Justice) Ranade, signed a circular letter advocating the following reforms :—

(a) that not more than half a year's income should be expended on the marriage ceremonies of a son ;

(b) that not more than a year's income should be expended on the marriage ceremonies of a daughter ;

(c) that boys should not marry before the ages of 16, 18 or 20 ;

(d) that daughters should not be married before the ages of 10, 12 or 14 ;

(e) that polygamy should be prohibited ;

(f) that no one should marry after the age of 50 ;

(g) that liquor should be taken medicinally only ;

(h) that every possible endeavour should be made to promote female education.

This seems to have been the only occasion on which Tilak advocated social reform, for not very long after, in an article in the *Mahratta*, he condemned Mr. Malabari's suggestions for the reform of the Indian Marriage Laws and objected to social reform being forced on the people by law, as such was an interference with the religious practices and beliefs of the Hindus. Again at a large meeting in Poona, called for the purpose of adopting a petition to Government asking them not to interfere with the long established habits and customs of the Brahmins by legislation, he publicly denounced Mr. Malbari's suggestions as absurd and as involving an interference with the Hindu religion.

1893

HINDU—MUHAMMEDAN RIOTS

(Paragraph 1682.)

In connection with these riots Tilak's personality asserted itself and he stood forth not only as an opponent of the measures of Government but also of the "Moderate" party of the community. In September

he convened a meeting with the intention of publicity condemning the action of Government and the Muhammadans and expressing sympathy with the Hindus, which caused no little anxiety to the leaders of the Hindu community ; and it is reported that a letter signed by a number of influential Hindu gentlemen in Bombay, among whom were Justice Telang and Ranade and Dr. Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatawdekar, was received in Poona appealing to him to refrain from the course he contemplated owing to the consequences which must ensue, and that he was also approached by some of the local Hindu leaders. To all entreaties to desist he turned a deaf ear and posed as the champion of the Hindus. But at the last moment discretion prevailed and he got the meeting to pass resolutions—

(a) expressing its sense of gratitude to Her Majesty the Queen Empress for her message of sympathy in connection with the recent disturbances in Bombay ;

(b) regretting the breach of amicable relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans in Bombay and thanking Lord Harris for insisting on toleration and charity as the best means for maintaining mutual relations ;

(c) stating that the meeting firmly believes that the movement for the due protection of cows had not led, and cannot lead, to any estrangement of feelings between Hindus and Muhammadans ; that in its opinion the regrettable riots that have of late unfortunately become so frequent are traceable to the absence of any authoritative exposition of policy for the guidance of Government Officials in such matters ; to the want of authoritative records for reference, of existing religious and social rights and privileges and to mistaken notions, calculated to set one race against another, about the equal and impartial protection of law guaranteed to all Her Majesty's subjects by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 ; and praying that Government may be pleased to institute an independent enquiry into the causes of these riots generally, with a view to provide machinery for the amicable settlement of any disputes that might hereafter arise between the two brother communities that had lived without any such breach for several centuries ;

(d) authorising the President (Sardar Balwant Ramchandra Natu) to embody the above resolutions in the form of a memorial and submit the same for the consideration of Government.

At this time he is also reported to have inculcated the doctrine of force by representing that Government sided with the Muhammadans

because they resorted to force and implying that if the Hindus wished to obtain a respectful hearing they would have to adopt similar tactics and, as if to give point to his preachings, he advised *all* Hindus to go in for physical exercise and to acquire familiarity with the use of weapons. The outcome was that physical drill was introduced into the curriculum of many of the Native schools and many private gymnasiums were opened.

The following paragraph from Setlur and Deshpande's report on the Tilak case shows how his friends construed his attitude at this period :—

“The deplorable riots between Hindus and Muhammadans and the many new questions suggested by them brought about a great change in our political atmosphere, and Mr. Tilak was again to the front. Never before did he place himself in such direct antagonism with the apparant policy of some Anglo-Indian Officials and never before did those Officials realise so well his influence over the masses. Mr. Tilak's attitude with respect to this riot question, whether right or wrong, was clear and unmistakable. He attributed those manifestations of racial prejudice mainly to the secret instigation of some short-sighted Anglo-Indian Officers. The policy of “divide and rule” initiated by Lord Dufferin, was, according to him, at the bottom of all the mischief, and the only effective way he contended to check these riots was for Government Officials to observe strict neutrality between Hindus and Muhammadans.”

1894

MUSIC QUESTION

(Paragraph 1392.)

There is reason to believe that the music question was raised by Tilak to qualify the privilege enjoyed by Muhammadans of music being stopped when passing mosques and masjids and to hamper the action of Government in regard to the Hindu-Muhammadan disputes. It was also used to discredit the management of the Sarvajanik Sabha which was then guided by the “Reform” or “Moderate” party under Mr. Justice Ranade by compelling it to a line of action which pleased neither the Hindus nor the Muhammadans. The outcome was the withdrawal of the Muhammadan members of the Sabha and the displacement of the “Moderate” party in its Councils.

GANPATI CELEBRATIONS

(Paragraphs 1305, 1340, 1486.)

As another method of widening the breach between the Hindus and Muhammadans Tilak encouraged, if he did not instigate, the holding of Ganpati celebrations on a much larger scale than in previous years. The original idea was to make them as distasteful as possible to Muhammadans by having them as much like the Muharram as possible and by withdrawing the Hindu interest from it. Tilak and his party worked hard to secure this object and their conduct caused no little anxiety to the "Moderate" section of their community, the head of which called on the District Magistrate and suggested the advisability of convening a meeting and settling a programme for the Ganpati processions, and in the course of conversation this gentleman dropped some remarks to the effect that the possibility of overthrowing the British Government was not an uncommon subject of discussion among the Tilak faction in Poona. As Ganpati day approached the results of the organization became apparent. Gangs of Hindus paraded the streets of the Poona City singing verses which tended to intensify the strained relations between the two communities, and on "Nag Panchmi" day a procession attempted to dispute an order directing all music to cease playing in front of mosques and when it was compelled to conform to it it endeavoured to obstruct the road by throwing the image of the "Nag" off the cart on to the road. Tilak, though not present on the occasion, exhibited his interest and sympathy by convening a meeting to collect subscriptions for the defence of the persons concerned in the incident. The late Mr. Brewin in reporting on the incident wrote as follows :—

"The tension between the Hindus and Muhammadans everywhere continued and the fears entertained by Ranade & Co., consequent on Tilak's new doctrine, were soon to be realised. Tilak had openly advocated the use of force, and knowing that without unity nothing could be accomplished, he set to work to inaugurate the Sarvajanik Ganpatis. His ideas in this respect soon caught fire among the people and the Hindus gathered in such numbers as must have pleased even Tilak. He advocated each Ganpati having a mela and each mela being composed of as many gymnasts as possible. All *melaivalhas* were to acquire familiarity in the use of weapons. In this movement Tilak had the assistance of Namjoshi, Bhau Laxman Jaola *alias* Bhau Rangari, Balasaheb Natu, Tatiasaheb Natu, Wassudeo Ganesh Joshi, Dagdu Halwai and a number of malcontents. With a view to inculcating the necessity of unity at

Poona and all places where the Ganpati movement had been established Tilak's emissaries produced and distributed among the people shloks (verses) which set forth the advantages of unity."

When the festival came round Ganpatis were publicly exposed in *mandups*, in the way tabuts usually are, and the processions imitated similar processions during the Muharram.

The music rules which had been framed did not meet with the approval of Tilak and his party who determined to ignore them and to play music while passing mosques. The result was the fatal riot on the morning of the 13th September 1894. After quiet had been restored Tilak's party thought—the Muhammadans might lay violent hands on him and for sometime he was always accompanied by a band of Hindu youths who acted as a sort of bodyguard.

1895

"MODERATE" AND "EXTREME" PARTIES OF HINDU COMMUNITY

(Paragraphs 1050, 1447, 1448, 1557, 1558.)

At a meeting of the members of the Sarvajanik Sabha to elect a Managing Committee the "Extreme" or Tilak faction mustered strong and voted for the infusion of fresh or radical blood into the Committee, while the "Moderates" were for a continuance of the old Committee. The discussion was heated and terminated in an unseemly squabble and the interference of the Police. The "Extremists" ultimately carried the day and from that time Tilak has been recognised as the leader of the Sabha.

Another bone of contention between the parties was the holding of the Social Conference in the National Congress *Mandup*. Tilak took a prominent part and on behalf of the "Extremists" urged that the principles of the social reformers, who mostly belong to the "Moderate" party, are antagonistic to the teachings of the Hindu religion and not acceptable to the masses; and if the Conference is allowed to be held in the Congress *Mandup* the idea will get abroad that National Congress, which represents the claims of the people of India of all castes and creeds, approves of the Conference and that this may be used as an argument in support of legislation interfering with the social customs of the people on the lines advocated by the Social Reformers. Opposition to these views resulted in Tilak's resigning his post as a Secretary of the National

Congress Reception Committee and organizing an agitation against the Social Reform ; party feeling ran so high that numerous assaults were committed on members of the Reform Party.

SHIVAJI CELEBRATIONS

(Paragraphs 733, 807, 901.)

A movement professedly to collect funds for the maintenance of Shivaji's tomb at Raigadh was started and Tilak undertook to plead the cause in his papers and to receive subscriptions for the purpose. The object of these celebrations is to sow the seeds of patriotism in the rising generation and to incite Hindus to emulate the deeds of Shivaji.

1896

GANPATI CELEBRATIONS

(Paragraphs 1040, 1164, 1198, 1257, 1305.)

Booklets containing ballads to be sung by *melas* during the Ganapati festival were published and offered for sale at nominal prices. Most of them contained objectionable references to the Muhammadans. In some Shivaji's name and deeds were extolled. Tilak praised and here and there the wish expressed that some leader would arise like Shivaji to deliver the oppressed Hindus. In regard to these booklets District Magistrate, Poona, wrote that some of the passages in them are distinctly disloyal and seditious like much that is published almost daily in the Native newspapers and that the verses are more mischievous.

SHIVAJI CELEBRATIONS

(Paragraphs 57, 198, 530, 532.)

Tilak conceived the idea of turning the movement into a medium through which he could preach sedition under the cloak of extolling the life and deeds of Shivaji and inducing all Natives to combine for the common good against the foreigner (Government). He presided at the commemoration ceremony at Raigadh and made two speeches in both of which he advocated combination and loyalty to leaders. In referring to the celebration he said it was the first of its kind and its object to bring together all Marathas and to foster a feeling of regard and confidence which would conduce to the maintenance of their religion and institutions. It was not, he said, as some supposed, convened by the Brahmins to subvert the existing Government, but, on the contrary, they were helping

Government by educating the masses and engendering amongst them a feeling of unity, loyalty to their leaders and love and reverence to their National institutions.

FAMINE

(Paragraphs 1690, 1745, 1749.)

The distress in several parts of the Presidency owing to the failure of the monsoons was seized by Tilak as an opportunity to pose as a friend of the people and to thereby strengthen his hold of the masses. He addressed the students assembled in Poona for the University Examination and told them of the existence of a Famine Insurance Fund and advised them on their return to their villages to instigate villagers to agitate to have it expended. He made a tour in the Poona and Sholapur Districts during which he advised ryots, weavers and others of the poorer classes to go in bodies to the District Authorities and clamour for relief measures, fodder for their cattle, etc. etc. At the same time representatives of the Sarvajanik Sabha held large meetings in the Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri Districts at which they advised the people to claim remissions of land revenue and to withhold the payment of taxes. Other means were also adopted to create popular discontent. In one instance an agent was prosecuted to conviction and in another the Sabha was asked whether it held itself responsible for the utterances and notices distributed by one of its reputed agents. After considerable delay the agent was acknowledged, but his notices and utterances were repudiated on which Government intimated to the Sabha that it must cease to recognise it as a body having any claims to address Government on questions of public policy. When the poorer classes threatened to loot the grain shops in the City and Cantonment of Poona, Tilak intervened and with the help of some friends established cheap grain shops which broke the ring formed by the grain dealers.

BRITISH INDIAN SUBJECTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

(Paragraph 1696.)

After a lecture by Mr. Gandhi of South Africa on this subject Tilak proposed the following :—

“This meeting sympathises with the British Indians in South Africa on account of the disabilities imposed on them and authorises a Committee to draft and submit a memorial to the Government of India.”

He further showed his sympathy by publishing several articles on the subject in the *Mahratta* and *Kesari*.

1897

PLAGUE MEASURES

(Paragraph 508.)

On the first appearance of plague in Poona in 1896-1897 Tilak remained in the City and took an active part in the fight against the disease. He established a Hindu Plague Hospital and opened a free kitchen in the segregation camp for the use of the poor and worked as a volunteer with the search parties. In his papers he strongly supported the various measures adopted by Government for the suppression of the pestilence, but appears to have disagreed in regard to the powers of the search parties, for on the 20th March he convened a meeting at which resolutions were adopted suggesting the restriction of the powers of the search parties, and thereafter articles appeared in his papers which savoured of disaffection and sedition for which he was subsequently tried and on conviction sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment.

ARREST AND TRIAL OF TILAK

(Paragraphs 1152 to 1157, 1202, 1203, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1380, 1381
1569 to 1578, 1650 to 1652.)

His arrest was reported to have been universally disapproved of in the upper circles of Hindu society while the lower classes viewed it with indifference and the Muhammadans with gratification. His trial was closely followed all over the country and caused a large circulation of his own and other vernacular papers.

TILAK DEFENCE FUND

(Paragraphs 1258, 1309 to 1316, 1376, 1385 to 1395, 1430, 1431, 1439 to 1452, 1498, 1499, 1509 to 1515, 1580 to 1587, 1636, 1646 to 1649, 1706 to 1708, 1741, 1788, 1818, 1819, 1852, 1857, 1878, 1888 to 1890, 1948, 1957, 1958, 1985.)

His popularity was so great that as soon as it became known that he was arrested proposals for raising subscriptions for his defence were mooted in all parts of the Presidency and when he, through

the columns of the *Kesari*, asked for assistance for his defence on the grounds that what he had done had been in the interests of the public, subscriptions which aggregated some Rs. 40,000 poured in.

1898

TILAK'S IMPRISONMENT AND RELEASE

(Paragraphs 10, 608, 1275 to 1278, 1323 to 1335, 1385 to 1387, 1421 to 1429, 1466 to 1469, 1516 to 1518, 1558, 1559, 1560.)

After Tilak's conviction efforts were made in England and India to obtain a remission of his sentence, and on the anniversary of Her Majesty the Queen Empress' birthday many of his friends drove out to the Yeravda Prison in the expectation of his release on that day. He was eventually released on the 6th September, 1898, the unexpired portion of his sentence having been conditionally remitted. The news of his release was wired to all parts of the country and spread rapidly through the Poona City, where throughout the night and the whole of next day thousands of Hindus of all classes flocked to his house to congratulate him and many of the vernacular newspapers issued special supplements for the purpose of publishing the intelligence. In all parts of Maharashtra and Baroda the release was celebrated with prayers of thanks-giving, illuminations and the distribution of sweetmeats. Congratulatory telegrams were sent to him from many places, his photo was exhibited at all meetings and in some places carried round the town in procession.

1900

TILAK'S TOUR TO BURMA

(Paragraphs 161, 346, 447, 600, 774, 933, 1300, 1301.)

From the Congress meeting at Lucknow Tilak proceeded to Calcutta, Rangoon and Mandalay and returned to Poona *via* Benares and Jabalpur.

In lecturing on his travels in Poona a few months later he drew invidious distinction between the French and British Governments in India. In Burma, he said, there was no caste distinctions and the women enjoyed full liberty, yet Burma had fallen, so how could any one accept the Social Reform argument that India's calamities were attributable to caste distinctions and the want of liberty and education to women. He allowed that reform was

needed, but it was political reform and that Social Reform would follow as a matter of course.

PROSECUTION OF *GLOBE* NEWSPAPER BY TILAK FOR LIBEL

(Paragraphs 24, 797, 2093.)

Tilak instituted proceedings against the Editor and publisher of the *Globe* newspaper for libel. The *Times of India* which reproduced the article apologised for doing so, and the proprietors of the *Globe* in addition to publishing an apology undertook to defray Tilak's expenses in connection with the proceedings and to make a donation to the Indian Famine Fund.

1901

SHIVAJI CELEBRATIONS

(Paragraphs 79, 679, 845.)

The Central Provinces Police report the receipt of a letter from Tilak suggesting that instructions in the use of the gun and sword should be freely given in the Shivaji schools in Nagpur, weapons made of wood being used.

At the Shivaji celebrations in Poona the usual disloyal sentiments were inculcated in the shape of lectures and purans which were regularly attended by Tilak and his party. Tilak spoke once and then said Shivaji was greater than all European heroes from Caesar downwards inasmuch as his object was not usurpation but the redemption of his religion and co-religionists and the deliverance of Brahmins and cattle from molestation at the hands of the Muhammedans. The narrow-minded view held of Shivaji by educated natives of the present day he attributed to sentiments imbibed from Western authors and observed that the popularity of the present celebrations was a sufficient contradiction and a satisfactory sign of the times, notwithstanding the fact that a few Government officials were still against them.

During a visit to Kolhapur, Tilak is reported to have said that there was much difference between Shivaji and the present period, patriots like Shivaji being rare now-a-days, and that subjects of Native States were better able to attend to the affairs of their country than inhabitants of a conquered country, the former having the privilege of self-Government which the latter have not,

1902

SHIVAJI CELEBRATIONS

(Paragraph 454.)

At the Shivaji Celebrations Tilak spoke on the third day on "Imperialism". He said *inter alia* that Great Britain in her desire to acquire dominion over Africa had encountered the Boers who, though numerically weak, had fought bravely and secured favourable terms of peace; that their system of warfare was that which Shivaji had adopted against the Muhammadans; and that the lesson to be learnt from the war was that it was not impracticable or impossible for any other people to do the same if all acted together and cautiously. He concluded with saying that celebrations such as they were commemorating were a good sign of the times and that the thoughts they awakened should not be allowed to slumber from year to year, but should induce men to emulate the past.

1903

TILAK'S TRIAL IN 1902-1903 (TAI MAHARAJ CASE)

(Paragraphs 109, 246, 401, 1120.)

The District Magistrate, Poona, writes :—"Tilak seems to be a popular hero throughout this district and his present trial is being watched with interest by all classes who care at all about anything outside their own immediate surroundings. Tilak's paper is now very widely read, its circulation having been greatly increased through the advertisement afforded by his former trial."

The almost universal hope appears to be that he will emerge successfully from the present proceedings.

The Brahmins of the Sadashiv Peth performed the "Swahakar" (offerings thrown into a fire) ceremony for the removal of difficulties, present and anticipated, from the inhabitants of Poona and Bal Gangadhar Tilak in particular. Tilak was present on all five days. In a lecture on the fourth day a hope was expressed that the ceremony would relieve Tilak of his difficulties in the criminal prosecution.

FESTIVAL IN HONOUR OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

(Paragraph 954.)

A pupil in the Government High School, Satara, issued invitations to a meeting to celebrate what he termed the festival of the patriot, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. At the meeting Tilak's picture was exhibited and garlanded and speeches made in which Tilak's history was briefly narrated, his merits praised and all recommended to serve their country as he does.

DISSEMINATION OF DISAFFECTION

(Paragraphs 678, 873, 928, 946.)

A public meeting was held in Poona on the 4th June under the presidency of Tilak to congratulate the Japanese on their successes by land and sea at which Tilak referred specially to the effect the war had and would have on affairs in the Far East and to the fact that it exploded the idea of European supremacy over Asiatics.

At a party given to Tilak at Bhusawal on the 17th August, in returning thanks for some present made to him, he said that the misunderstanding between himself and some of the higher officials of Government was due to their considering his representations on behalf of the people as disloyal, whereas he claimed that in ventilating the grievances of the poor he was doing Government a service; and further he was unable to desist from portraying pictures of some of the miseries from which the people suffered. Tilak presided at a lecture given by Bhaskar Balwant Bhoptkar on the political, social and religious condition of the Indians in which the speaker urged his countrymen to work for their national regeneration.

During the month of September Tilak presided at several lectures in which the sentiments expressed were distinctly disloyal and the trend of all was the political regeneration of India.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT

(Paragraphs 890, 927, 944, 960, 984, 995, 1019, 1044, 1051, 1062, 1092, and 4 and 24 of 1906.)

A meeting of some 3,000 native students, convened by printed hand-bills freely circulated, was held in Poona on the 22nd August under the presidency of Tilak at which speeches were made advocating the boycott of articles of British manufacture and expressing sympathy with the Bengalis in the partition question.

In September Tilak visited Bombay for the purpose of getting Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha to influence Bombay Mill-owners to assist the *swadeshi* movement by supplying dhoties manufactured in Bombay at moderate rates. The appeal is said to have been placed before some of the mill-owners at a private meeting who decided that they could not be supplied except at market rates.

On the 11th September Tilak presided at a lecture in Poona on Swadeshi, which was anti-British in tone.

In September the District Magistrate, Belgaum, reported that the movement was filling a large space in some of the local papers than it did in real life and that it was being engineered entirely from Poona under the direction of Tilak.

On the 15th October Tilak presided at a large meeting in Bombay at which the following resolutions were passed :—

(a) to encourage as far as possible the use of country-made goods ;

(b) to request the mill-owners of Bombay to stop increasing the price of locally manufactured clothes ;

(c) never to use foreign-made articles, especially English.

Tilak's speech summing up the proceedings bristled with political suggestions and in it he made a violent attack on the *Times of India* newspaper which he described as selfish and one-sided.

On the 4th October a private meeting was held in the New Preparatory School, Poona, to discuss the action to be taken in regard to the disposal of European-made clothes, etc. After such articles as were voluntarily offered were collected the students marched in procession to a spot outside the City, placed them in a heap and burnt them. Tilak was present and exhorted his audience to cherish and support the movement.

On the 22nd October Tilak presided at another largely attended meeting in Bombay when he again attacked the *Times of India* and intimated that through his exertions a Co-operative Stores for the sale of country-made goods would be opened in Bombay on the next Hindu New Year's day.

In the same month Tilak preached *swadeshi* at a well attended meeting at Lanowli.

On the 25th October Tilak was again on the platform in Bombay when he spoke on :—

(a) the necessity of holding meetings in different parts of the City to keep the public alive to the advantages of boycotting ;

(b) the legal aspect of boycotting English goods. Sedition, he said, consisted in creating disaffection against the Government and not against goods produced in England, and he could find nothing in section 124A of the Indian Penal Code which could bring the present movement within its purview ;

(c) the recent action of the Bengal Government in rustivating students taking part in the boycott movement.

On the 4th November he spoke at a meeting in Poona justifying the action of students taking an active part in the *swadeshi* movement and condemning parents and men like Professor Selby for prohibiting boys from attending such meetings. He urged his audience to continue agitating until they obtained Home Rule.

During this month he visited Miraj and Kolhapur where he preached *swadeshim*. It was also reported that he has an extensive organization for preaching the movement from village to village and at all fairs.

In December he was at Yeola in the Nasik District on the same mission. His speeches were reported to be temperate.

On the 10th December he was present and spoke at a large meeting in Poona convened to congratulate the Honourable Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Lala Lajpatrai on the success in their recent mission to England.

1906

SWADESHI MOVEMENT

On the 9th September at a meeting of the Swadeshi Wastu Pracharini Sabha, Bombay, he exhorted his hearers to do all in their power to further the cause of *swadeshim* and expressed sympathy with the Postal strike and deprecated the action of those Bombay gentlemen who induced the peons to resume work before they had derived any benefit from their action. On the 7th October he presided at a meeting of the same Sabha and in the course of his address commented on the awakening of Persia, China and Afghanistan and its effects on the *swadeshi* movement in India. He

deprecated the extension of Railways with British capital on the score of its facilitating the export trade and advocated the Anti-Free Trade policy for which, he said, there were no hopes as long as the Government supported the Free-Trade policy. Reverting to *swadeshism* he said that the partial support now being extended to it by officials was due to the hold the movement had acquired among natives and contended that *swadeshism* and boycotting were inseparable. He again presided at a large meeting convened by the Sabha to present an appreciatory address to Seth Khemraj Shri Krishnadas, part proprietor of the Venkatesh Samachar Printing Press, Bombay, for the practical work he had done in the *swadeshi* cause. At the commencement of the meeting a shout was raised demanding the expulsion of one Venkatesh Abaji Marathe, who was seated beside Tilak, denouncing him as a traitor and paid agent of Government on account of his having induced the postmen to resume work during the recent strike. An accident to the platform on which Tilak and Marathe were seated necessitated the latter moving to a less prominent seat and this terminated the uproar. In presenting the address Tilak referred to the practical work performed by the recipient in the *swadeshi* cause and said that on a recent pilgrimage he had induced many native confectioners to give up the use of foreign-made sugar and that he had repaid to many of them the losses they had sustained by the destruction of their stocks of foreign sugar. Referring to the opposition of the Anglo-Indian Press towards the *swadeshi* movement he compared it to the opposition shown to Galileo when he asserted that the world rotated and was not stationary. In regard to the denouncement of Mr. Marathe he said in the absence of better proof he did not believe he was a paid agent of Government and, even if he was, it was no reason for expelling him from a *swadeshi* platform or meeting; but apart from that, in his opinion, Mr. Marathe had in the particular instance acted rightly and that whatever blame there was was not with him but with the public who had not yet come to fully realise the advantages of combination. At a meeting of the Sabha on the 21st October, which was attended by the Bhattia and Bania merchants of Bombay, Tilak said that the essence of *swadeshism* did not lie so much in boycotting foreign articles as in making an effort to reduce the imports and increase the exports of India and he appealed to the merchants of Bombay to seriously consider the question in this light and to encourage the movement without fear and religious scruples. He also advised all native merchants to transact business direct and not through foreigners.

Tilak is reported to have interviewed the Russian Consul ostensibly to obtain letters of introduction to firms in Russia with a view to

purchasing goods, machinery, etc., in furtherance of the *swadeshi* movement. He was advised not to try Russia at present, and given a letter of introduction to the German Consul whom he subsequently interviewed. He also saw the Austrian Consul and obtained letters of introduction to firms in Austria.

PRESS PROSECUTIONS

(Paragraph 135.)

It is reported that Tilak, as principal trustee of the balance of the Fund, raised in 1897 for his defence, set apart Rs. 5,000 for a Press Prosecution Fund, out of which a sum of Rs. 3,000 was contributed towards the expenses for the defence of B. B. Bhopatkar in the *Bhala* case and that the fine of Rs. 1,000 was paid from the same fund.

Tilak is reported to have been present and to have taken a keen interest in a meeting of the Industrial Association in Poona on the 15th and 16th May when the following suggestions were unanimously approved :—

(a) to depute a commission of experts to Japan, England, Germany, Switzerland and other foreign countries ;

(b) to appoint district committees for furthering the cause of industrial reform and affiliate them to a central association to be located at Bombay or Poona ;

(c) to send qualified students to foreign countries for industrial and commercial education ;

(d) to establish banking firms and credit societies on the principles of co-operation ;

(e) to start an industrial and commercial periodical and to publish a directory annually ;

(f) to hold, if possible, an Industrial Conference along with the Provincial Conference in June 1906.

On the 1st March the first annual gathering of the Maharashtra Boarding House was held in the Maharashtra Vidyalaya when Tilak gave an address in which he advised his audience to work for the welfare of the institution and to prefer education in a school which was conducted without a grant-in-aid, as it was therefore unlikely to be subservient to the Government.

Tilak visited Calcutta in June to discuss with the Bengali leaders, it is said, the following points in connection with the establishment of a National University :—

- (a) ways and means to collect funds for such an ambitious scheme ;
- (b) centres at which to establish branches ;
- (c) the number of colleges to be opened at the start ;
- (d) the curriculum of studies.

A notice signed by M. G. Deshmukh, Tilak, D. A. Khare, and V. G. Vijapurkar has been published in the Kesari and other newspapers inviting pecuniary assistance for the establishment of national schools all over Maharashtra for the purpose of training and educating youths who are prepared to dedicate themselves to the welfare of their country. The signatories to the notice undertake the management of the institution under the title of the Board of Maharashtra Educationists on the understanding that subscribers will have no voice in the Government.

TILAK'S INFLUENCE AND POPULARITY

(Paragraphs 179, 403, 719, 812, 832, 856.)

In a so-styled national song which was being distributed in the Poona City in the form of a hand-bill Tilak is invoked as a demi-good.

In May the Political Agent, Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country, reported that Tilak was reported to be the secret adviser of the Chief of Miraj (Senior).

Tilak is reported to have declined to assist W. S. Khare or to have anything to do with Nasik until its present methods of agitation are abandoned.

SHIVAJI CELEBRATIONS

(Paragraphs 319, 381, 427.)

From Bombay Tilak and his party proceeded to Raigadh where the anniversary of Shivaji's birthday was celebrated with unusual pomp and ceremony. The District Magistrate, Kolaba, wrote that he did not consider the Raigadh celebration was intended to be altogether harmless, as from a report received from the

District Deputy Collector, it appeared that very disloyal songs were sung by schoolboys trained for the occasion. This officer also drew attention to the fact that it is customary to celebrate only the *death* days of saints and heroes and considered that some significance should be attached to the fact that on this occasion it was the *birthday* that was celebrated.

GANPATI CELEBRATIONS

(Paragraphs 691, 715).

During the celebrations in Poona Tilak urged the necessity for having unions and organizations throughout the country similar to those in England, America and Russia to represent the grievances of the public, and observed that the recent strike of Postal peons in Bombay proved futile for want of a union. The leaders of the country, he said, had succeeded in making the present state of affairs, known to all and it was now their duty to stimulate matters by putting forward suggestions for the formation of unions with a view to approach Government in a more systematic way.

DASSERA CELEBRATIONS

(Paragraph 771.)

On the 27th September Tilak spoke at an assembly of some 3,000 persons convened by the Arya Mitra Mela, Bombay, to celebrate the Dassera festival. After the meeting a procession of gymnasts and *melas* was formed and headed by Tilak proceeded to the Laxmi Narayan Temple where a gymnastic display was given and prizes awarded. Tilak in addressing them said that the Dassera holiday, which he named "Vijaya Dashami", which means the 10th day of conquest, is maintained as a political, social and industrial festival, as in the days of the Mahrattas it was considered an auspicious day on which to embark on warlike expeditions, and though in these days such expeditions are not practicable, the day was one on which they may start plans and resolutions such as not to be idle, not to join in internal dissensions, to remain faithful to one's caste and creed, to work in such a way as to ensure the prosperity of one's country, etc., etc. And that it was the duty of the Indians to start on such expeditions as were admissible in the times and if they worked wholeheartedly God would grant them success.

DISSEMINATION OF DISAFFECTION

(Paragraphs 190, 231, 448, 493, 527, 567, 590.)

Tilak was in Kolhapur in March, and in a speech recommending the resuscitation of the Lok Sabha or Local Congress pointed out that the Mysore Government had sanctioned the holding of such Congress but that was a poor end to agitation; in Kolhapur the people should aim at forcing the Darbar to grant something more, and he suggested their claiming a share in the Government of the State whereby they may limit the power of the ruler and allow him to retain merely his patronage and ostentation. If they succeeded, the British Government could be shamed into granting similar rights in British territory.

Tilak is reported to have had an interview with the Honourable Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale on his return from his tour in Northern India to discuss the lines on which agitation should be run. Tilak is alleged to have advocated the adoption of extreme measures and Gokhale to have considered the time not yet ripe for them.

MEETING AT NASIK

Tilak presided at a meeting in Nasik on the 31st May convened to protest against the recent circular of the Government of India prohibiting students from taking part in politics. He said the proposed protest described the circular as "oppressive, annoying and Russian" and explained how it was so. He then discoursed on Russian methods of agitation and said that in that country the people, students and lawyers united to strive for liberty and in the strife many have been deported and many impaled; newspapers have been suppressed and editors silenced; but with what success? After a long struggle the Government have granted the people half their demands. In India it is the same; the people are struggling for *swarajya* not for sovereignty; their present condition is even worse than that of the Russians and however much the Government may trample them down they will ultimately accomplish their ends. True it will take time and not be easy of accomplishment; the desire for liberty, however, does not die, but goes on increasing. The methods of Government are not worthy of

them nor are they congenial to the people, and under such circumstances the people cannot do better than learn from Russia what to do.

J. A. GUIDER
Personal Assistant
to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police
for Railways and Criminal Investigation.

Poona, 14th October 1907.

INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE AT PANDHARPUR

(Paragraph 1212E.)

Tilak was one of the Delegates for the Maharashtra Industrial Conference held at Pandharpur in the Sholapur District on the 15th of November. In a speech made by him on that occasion he bemoaned the fact that industries in India were no longer what they used to be. He attributed this to the lack of Government support. Government was indifferent to the industrial needs of India; the cry of the people received no consideration; the people had not sufficient to eat, not because there was not enough corn, but because the people had no money, all India's wealth having been carried away to a foreign country. He concluded by advising his hearers not to rely on Government, but to strike out for themselves.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(Paragraph 1265.)

On December 11th at a meeting held in Poona Tilak proposed that certain subjects should be discussed at the ensuing sessions of the Congress: they were:—

- (1) *Swadeshi* and *Swaraj*.
- (2) National Education considered purely from a National point of view.
- (3) Boycott.
- (4) Criticism of Mr. Morley's Reform Bill, newly introduced.
- (5) Criticism of the Bill for the prohibition of Seditious Meetings.

(6) The question of the stopping of the annual sum of 30,000 rupees sent to London to maintain the British Congress committee.

(7) To consider the letter sent by the Indians living in the Transvaal to the Congress Reception Committee.

SPLIT IN THE CONGRESS

(Paragraph 1274d.)

It was over some of these points that very shortly afterwards split occurred amongst some of the leaders of the National Congress. Those in favour of "boycott" called themselves the Nationalist Party and decided to hold a Congress of their own at Surat before the actual Indian National Congress held its sitting. B. G. Tilak was one of this party.

At the end of December the delegates of the 23rd Indian National Congress assembled at Surat from all parts of India.

(Paragraph 13b of 1908.)

On the 24th December the Nationalists held their 1st Conference, with Babu Arvind Ghose of Calcutta as President, and G. S. Khaparde of Amraoti as Chairman. Tilak was called upon to state in detail the object of the Conference. Tilak in his speech said that their object was not to secede from the Indian National Congress, but to try and make all members of the Congress Nationalists. The difference between the Congress and the Nationalists was this, viz., the Congress wanted self-Government on Colonial lines, but the Nationalists wanted Independence. The Nationalists expressed their ideal freely and were prepared to suffer for it. If they were forced to transgress the law, the fault would not be theirs.

As regards Education, they did not want the Education which was in the hands of Bureaucracy but National Education.

The thing was to force the Nationalists' views on the Congress, or at any rate to see that it did not slide back. After Tilak's speech it was decided to request the Congress to move Resolutions on Swaraj, Boycott and National Education.

THE SURAT CONGRESS

(Paragraph 13d.)

On the 26th the first sitting of the 23rd Indian National Congress began, and the proceedings were very soon brought to an end in

confusion owing to the disagreement about the election of the President, Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose.

On the next day, the 27th, the meeting was resumed, and the proceedings got so far as the election of the President of the Congress, when Tilak got up on the platform and said he wanted to speak and refused to be moved. Tilak apparently wanted to move an amendment, as he said that the election of the President has not been unanimous. He was asked to sit down, but refused. Uproar in the Congress was the result, and the meeting of the Congress came to an end in confusion.

(Paragraph 13j.)

On the 28th December in the evening a meeting of the Nationalists only was held at Surat. Amongst those taking a prominent part was Tilak. At this meeting Arvind Ghose presided, and Tilak in his speech explained how the quarrel at the meeting of the Congress had taken place because he was not allowed to put forward certain arguments. He proposed the formation of a Committee of 50 persons representing the various Provinces of India. This proposition was carried.

At the end of this meeting Tilak presented Ajit Sing (the man deported along with Lala Lajpatrai) with an embroidered velvet cap.

(Paragraph 13k.)

On the 29th of December another meeting of the Nationalists was held in Surat, at which he proposed that each province should give the names of its delegates for the Committee he had proposed the previous day. It was also resolved to open schools in each province for the teaching of the Nationalists' propaganda, and how to teach them without transgressing the limits of the Penal Code. A Nationalists' Fund was also opened.

1908

(Paragraph 152.)

In February it was reported that a National Volunteer Club had been started in Poona of which B. G. Tilak was one of the principal members. The chief rule of the club laid down that its members should strictly adhere to the principles of Swadeshi, efforts for Swaraj, National Education and Boycott.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

(Paragraph 182b.)

On the 28th of February B. G. Tilak took part in a meeting held at Poona in honour of the anniversary of Ramdas. In his speech on the occasion Tilak said that Religion and Politics went hand in hand, and that the religious festivals would best be celebrated if political preachers would go about the country and teach the people what their rights were.

(Paragraph 435b.)

On the 21st and 22nd of May Tilak attended meetings of the Extremists to discuss the situation caused by the discovery of the anarchist plot in Calcutta. One of the resolutions passed at these meetings was to the effect that subscriptions should be raised for the defence of the Calcutta Anarchists. The meeting also passed a resolution that "the regrettable occurrences were in their opinion due to the persistent disregard of public opinion and continued policy of repression on the part of Government".

TILAK'S CONVICTION AND SENTENCE

(Paragraph 607a.)

On June 24th B. G. Tilak was arrested in Bombay on a charge under section 124A and 153A of the Indian Penal Code in respect of an article headed "The Country's misfortune" which appeared in the issue of the *Kesari* of the 12th of May 1908.

He was placed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, on the 25th June and remanded to Jail till the 29th idem.

On the 27th June he was again placed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate for a similar offence in respect of an article headed "These remedies are not lasting", which appeared in the issue of the *Kesari* of the 9th June 1908. Tilak was convicted and sentenced by the Sessions Court to six years' transportation and to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000 on the 22nd July 1908. The same day he was taken to the Ahmedabad Central Prison, Sabarmati.

F. M. GANDEY,
Personal Assistant
to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
for Railways and Criminal Investigation.

TRANSFERRED TO MANDALAY

Tilak was, under the orders of Government, removed from the Ahmedabad Central Prison to the Mandalay Jail. He sailed for Rangoon in the R. I. M. S. Hardinge which left Bombay on the morning of the 14th September, 1908.

The sentence of transportation for six years passed on him by the High Court was commuted as an act of clemency by Government into one of simple imprisonment for a like term and the fine of Rs. 1,000 remitted.

F. C. GRIFFITH,
Personal Assistant
to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
for Railways and Criminal Investigation.

1915

AFTER HIS RELEASE FROM MANDALAY

After the Madras Congress (December, 1914), negotiations for a compromise continued. The attitude of the late Mr. Gokhale was described as conciliatory and it is said that the late Sir Pherozeshah Metha gave him a personal assurance that he was prepared to consider every reasonable amendment in the constitution that would bring back the seceders to the Congress. Mr. Gokhale was prepared to concede that all associations should have the right to send delegates, provided some limit was placed on the number each district was to send, a safeguard which was considered essential to prevent the platform from being swamped by irresponsible persons coming in large numbers from some localities and forcing their opinions on the general body. It was not certain whether such representation was to be based on the number and strength of existing bodies in each district or on the population of the district. In any case the introduction of such a proviso would have exposed the strong as well as the weak points of the Congress propaganda, as many districts would probably remain unrepresented on account of their apathy.

The result of these negotiations made it clear that both parties were afraid that any reform in the Congress Constitution on the lines proposed might expose the fact that the Congress had no real backing in the country.

DIFFERENCE IN METHODS ONLY

The whole question was to have been discussed at a meeting at the Servants of India Hall, Poona, on the 7th February 1915 where many mofussil Congressmen were to meet Mr. Samarth of Bombay. Meanwhile, however, Mrs. Besant had not been inactive. She was anxious to obtain a clear statement in writing from Mr. Tilak as to the intentions of the Nationalist Party once they re-entered the Congress. It will be remembered that in the course of his statement to Mr. Subba Rao at Poona on the 8th December 1914 Tilak is alleged also to have said that though the aim of both the Moderates and Nationalists was the same, namely, the attainment of self-Government within the Empire by constitutional means, there was a difference between the methods of the two schools and that if the Nationalist Party were enabled to rejoin the Congress *they would seek to obtain "recognition of their 'methods' by educating public opinion and working for and securing a majority in the Congress, if possible"*.

MRS. BESANT'S STATEMENT

It was this, according to Mrs. Besant, which had alarmed certain Congress leaders, including Mr. Gokhale, who up till then had been in favour of the proposed amendment to Article XX of the Congress Constitution and led to its being referred to a Committee. They had urged that it opened up an indefinite vista of conflicts in which the Congress, instead of working to obtain its objects, was to spend its time in fighting over methods, the fighting to continue until some methods, *not those of the Congress at present*, should be substituted for these by a majority vote and that therefore before anything could be done it at least would be necessary to clear the matter up. To that end Mrs. Besant prepared a review of the various stages of the negotiations leading up to the proposed amendment at the Madras Sessions to Article XX of the Congress Constitution and, after emphasising the part of Tilak's statement to Mr. Subba Rao referred to above had played in the shelving of the amendment, she added the following "Friendly request to Mr. Tilak":—

"For myself, I ask Mr. Tilak, in all friendliness to make his meaning clear; to tell us what these 'methods' are, and to assure us that he does not come into the Congress to work for any radical change in its methods, or any wrecking of its organisation, explaining the phrase used which has caused such natural alarm as to its intentions. If I have been mistaken in my belief that the

difference of methods is merely the introduction of a little added vigour and insistence, and not a demand for a fundamental change, then I must regretfully give up any further effort to bring about a union which would not invigorate but would destroy the Congress, which is India's only representative institution, commit it to a period of strife when harmonious efforts are necessary, and radically change the methods of work which have done so much for India."

After some editing by Mr. Gokhale, Mrs. Besant sent this statement to Mr. Tilak on the 20th January 1915 and in reply she received on the 30th idem a copy of the *Maharatta* of the 10th January containing its answer to a similar request from Professor Kale, and a letter from Tilak suggesting that she might publish that answer as a reply to her statement, but he asked her to postpone publication till the completion of certain negotiations then in progress. The answer to Professor Kale in the *Mahratta* was particularly the same as Tilak's statement to Mr. Subba Rao and left the matter as nebulous as before. Mrs. Besant found it left her no option but to give up her attempt at uniting the two parties and she regretted that she was unable to delay publication of the correspondence. She accordingly reproduced it in *New India* of the 2nd February 1915, the full text of which appeared in the local Poona and Bombay papers on the 6th idem. This must have affected the meeting at the Servants of India Hall on the 7th, but no details regarding it have transpired. Mr. Gokhale followed Mrs. Besant's statement up with a letter to the Press on the 9th February, to which and Mrs. Besant's statement Tilak replied on the 11th. It was said that Mr. Gokhale was glad of the opportunity afforded by Mrs. Besant's statement to the Press of vindicating himself. Considerable resentment had been fostered in a large section of the public, particularly in Poona, owing to his failure to publish his letter to Bhupendranath Basu regarding Tilak, which it was alleged contained statements amounting to a libel in law and for which, it was reported, Tilak contemplated proceeding against him. As Gokhale and Tilak's letters to the Press throw some light on the situation, they are reproduced below *in extenso* :—

MR. GOKHALE'S LETTER DATED 9TH FEBRUARY 1915

"Sir—Mrs. Besant's statement on the subject of the failure of her attempt to bring about a "United Congress" has cleared the air of several distortions of facts that had been sedulously circulated by certain people during the last month. But as Mr. Tilak, with

characteristic persistence, is still keeping up in his papers the outrageous cry that by writing a private letter to Babu Bhupendranath Basu in this matter shortly before the meeting of the Congress I had 'stabbed him in the dark', it is necessary for me to state publicly what actually took place.

"As Mrs. Besant has said in her letter, I was in favour of her main amendment till 8th December, when the now well-known conversation between Tilak and Subba Rao took place. It should be borne in mind that Mr. Subba Rao had come to Poona in his capacity as Secretary to the Congress, and that when he arrived, he was full of enthusiasm for a 'United Congress'. His conversation with Mr. Tilak on 8th December, however, changed him completely and almost one of the first things he said to me on returning from Mr. Tilak was :—"Oh, it is impossible to have a compromise with Mr. Tilak. He has made it clear that if he and his following came into the Congress again, it means a revival of the old struggle." He then gave me a detailed account of all Mr. Tilak had said to him, which was briefly to the following effect :—

"Mr. Tilak regards the proposed amendment as an instalment only. He wants elections to be thrown open to public meetings as before. If the Madras Congress would not go so far and would not pass the proposed amendment, he would come into the Congress under it and then endeavour to have elections by public meetings as before.

"He and his party accept the statement that the aim of the Congress is the attainment by India of Self-Government within the Empire by constitutional means. But the difference between the two schools lies in their methods. It is really a question of the attitude of the two parties towards Government, that of the Moderate party is, as once stated by Babu Bhupendranath Basu, based on association-*cum*-opposition ; while that of the New party is based on opposition, pure and simple.

"In Mr. Tilak's opinion, the present programme of the Congress was of no value. They were asking for small reforms such as more elected members in the Legislative Councils, Municipal and Local Bodies, an enlargement of their powers, and so forth. Mr. Gokhale had given two years of his time to the work of the Royal Commission, and the only result of it would possibly be a few more places for our people in the Civil Service. Mr. Tilak would ask his countrymen to have nothing to do with these. He would make

only one demand, namely that for self-Government within the Empire. He would induce some Labour Member in Parliament to introduce a Home Rule Bill for India in the House of Commons and he would urge his countrymen to concentrate all agitation on that one object. The Irish, by resorting to methods of obstruction, had, in the course of 30 years, got Home Rule. They must also similarly adopt methods of obstruction within the limits of the law; and then only would they be able to compel the Government to concede their demands.

"If Mr. Tilak and his party were enabled to come again into the Congress, they would try to work for and obtain majority for their methods in the Congress. If not, they would start a separate League of their own for pushing on their propaganda. Mr. Tilak's programme was the same as that which the Extremists preached in 1907.

"The whole thing, I confess, came upon me as a bolt from the blue, not that I was familiar with the programme, but I had hoped that it all belonged to the dead past. In advocating a relaxation of the present rules, I had assumed, an assumption derived from my conversation with several Extremist friends in different parts of the country, that the Extremist party had come to realise that the only political agitation possible at the present stage in India was on lines of the Congress, and this assumption was further confirmed by Mr. Tilak's own letter to the Press of August last. However, in view of Mr. Tilak's explicit statements made to Mr. Subba Rao, it became my clear duty to the Congress to withdraw my support from the proposed amendment, and I sent word to Mrs. Besant to this effect by Mr. Subba Rao, when he left for Madras the next day.

"Matters rested here till 13th December, when I received from Babu Bhupendranath Basu a letter saying 'Babu Motilal Ghose showed me a letter which Mr. Tilak has written to him from which it appears that all hope of reconciliation this year is gone', and asking me if I had changed my opinion, why I had done so. In reply I wrote a long private letter, mentioning the conversation between Mr. Tilak and Mr. Subba Rao and explaining how after the conversation it became impossible for me to maintain my old attitude on the subject. A copy of that letter was sent confidentially to a few intimate friends, who were likely to attach some value to my opinion—all I meant by 'confidential' being that the communication should not be allowed to find its way, as so often happens, into the columns of the Press as a public discussion of the matter would

have effectually shut the door against any possible compromise in the future. Had I been able to attend the Congress, I should have made this communication to my friends personally. Before my letter was despatched it was shown to Professor Vijapurkar who was present during Mr. Subba Rao's interviews with Mr. Tilak and who assured me that my statement of Mr. Tilak's position in the letter was quite correct.

"On the 19th December I had a talk with Mr. Tilak myself on the subject of compromise. I then told him frankly that after his statement to Mr. Subba Rao, which he practically confirmed in his conversation with me, it was impossible for me to support the idea of the compromise any more and that with the views and intentions he entertained, it was best from the standpoint of the interests of the Congress that he should remain outside that body.

"Mr. Tilak complains that my letter to Babu Bhupendranath Basu should have been based on the account given personally to me by Mr. Subba Rao of his conversation with Mr. Tilak, instead of on a brief statement prepared by Mr. Subba Rao and revised by Mr. Tilak. This complaint ignores the fact, of which Mr. Tilak is in possession (it is contained in certain letters which passed between him and me a fortnight ago—letters which he should have published but has not), *viz.*, that the statement did not come into my hands till a week later. Had that statement been before me when I wrote, I should certainly have taken my stand on it. For, to my mind, there is no difference between the personal account and the statement. Considering that the letter is a very brief note of conversation which lasted for hours—a note, again, toned down by Mr. Tilak—it is not surprising that it did not contain several things mentioned to me by Mr. Subba Rao having been said by Mr. Tilak. But the main points are all there, the most important being that the methods of Mr. Tilak and his party are different from the present Congress methods and that if the party came in again, they would revive the old struggle in favour of their methods, and would endeavour to obtain a majority for them in Congress. As the Extremist party has been quiescent since 1908, Mr. Tilak, in speaking of the different methods of his party, could only have meant the methods which were the distinctive cry of that party in 1906 and 1907. Those who went through that struggle of eight years need not be told what those methods were. Briefly, they were a constant denunciation of the present Congress methods as 'mendicancy' and of present Congress leaders as 'sycophants' and the advocacy of a programme

of which the most favoured items were obstruction and a universal boycott.

"I must now make a reference to an incident which occurred at the Subjects Committee, which I should have been glad to avoid, but in regard to which the unscrupulous use which is being made of the incident leaves me no choice. Babu Bhupendranath Basu, in the course of the discussion of the constitutional amendments, referred to my private letter to him and said that the question whether Congress methods would rest on 'association with Government, where possible, and opposition to it, where necessary,' or on 'opposition pure and simple' was a fundamental one and it was necessary to obtain from Mr. Tilak a clear statement of his position before proceeding further with the question of a compromise. Babu Bhupendranath Basu himself did not use the expression 'Boycott of Government', nor was it used by me in my letter to him. But 'Boycott of Government' being notoriously in the forefront of the new teaching in 1906 and 1907, many delegates at Madras naturally thought that that must be what Mr. Tilak had in his mind. And Mrs. Besant, impressed by the general idea around her, wired and asked Mr. Tilak if it was so. To this Mr. Tilak sent the astounding reply:—'I have never advocated boycott of Government.' Babu Bhupendranath Basu, imperfectly acquainted with the teachings of Extremist leaders on this side, thought it best in view of this telegram to stop further references to the views of individuals by expressing his regret that he should have introduced the question of Mr. Tilak's views in his absence into the discussion and asking the delegates to confine themselves to the question on its merits only. And this 'apology' of Mr. Basu's is being used by Mr. Tilak to pose before the public as an injured innocent. Now I have no wish to rake up old matters and I should have said nothing on this point, if Mr. Tilak had merely said 'I do not now advocate boycott of Government'. But his categorical denial that he had ever done so and the impression he had thereby sought to create that a wrong had been done to him by those who felt a distrust of his intentions, compel me to say that Mr. Tilak is simply presuming on short memories in public life. Every one, who was at Surat, knows well that rather than allow the wording of the boycott resolution to be so altered as to make it impossible for the Extremist party to preach 'boycott of Government' under its authority, Mr. Tilak actually wrecked the Congress and Mr. Nevins had noted this fact in his book 'The New Spirit in India'. Ample evidence can be produced on this point from Mr. Tilak's writings and speeches of that time. The following two extracts, taken from his two speeches, should suffice to set all doubt at rest

and with these extracts I am content to leave the matter to the judgment of the public. On the 2nd January 1901, Mr. Tilak, speaking at a public meeting in Calcutta on 'The Tenets of the New Party', is reported to have said:—

'What the New Party wants you to do is to realise the fact that your future rests entirely in your hands. If you mean to be free, you can be free. If you do not mean to be free, you will fall and be for ever fallen. So many of you need not like arms; but if you have not the power of active resistance, have you not the power of self-denial and self-abstinence in such a way as not to assist this foreign Government to rule over you? This is boycott and this is what is meant when we say, boycott is a political weapon. We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontier or outside India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own Courts and when time comes, we shall not pay taxes. Can you do that by your united efforts? If you can, you are free from to-morrow'.

"On the 25th June 1907, speaking on the occasion of the Shivaji Festival at Poona, he is reported to have said :—

'Though down-trodden and neglected, you must be conscious of your power of making the administration impossible if you but choose to make it so. It is you who manage the rail-road and the telegraph, it is you who make settlements and collect revenues, it is in fact you who do everything for the administration, though in a subordinate capacity. You must consider whether you cannot turn your hand to better use for your nation than drudging on this fashion. Let your place be filled by Europeans on the splendid salary of eight annas a day, if possible'.

"One thing more before I conclude. Mr. Tilak asks me to publish my private letter to Babu Bhupendra Basu. Ordinarily, I should have taken no notice of such a request, but in view of the special circumstances of the case, namely, Babu Bhupendranath Basu's reference to the letter at the Subjects Committee and the use which Mr. Tilak is making of the fact that it was private, I am perfectly prepared to show the letter to Mr. Tilak or any of his authorised representatives, and if after reading it, he still asks me to publish the letter, I shall have great pleasure in sending a copy of it to the Press."

MR. TILAK'S LETTER DATED 11th FEBRUARY 1915

"Mrs. Besant and the Honourable Mr. Gokhale have published their account, each from his own point of view, of the failure to bring about a United Congress at Madras. But there are gaps in either of these accounts; and as I was the third party in the negotiations, I am obliged to point out where these accounts fail to give a connected version of the whole story.

"Both Mrs. Besant and Mr. Gokhale have omitted to mention the important fact that it was understood on both sides that the success of the compromise depended not so much upon Mr. Gokhale's willingness, but entirely upon the acceptance of the terms of the compromise by the Conventionists' leaders in the City of Bombay. So all that we did in Poona was to discuss and provisionally settle what amendment in the Congress Constitution should be made, which, even if it did not come up to the mark, would make it possible for the Nationalists to join the Congress, and secondly, what steps should be taken by the Provincial Congress Committee if the presence of the Nationalists was required at the Madras Congress Sessions. I had already ascertained the views of the Nationalist party on the subject, and further discussed and settled them at a small meeting of them at my house held on the 29th November, when Mrs. Besant was, according to her first programme, to come to visit Mr. Gokhale and myself. She with Mr. Subba Rao, however, came a week later, and I then freely and fully explained the position of our party to both of them. Everything went on well so far; and no exception had been taken, in any of the accounts hitherto published, to the conversation I had with Mrs. Besant or Mr. Subba Rao up to this time.

"The difficult task of winning over the Bombay City Conventionists was, however, now assigned to Mr. Subba Rao; and I must say here that I never hoped that it would be attended with success, and the result fully justified my fears. Mr. Subba Rao, according to his own statement published in the *New India* of the 8th instant, found that the Bombay Conventionist leaders were dead opposed to the extension of the franchise to public meetings or to independent constituencies, and, what is pertinent to the question in hand, that 'great apprehension was felt' by these Conventionists 'that the Congress would be running a great risk, if Mr. Tilak and his followers came in'. This, as anybody will see, was the real cause of the failure of the compromise negotiations, for, from what took place at Bankipore in 1912, it was not to be expected that Mr. Gokhale would, after this, continue to support the proposed

amendment of the Constitution though it was, as now published, drafted by him.

“My conversation with Mr. Subba Rao, of which much is made in Mr. Gokhale’s statement, took place after Mr. Subba Rao returned disappointed from Bombay. This was on the 8th December, and he must have told and discussed with Mr. Gokhale (with whom he had put up) as he did with me that day, the attitude of the Bombay Conventionists with regard to the proposed amendment. When I went to see him the next morning he had at his own initiation reduced to writing the main points in our conversation and reading them to me asked if I had any corrections to suggest. I suggested a few and he made them in his own hand; and the statement remained with him. A true copy of the written statement is now published in the Press.

“Mr. Gokhale says that the written statement did not come into his hands till a week later. Well, I have never questioned his word in this behalf. But he certainly knew that one was prepared on the 9th December. What he, however, did afterwards is undisputed. Relying, as he says, upon an oral report of my second conversation with Mr. Subba Rao, after his return from Bombay, Mr. Gokhale wrote a *confidential* letter to Babu Bhupendranath Basu in which Mr. Gokhale made certain charges against me, and said that he, therefore, withdrew his former support to Mrs. Besant’s amendment. In reply Babu Bhupendra is said to have asked for a revised edition of this confidential letter in order that the same may be freely used. But before the second letter reached Babu Bhupendra, he had to show the letter to some of his Bengal friends to justify his sudden change of front towards the question, for he too, till then, was in favour of the amendment. The confidential letter thus became public property, and the effect produced by the disclosure of its contents was that I was believed to have advocated ‘boycott of Government’, and therefore no compromise was either possible or expedient and as a matter of fact the Bombay Conventionist delegates and the Servants of India delegates jointly opposed the amendment for the same reason. Mrs. Besant, who moved the amendment in the Subjects Committee, felt embarrassed and telegraphed to me that ‘my opponents charged me with boycott of Government’, and wished in reply to know what the truth was. I promptly replied that I have never advocated boycott of Government and that prominent Nationalists have served and were serving in municipal and Legislative Councils and that I had fully supported their action both privately and publicly. When this telegraphic

reply of mine was read in the Subjects Committee Babu Bhupendranath withdrew his words, and Mrs. Besant's amendment, instead of being rejected, was referred to a Committee for consideration.

"This is the history of the failure of the compromise in brief. But though Babu Bhupendra has withdrawn the charge he made against me on the strength of Mr. Gokhale's confidential letter, Mr. Gokhale would not follow the same course and still persists in openly maintaining the charge against me, relying (1) on the oral report of Mr. Subba Rao's conversation with me after the former's return from Bombay to Poona, and (2) on some detached extracts from the newspaper reports of my speech made eight years ago. In short, he pleads justification for the charge he made against me in his confidential letter and wants to throw the whole responsibility of the failure of the compromise on my shoulders.

"Now as regards the oral reports of the parts of my conversation with Mr. Subba Rao I must say that I do not accept them as correct; and they have no value as against the written statement prepared by Mr. Subba Rao. As regards the charge of advocating boycott of Government I have already repudiated it in plain terms. It is unfair to ask me to do anything more until the confidential letter in which the charge was first made is published. For I am entitled to know the whole case against me before I make any further reply. The contents of Mr. Gokhale's confidential letter were allowed to filter through Mr. Basu down to the Subjects Committee and have done harm to me behind my back, as also to the compromise. If Mr. Gokhale thinks that I am attributing bad faith to him, the way for him is quite clear and open. He never wanted my consent, though I am within ten minutes' drive from his residence, when he wrote his confidential letter to Babu Bhupendra, and I fail to understand why he should now ask me to read the letter and ask him to publish it. I am not going to do anything of the kind, nor send to Mr. Gokhale an accredited agent of mine for the purpose. The initiative and the responsibility of sending the letter to Mr. Basu was his, and so must be that of publishing it. It is for him to consider whether he does not owe it to himself and to me to publish both his letters, so that the public may, after my reply to them, form their own judgment in the matter."

DEATH OF GOKHALE

The above correspondence put a stop for the time being to all chances of a compromise. The controversy continued in the Moderate and Extremist Press and degenerated into bitter personalities, in

which much capital was made by the Extremists of Gokhale's confidential letter to Basu, and it only ended with the death of Gokhale shortly after, which, it is said, was hastened by the controversy.

Tilak attended Gokhale's funeral and made a stirring speech. Referring to the incident which occurred at the funeral of Narayan-rao Peshwa when the two contending parties whose factions had brought about the Peshwa's assassination took oath on the river bank to sink their differences for the common cause, he asked whether his audience should not be animated with a similar spirit.

ANOTHER MOVE FOR UNITY

The next move towards a compromise came during the Provincial Conference organized by the Extremists of Poona early in May when Mr. Joseph Baptista in his presidential address pleaded for unity, and a resolution appointing a committee, consisting of the Honourable Mr. Belvi, Mr. Baptista and Tilak, and empowering them to take the necessary steps to bring about a united Congress, was unanimously carried. In spite of this it was clear that Tilak had no intention of going into the Congress except on his own terms. There was no evidence to show that this committee took any action to effect a compromise. When R. B. Phatak of Satara and other delegates broached the subject of compromise in the Subjects Committee of the Moderates' Provincial Conference held in Poona in July and expressed the intention of bringing forward a resolution appointing a committee to consider how it could be attained, it was decided after much discussion to approach Tilak and ask him to explain what he wanted. Tilak said he was prepared to join the Congress under its Constitution, but refused to give a guarantee for himself and others that when once in the Congress they would not bring up such subjects as the "Boycott" and "National Education" before the Congress. He maintained that the majority should always decide what line was to be taken and that everyone should be free to induce his colleagues to his side. He was not prepared to surrender any of these rights simply for the advantage of being in the Congress. Ultimately when it was found that no immediate compromise was possible, it was decided to leave the subject open.

DEATH OF PHIROZSHAH

It had been arranged that the Special Committee appointed at the last Congress to go into the question of Mrs. Annie Besant's amendment to Article XX of the Congress Constitution, which would allow Tilak into the Congress, should meet early in the autumn of 1915.

The members of the Committee representing the other provinces had expressed themselves in favour of the amendment, but that they would not support it in the face of opposition, if any, from the Bombay members whom it most intimately affected. No meeting having come off, Mrs. Annie Besant came to Bombay about the middle of September 1915 to push the matter on, but her endeavours to see Sir Pherozshah, who was seriously ill, met with failure and she went away disappointed. Sir Pherozshah's death having occurred shortly after, the Moderates of Bombay then succeeded in getting the meeting of the Committee postponed till December, an action which virtually meant that there was to be no compromise before the 1915 Congress.

CLAUSE AMENDING CONGRESS CONSTITUTION

Tilak, however, made one last effort to get into the Congress. At the beginning of December he sent N. C. Kelkar to Calcutta, and Upper India to interview the political leaders there and so pave the way for a compromise. He was to represent that the Extremists did not now preach "Boycott" or "Passive Resistance", in fact that their programme did not differ in essential from the general programme of the Moderates. It was on this basis that the attempt was to be made to win over or at least soften the Moderate leaders in those parts in order to bring about a compromise which would have allowed the Extremists to enter the Congress honourably.

The Bombay Congress Committee were willing to admit Tilak as a delegate if he signed the convention, but were not willing to hold a public meeting at which he might be elected. It appeared, however, from a telegram from him to Babu Motilal Ghose that he expected the Provincial Congress Committee to authorise the holding of such meetings all over the Presidency at which "as many Nationalists as we want may be elected to carry through any amendments to the Constitution that we require". If this arrangement had been carried through it is very evident that there would have been a large body of Extremists in the Congress, and, though they had signed the Convention in order to gain admittance, would have put forward embarrassing proposals for the amendment of the Constitution and that the Bombay Moderates would have had some difficulty in restraining their young adherents as information to hand showed that the Moderate leaders had already experienced some difficulty in controlling the younger members of their party. Some Poona Moderates, it is said, did actually approach the Bombay leaders with a view to electing Tilak as a delegate at a meeting of the District Congress Committee though he did not belong to it, but

this move proved futile as was also, apparently, the attempt which it is said, was to be made at the meeting on the 25th December of the Committee appointed at Madras to report on Mrs. Besant's amendments to settle finally in an indirect fashion Tilak's admission to the Congress. It, however, resulted in the following draft amendment to the Congress Constitution which was carried a few days later at the Congress Sessions.

"That any public association of two years' standing having accepted the Congress Creed, and made the acceptance of the Creed a condition precedent to membership, and having notified such acceptance of the Creed to the Congress Committee of the Province in which that Association is situated, will have the power to hold public meetings for the election of delegates to the Congress, the number of delegates thus elected being 15.

"That the All-India Congress Committee will have the power of disqualifying any such Association to elect delegates when they think that these Associations are acting in a way contrary to the first Article of the Constitution."

MRS. BESANT'S HOME RULE LEAGUE

Mrs. Besant, having failed also to carry her suggestion that the 1915 Congress make a formal demand for Home Rule, inaugurated the Home Rule League, to the presidentship of which she managed to inveigle Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. She approached Tilak, who of course promised her hearty support seeing that this presented a means whereby he could return to active public life with dignity and ostentation. Mrs. Besant's idea, though not definitely opposed, was not taken up by the Bombay Moderates enthusiastically. They considered that it was the Congress who should organize such a League if it was at all necessary. Mrs. Besant soon realized that the admission of Tilak to the League, while the Bombay Moderates were still hesitating, would prejudice her chances of success, and the League not receiving a very encouraging response from the Bengal leaders, Mrs. Besant notified that there would be no admission to the League until the political leaders of the Congress and the Moslem League, whom she had invited, met on a day previous to the Congress to discuss her proposals and frame rules for submission for the approval of Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Subramania Iyer. This action naturally excluded Tilak and the Extremists for at least a year from taking any active part in the management of the League, a great disappointment to the Extremists to whom the League would have been of the utmost value. It was affirmed that

Mrs. Annie Besant sincerely believed that the League would enable her to preserve the enthusiasm of the Extremists, a factor which the present Congress party considerably lacked, as well as strike out the unconstitutional and dangerous element.

It was said that as far back as February, Tilak had contemplated starting a Home Rule League, but had refrained from doing so on Mr. Gokhale informing him that it would at once be suppressed by Government.

PERSONAL ACTIVITIES DURING 1915

Now to turn to Tilak's personal activities during 1915.

He was present at the entertainment given in Poona in honour of Mr. Gandhi by the Sarvajanik Sabha on the 12th July and by the citizens of Poona in the Kirloskar Theatre on the 13th idem. On the latter occasion he arrived a little late and was given a great ovation.

Early in March news was received from D. A. Khare that Tilak's appeal to the Privy Council with regard to the Tai Maharaj Adoption case had ended in his favour. This decision of the Privy Council caused great jubilation among his friends and followers as a vindication of his character and as a blow to Government's endeavours to dub him as a common criminal and cheat.

On the 13th March he was in Bombay to attend a private meeting of the Swadeshi Co-operative Stores, when it was decided to open a branch of the concern in Poona, which was subsequently done.

PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE AT POONA

On the 20th April a meeting was held in Sarvajanik Sabha Hall to appoint a Chairman and Reception Committee for the Provincial Conference to be held in Poona on the 8th, 9th and 10th May. Tilak was elected a member of the Reception Committee and in proposing a vote of thanks to the chair urged upon the assembly the necessity of realising the importance of the object for which they had assembled. All had a right, he said, to put their views before the assembly, but when the questions had been fully discussed they should abide by the decision of the majority. The Moderate Congress party refused to recognise the Poona Provincial Conference, regarding it as having been called without complying with the Rules and Regulations of the Congress organization. On the other hand Tilak, Kelkar and other notables of the Extremist party left

no stone unturned in their efforts to make it a success, and they succeeded so far in their efforts that some 2,000 persons assembled on the day fixed. Mr. Joseph Baptista, the President-elect, arrived in Poona on the 7th May and was given a great reception. Tilak, Patwardhan, chairman of the Reception Committee, and R. P. Karandikar drove with him from the station to the bungalow in which he lodged. The proceedings of the Conference were carried out in a spirit of moderation, compatible, it is apparent, with a realization of the difficulties that faced Government at the time. The speeches were all fairly moderate in tone. In fact a few of the delegates held the view that they were going too far in their moderation, but their opinions were overruled by the majority who were animated by a conciliatory spirit. The whole affair was a triumph of organization for Tilak, who dominated the whole proceedings, Baptista, the President, playing but a small part. After the conclusion of the Conference on the 10th May, Tilak delivered a speech in the Kirloskar Theatre, the venue of the Conference. Having promised that the views he was going to propound had no connection with the programme of the Conference, but were his own thoughts, he went on to discuss the past and present state of the country. The present system of Government, which had been gradually evolved since the overthrow of the Peshwa, was not suited to India's needs and a change in the administrative system was needed. India needed British rule but not bureaucracy. The goal of their ambition should be Home Rule. The British wanted to rule India and derive as much benefit as they could from it and there was no use trying to prevent them. However, whatever concessions were given should be accepted and they should not cease asking for further concessions. The Conference had formed no definite opinion on the form of Home Rule that we required and had not, therefore, discussed the matter. Their leaders should, therefore, come together to discuss and formulate their demands, as the proper time for moving for a change of policy was approaching. The questions would come before Parliament after the war and they should then be prepared with one demand which would meet all their wants. To that end the leaders should move about the districts and explain to the people what was wanted. Nothing should be done to embarrass the Government while the war was in progress, but they should raise their voice after the war and let Government see that the country was united in its demand.

BHARAT ITIHAS SANSHODAK MANDALI

On the 9th May he presided at the meeting of the "Bharat Itihas Sanshodak Mandali". The "Mandali", he said, had come into

being while he was absent, but on hearing of it on his return, he had at once joined it as he considered that a knowledge of the previous history of a nation was essential for its prosperity. Government might be approached for help, but he advised the members to run the "Mandali" themselves.

The Mandali is a purely harmless institution and enquiries show that the promoters are not likely to be influenced by Tilak.

"GITA RAHASYA"

In June Tilak's book on the "Ehagwat Gita" was published. Its sale met with great success and in a short while all the copies of the first edition were disposed of.

D. HEALY,
Personal Assistant
to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department.

1916

COMPROMISE BETWEEN EXTREMISTS AND MODERATES

The National Congress held in December 1915 passed an amendment to Article XX of the Congress Constitution, which afforded the Nationalists an opportunity of entering the Congress under its provisions, should they choose to do so. The amendment granted automatic affiliation to all political bodies of two years' standing on the 31st December 1915, but limited the number of delegates from such bodies to 15. Though the Nationalists resented this limit of 15, they were to a great extent disposed to recognise that a concession to their susceptibilities had been made. Tilak said that before taking up any definite attitude he would first have to consult the members of his party, and to this end a meeting of prominent Nationalists of the Deccan, Central Provinces and Berars was held in Poona on the 16th January 1916, at which it was decided that the question should be deferred for final settlement at their Provincial Conference at Belgaum in the coming April. The question as to whether it should be a United Conference was discussed, but it was finally decided to leave it to the Moderates to come and join if they liked, or to hold a separate conference as they had done the previous year or not hold any at all. As regards the compromise, Tilak expressed himself fairly satisfied with it, but added that he did not wish to influence the opinion of others in any way. The Belgaum

Conference opened on the 29th April and ended on the 1st May. All the leading Nationalists of the Presidency attended and also a few leaders from the Central Provinces and Berars. After a lengthy discussion on the compromise question, following final draft was prepared and adopted by the Subjects Committee :—

“That this Conference adopts the reports of Messrs. Belvi, Baptista and Tilak, and as in the interest of our Motherland under the present circumstances it is desirable to unite, resolves to accept the constitution of the Congress as amended at its last sessions, though the amendment is highly unsatisfactory, and appoints a committee composed of the following gentlemen, to do further work from within :—G. S. Khaparde, J. Baptista, D. V. Belvi, B. G. Tilak and N. C. Kelkar (Secretary).”

Even after the final adoption of the resolution in the subjects Committee, Paranjpe and others argued there was a strong feeling among the delegates against the resolution. Tilak stoutly opposed them and in the end challenged Paranjpe to bring in an amendment before the Conference if he wanted. Tilak's firm attitude carried the day. The resolution which was proposed by Tilak, seconded by Belvi and supported by Gandhi, R. P. Karandikar, S. M. Paranjpe, Dr. Munje and others, was eventually carried unanimously.

WAR AND LOYALTY

Tilak was called upon to support the first resolution of the Conference “War and Loyalty”. He said that in the resolution they asked for certain concessions whereby they could attain the full status of British Citizens, not as a recompense for the services they had rendered to the Empire, but on the grounds of justice and equity. These concessions they had been asking for the past 25 years, but they were always met with the argument that if they were conceded it meant the extinction of British power in India. The war had, however, brought about a crisis, and in that crisis the British Government had found the whole of the Indian nation loyal. Indians wished to support the British Empire and had no desire for another foreign power to rule over them, and were, therefore, willing to sacrifice their lives and their money for the retention, the strength, and ultimate success of the British Government. Persons had cast a slur on their loyalty in order to prevent their obtaining the rights of British citizenship, but the experience of the war had demonstrated their loyalty and proved that any concessions made to them would not be abused by them.

TILAK'S HOME RULE LEAGUE

On the 24th of December 1915, there was a meeting at Tilak's house at Poona of several Nationalists at which it was resolved that a Home Rule League for Maharashtra should be established in the near future. The assembly of a large number of Nationalists at Belgaum for the Provincial Conference was seized on as a fitting occasion to launch this scheme. Accordingly on the 28th April a meeting was held to consider the question. At this meeting it was decided that a League should be established with a view to educating and organising public opinion throughout the country to agitate for Home Rule. Provincial office-bearers were appointed. Baptista was nominated President, N. C. Kelkar, Secretary and D. V. Gokhale, Assistant Secretary. Tilak appeared as one of the Committee of 17 persons nominated to carry on the work of propagating the Home Rule doctrine, enlist members and organise branches. He opened the campaign by delivering a lengthy oration on Home Rule at Belgaum on the 1st at the conclusion of the meeting held there under the auspices of the Historical Research Association.

SPEECH AT SATARA

On his way back to Poona from Belgaum, Tilak halted at Satara on the 4th May. Great preparations were made to celebrate his visit and he was given a right royal welcome. In the afternoon he was entertained at the Union Club, the Shivaji Club and the local theatre. The proceedings at the theatre opened with the recital of the Indian National Anthem. R. P. Karandikar spoke in most eulogistic terms to Tilak. Tilak then delivered a lengthy speech on the celebration of the Shivaji anniversary. He compared the glory of Maharashtra of two centuries back with its present decadent state, and exhorted the Mahrattas, Brahmins and all Hindus to acquire those qualities which had enabled Shivaji and Ramdas to win national emancipation. Patriotism, courage, self-sacrifice and indifference to danger were among the virtues which characterised the Mahrattas of old, and he urged his audience to acquire these virtues by constantly keeping before their minds the exploits of Shivaji and his compatriots. The police and short-sighted officials might call this line of conduct seditious, but, to his mind, to worship their national heroes and follow in their hallowed footsteps were acts worthy of the nation to which they belonged. They must, of course, adapt those virtues to present-day requirements and strain every nerve to acquire Self-Government under British suzerainty. If they were pessimists or dreaded the law and prosecution, they must be content to remain in perpetual bondage.

SHIVAJI CORONATION CELEBRATION

The Shivaji coronation anniversary was celebrated in Poona on the 14th, 15th and 16th June. On the 14th, V. K. Rajwade lectured in the Kirloskar Theatre on "The work and prowess of Shivaji", Tilak was in the chair and, in summing up, said that of late he had been engrossed in the subject of Home Rule and considered they had much to learn on the subject from the manner in which Shivaji conducted his administration. They were told that if Home Rule were granted, the Muhammadans and the lower Hindu castes would be oppressed by the Brahmins. It would be well if their traducers would study the period of Shivaji's rule : protection was extended to all alike and the Cabinet included Ministers of various castes. Representation of the bugbear of Brahmin tyranny was a selfish dodge on the part of the bureaucracy to deceive the people so that they might keep the power in their own hands.

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST TILAK

On the 22nd of July under the orders of Government the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Criminal Investigation Department, laid an information under section 108. Criminal Procedure Code, in the Court of the District Magistrate, Poona, against Tilak in respect of the Home Rule speech he delivered at Belgaum and the two speeches he delivered at Ahmednagar. The District Magistrate issued a notice returnable on the 28th idem ordering Tilak to show cause why he should not be bound over in a sum of Rs. 20,000, with two sureties for Rs. 10,000 each, to be of good behaviour for one year. On Tilak's application the hearing of the case was first postponed to the 2nd of August and again to the 7th idem. The hearing lasted till the 10th of August, and on the 12th the District Magistrate ordered Tilak to sign a bond for Rs. 10,000 and furnish two sureties each in a sum of Rs. 10,000. Tilak signed the bond and tendered Trimbak Hari Avate and Ganpat Vithoba Morval as his sureties. They were accepted by the Magistrate.

TILAK'S APPEAL TO HIGH COURT

Tilak immediately preferred an appeal to the High Court which was admitted on the 1st August and came on for hearing on the 8th and 9th November before Justices Batchelor and Shah. While admitting that there were passages in the speeches which were highly objectionable and seditious, the Judges were unable to agree that the natural and probable effect of the speeches taken as a whole on the minds of those who were addressed would be to bring into

hatred or contempt, or to excite disaffection towards the Government established by law in British India. The order of the District Magistrate was accordingly reversed and the bond executed by Tilak and his two sureties cancelled.

The decision of the High Court was held on all sides as legitimatising agitation for Home Rule, but there was reason to believe that Tilak himself was not wholly satisfied with the judgment. Apart from the strictures passed on him, neither of the Judges was able to accept his contention that criticism directed against the Civil Service, generally described as "bureaucracy" in the speeches, could not in any circumstances be treated as criticism against the Government established by law in British India. As a result the few speeches he was obliged to make during the remaining portion of the year were marked by unusual restraint and brevity.

TILAK PRESENTED A PURSE

Early in July a movement was set on foot by N. C. Kelkar and other admirers of Tilak to collect a purse of Rs. 1,00,000 for presentation to him on his 60th birthday. The birthday was celebrated in the Gaikwad Wada on July 24th. Between 5,000 and 6,000 persons were present, including, representatives from the Karnatic, Berars, Gujerat and Bombay City. Speeches were delivered by several prominent agitators present eulogising Tilak and his work for the Motherland. Tilak was then garlanded and the amount subscribed was formally handed to him. Some persons presented him on the spot with clothes, pagris, rings, currency notes, etc. He was also tendered an address in a silver casket. In reply he said that he accepted the gifts in trust to spend in a constitutional way for national work. The birthday was also celebrated in Bombay and various other places.

PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE AT AHMEDABAD

Tilak attended the Provincial Conference held under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Congress Committee at Ahmedabad on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd October. It is said that he had from the commencement expressed his unwillingness to take any prominent part in the proceedings of the Conference, leaving it to N. C. Kelkar to do so in his behalf. His primary object in attending the Conference appears to have been to demonstrate the genuineness of the Belgaum Conference's decision regarding the compromise between the two parties, and his decision to take no part in the proceedings was due to a desire not to make himself too prominent and bring himself

into collision with the Moderate leaders at that juncture, especially as he knew that some of them had a personal bias against him. In spite of Tilak's ostensible abstention, however, the conference witnessed the first trial of strength under the new conditions between the Extremists and Moderates, and on the only four points regarding which there was a difference of opinion the Extremists' view was carried.

AT BOMBAY

On the 28th he went to Bombay to attend the meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to be held there on the 29th *idem*. He was elected a representative of the province of Bombay along with 14 others on the All-India Congress Committee. He again visited Bombay on the 7th December. He had prepared a scheme for the better working of the Home Rule League which he placed before a private meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee held specially for the purpose on the 7th. The scheme required that the Congress should take executive work in hand, open a central office in Bombay for the purpose, appoint paid lecturers for the spread of the Home Rule propaganda and bring an amendment to the Government of India Act of 1858 so as to legalise agitation for Home Rule in India. The scheme was approved of by a majority of the members present and was to be placed for adoption before the ensuing Congress at Lucknow.

SARVAJANIK SABHA AND CONGRESS

On the 10th December he returned to Poona and presided at a special meeting of the Sarvajanik Sabha when it was resolved to seek affiliation for the Sabha to the Congress organisation. The matter came up for consideration before the Provincial Congress Committee on the 21st December, but recognition was refused on the ground that the Sabha had not satisfied requirements and that its main object was the attainment of "Independent Swaraj". Tilak was greatly incensed, and said he would appeal to the All-India Congress Committee against the decision.

TRIUMPH FOR HOME RULERS

Tilak did all he could to bring the Bombay delegates round to his views on the Home Rule question, and it was said that the Honourable Mr. Parekh and the Honourable Mr. Wacha had yielded to some extent. Many of the Bombay Moderates were said to be prepared to accept a large part of his programme, but fought shy of the words "Home Rule". On the 27th December the Bombay delegates met to elect their representatives for the Subjects Committee. The

election was fought on the straight issue of Home Rule, and of the 15 delegates finally elected, 14 were pronounced Home Rulers.

The Subjects Committee held its sittings on the 27th, 28th and 29th. The draft of the Self-government resolution formed the subject of considerable discussion, especially (c) to which Mrs. Besant, supported by Tilak, moved an amendment that Home Rule should be given to India after the war. (a) and (b) of the resolution recommended a Royal Proclamation declaring Self-Government to be the aim of British Rule in India and the grant after the war of the reforms set forth in the Congress-League scheme. The Moderates, therefore, rightly contended that the amendment to (c) clashed with (b). The Extremists, however, stated that the amendment was necessary to prevent the Colonies exercising any control over Indian affairs through any scheme of Imperial Federation that might be introduced after the war. Mr. Jinnah, who reproached Tilak for not having given him previous intimation in regard to the amendment, moved an alternative amendment objecting to any arrangement which would place the Colonies in the position anticipated, and suggested that the Muhammadans were not ready to support any demand for the grant of Home Rule at an early date. His amendment was, however, lost, and Mrs. Besant's when put to the vote was carried by a large majority. On the Moderates, however, threatening to oppose such a resolution in open Congress, Mrs. Besant and her party gave way and (c) was modified so as to demand complete Self-government within a generation. Tilak spoke in support of the resolution in the Congress on the following day.

Tilak's scheme for the appointment of special Working Committees next came up for consideration, but greatly to the annoyance and discomfiture of himself and his followers, the President ruled it out of order.

Tilak was appointed one of the three trustees for the Bombay Presidency for the funds to be collected locally towards the three lakhs the Congress had recommended should be collected for a campaign in India and England.

Tilak attended the sessions of the All-India Moslem League Conference held on the 30th and 31st December.

D. HEALY,
Personal Assistant,

to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department.

1917

January

HOME RULE LEAGUE MEETING

On the 28th Tilak held a meeting of the Central Committee of the Indian Home Rule League in his own house, Gaikwad Wada. In summarising the work done by the League, he said that the Maharashtra and Madras Home Rule Leagues were instrumental in securing the Swaraj resolution at the Lucknow Congress, and in getting the Home Rule movement stamped as lawful. That the whole Empire was now undergoing reconstruction, and that if they did not work now, as Ireland and the Colonies were doing, they would get nothing.

February

He attended a meeting in the Kirloskar Theatre, Poona on the 1st February to protest against the Indentured Labour System in the Fiji Islands. In seconding the resolution urging the abolition of the system, he said that the blame for allowing the system to continue was on the people of India, who had made no effort to put a stop to it. He called upon the young men of India to form themselves into societies, even at the expense of their college course, and go to the villages where the recruiting agents secured their victims and explain the iniquities of the system. If they did that, he declared that the System would not be heard of six months afterwards.

Information having been received that he intended to conduct a Home Rule campaign in the Punjab, a notice issued by the Government of the Punjab under the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1916, prohibiting him from entering the Punjab, was served on him on the 17th.

DEFENCE OF INDIA FORCE

He attended a meeting held in the Kirloskar Theatre, Poona, on the same day to express satisfaction at the announcement made by the Viceroy regarding the intention of Government to enrol Indians in their units in the Defence of India Force for general military service in India for the duration of the war. In proposing the resolution he said that Government were making a move in the right direction in trusting Indians with the responsibility of defending their motherland. They would soon be asked to join the

colours for the defence of their country and he hoped they would answer the call. Maharashtra should give at least 20,000, and if that number did not come forward, he would consider that they were unfit for Home Rule, and he himself would cease to be a Home Ruler. They would probably not get all the privileges they claimed at once, but a beginning had been made and the rest would follow. He offered the services of his own son.

On the 23rd a notice under the Defence of India Act issued by the Commissioner of Delhi, prohibiting Tilak from entering the Delhi Province was served on him.

May

He attended the Provincial Conference held at Nasik on the 12th, 13th and 14th. In a speech at the Conference on the 12th on the Self-government resolution, he explained the necessity for having a separate political body, the Home Rule League, in addition to the National Congress. He said that but for the presence of the Home Rulers at the Lucknow Congress, it was doubtful whether the Congress would have passed the resolution on Self-government in its present form. The Congress and its committee had done nothing beyond assembling and talking, and on that account the League was started to do the work of the Congress. The League was loyal to the Congress. He did not wish a long life to the League, as he hoped they would attain their goal in two or three years.

In a speech on the 13th he deplored that the Congress deputation has not yet left for England. He said that the angle of vision towards India in England had changed for the better and the British public was sure to listen to their legitimate demands. They did not want to get rid of the King and the bureaucrats, but desired that the latter should carry on the administration according to the wishes of the people. Home Rule was the panacea for all their ills.

July

Tilak's birthday on the 10th was celebrated throughout Maharashtra.

September

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee met again on the 2nd in the Presidency Association rooms. Tilak was present. A resolution to the following effect on passive resistance, amended to suit Tilak and his party, was passed.

"Though the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee is of opinion that there is a strong feeling among the people to support the campaign of passive resistance on account of the coercive measures recently taken by the Government, it advises that, taking into consideration the fact that Mr. Montagu is coming on a visit to this country and that the reasons for his coming are well-known, the work of the consideration and giving opinion on the principles underlying passive resistance and the measures necessary to put them into effect, which has been entrusted to this Committee by the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League, be for the present held in abeyance, and the meeting expresses the hope that the Government will take the necessary steps to allay the bitter feeling aroused among the people by the action of internments and other coercive measures taken by the authorities. This course will enable the Secretary of State to fulfil the work entrusted to him under normal conditions."

Before this proposal was agreed to, Tilak spoke strongly in support of passive resistance.

December

The Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, reported that on Tilak's arrival at Howrah on the 26th he was met by delegates and volunteers and given a most enthusiastic reception. His carriage was drawn by 50 Maratha and Marwari youths and the whole route to the Congress pandal was decorated with flags and festoons, and a halt was made at the headquarters of the Upper India "Seva Samiti", 191, Harrison Street. The procession was greeted with the blowing of conch-shells, the strewing of flowers and cries of *Bande Mataram* and *Tilak Maharaĵ ki jai*.

When Tilak entered the Congress pandal, the ovation he received exceeded that extended to the President-elect or any of the other delegates.

Tilak spent a very strenuous year in popularising the Home Rule League propaganda, and it may be safely said that his influence in the country is now greater than it ever has been.

D. HEALY,

Personal Assistant
to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department.

TILAK ON POLITICAL SITUATION

(From Report on Native Papers for the Week ending
26th January 1907, Page 32, paragraph 46.)

Mahratta of 20th January 1907.

The *Mahratta* publishes the following summary of a public lecture recently delivered by Mr. Tilak at Allahabad on "Our present Situation" :—

"My first accusation against the Government was that it had done nothing to help the indigenous industries of this country to live. On the other hand, it had helped to kill them by the neglect of industrial education..... It is not enough merely to encourage indigenous industries; it is obligatory on the state to preserve them by giving industrial education to the artisan class. This obligation is recognised by the Government in England, but it has been invariably neglected by the Government of India. Indian industries have been ruined in consequence. If we wish to preserve and promote them, we should establish a protective tariff of our own by the boycott of foreign goods. I accept the declaration of Anglo-Indian papers that the British are here by the right of conquest and that they hold India by the might of the sword. A Government holding that position is not likely to yield any part of its power by speeches and petitions. There is no example in the whole range of history of a foreign Government, which had established its supremacy by conquest giving complete or a large measure of self-Government to the subject people of its own accord. It is not in human nature to do so. The rulers look after their own interest, not that of the ruled. Philanthropy has no part in politics. It is undeniable that the British Government have given peace to the country and a certain amount of liberty. I do not deny that Indians have received some benefits from their rulers. But they naturally aspire to improve their position. A nation must either progress, or it must fall back. It could not stand still. The desire to advance is perfectly natural, but would Government ever, of its own motion, concede to the people all that they desire? The positions of the Government as well as the people are natural. The Government do not want that we should proceed beyond a certain point; we want to proceed all along the line. And it is not by petitions that our desires can be fulfilled. Continuing Mr. Tilak declared that the clear object of the Government was to maintain a dead level in this country. The encouragement given to the backward classes was to bring them up to this level and no higher.

The education imparted in Government schools and colleges was intended to qualify the people for a number of subordinate offices in the administration. The Government wanted clerks, lawyers, judges, engineers and doctors, and the course of instruction stopped there. That is why nationalisation of education was wanted, Mr. Dadabhai Navroji, the President of the last Congress, had declared that our goal was Self-Government. For years it might be only a subject of academic interest, but that was the end we must keep in view. What would the reform or expansion of Legislative Council avail? In place of half-a-dozen Honourables we might have a dozen. Their speeches would be published in the Government Gazette, but they would be as powerless as they are now. The bureaucracy had not the slightest intention of giving up any portion of their power, and they were too powerful either for Parliament or the Secretary of State for India. The House of Commons passed a resolution that simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service should be held in England and India but the resolution has remained inoperative because the bureaucracy in India were opposed to it. Even Mr. Morley himself had declared that the Government in India must remain absolute. So far as India was concerned, Liberals and Unionists were alike. In order that there should be a growing organisation and a public opinion growing in power, it was necessary, proceeded the speaker, that the educated classes should work among the masses. The masses understood what the Swadeshi movement meant; they did not understand such abstruse principles of politics as that of no taxation without representation. They know that village industries were dying out, and any scheme for the protection and revival of those industries would have their support. Above all, we must clearly understand that it is not by waiting upon the pleasure of a bureaucratic Government or by reasoned petitions to Parliament that our salvation would be achieved. "There is a saying" said Mr. Tilak in conclusion, "that Heaven helps those who help themselves. Is the British Government greater than God Almighty that it will help us if we do not help ourselves?" Repeated rounds of delighted applause greeted this effective sally.

TILAK ON "THE KOLHAPUR REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY"

(From Report on Native Papers for the Week ending
16th March 1907, Page 26, paragraph 36.)

Samarth of 13th March 1907.

Mr. Tilak, who had gone to Malkapur in connection with the wedding of the late Baba Maharaja's daughter, halted at Kolhapur

and delivered a lecture on "The Kolhapur Representative Assembly" at the request of some friends. We reproduce below a summary of his powerful and well reasoned address and hope that it will produce the required effect upon the minds of our leaders and that they will not shrink from their duty :—

Mr. Tilak welcomed the formation of the Representative Assembly and hoped that questions affecting Native states would sooner or later find a place in the Congress programme. He said that the British Government wished from selfish motives that there should be no sort of relationship between the people living in Native States and those residing in British territory and that Native Chiefs should not cast their glance beyond their respective principalities. Such views, remarked Mr. Tilak, were detrimental to our interests and should be discarded by every one. He then drew a parallel between the political agitation in British India and that carried on in Native States and insisted that in view of the general progress of the world it was essential that autocratic rulers whether native or foreign, should consent to a curtailment of their power and should entrust their subjects with a part of it. He exhorted his audience to agitate ceaselessly with a view to bring about this consummation and that they should above all render themselves fit for the enjoyment of political privileges. The hands of Native Chiefs, he added, would be strengthened where their subjects are entrusted with political privileges and that the needless interference of the paramount Power in their affairs would receive a check. It is unfortunate, he said, that the Native Chiefs should have more faith in British officers than in their loyal subjects and that the said officers should encourage the Chiefs to trample on public opinion. He also regretted that Native chiefs could not see through the cunning of British officers in encouraging them to defy popular opinion.

TILAK'S SPEECH TO MILLHANDS

(From Report on Native Papers for the Week ending 21st December 1907, Page 38, paragraph 46.)

Dnyan Prakash, 18th December, *Indu Prakash*,
21st December 1907.

A Bombay correspondent writes to the *Dnyan Prakash* under date the 15th December 1907 :

A public meeting was held this evening in the Jain Dharmasthanaka Hall, Chinchpogli, Bombay, under the auspices of the Swadeshi

Vastu Pracharini Sabha. The meeting, which was attended by about 5,000 persons, mostly mill-hands, was presided over by Mr. Tilak. There were also present Dr. Deshmukh, Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimji and others. At the close of the proceedings Mr. Tilak rose and said : There are nearly 2 lakhs of labourers in Bombay. Now, why are they obliged to come here in search of employment ? Simply because the trade and industries of their own villages have been destroyed since the advent of British rule. India produces plenty of corn and sugarcane ; but these are exported to England even during a year of famine. I do not say that we should not export our corn to other countries ; what I mean is that we should first keep a sufficient quantity for our own use and export only the surplus. This will become apparent to you when you study Swadeshism and understand its true meaning. Government officials are more or less opposed to the Swadeshi movement because it is likely to injure British trade. The object of Swadeshism is to provide us all with food. When you are able to live comfortably, you may buy foreign articles. If while suffering from hunger, you buy such articles at the instigation of your European superior, you will be guilty of cutting throat of your mother, viz., your country. Swadeshism is necessary for us in order that we may live. It is said that the British Government is a kind Government. No doubt it is so, in as much as it prevents us from doing injury to one another. But our prayer to the Government is that it should provide us with sufficient food. We shall have a sufficiency of food only when the profit derived from railways, steamers, etc., goes into our pockets and not into that of European Companies. As we are reduced to beggary, it is our duty to support the Swadeshi movement so that we may get food to eat. What our rulers do is only natural ; they are working in the interests of their own countrymen. Otherwise, what is the use of their having built up an empire ? The British Government is doing just what I myself would have done if I had got an empire. Every one is carrying on a struggle for life. Our eyes are opened only now when we have lost everything. Seven crores of people from among us do not get even one full meal a day. The only remedy for our utter destitution is Swadeshism. To make Swadeshi fully effective, boycott must be tacked on to it. You should pledge yourselves solemnly to support both the movements. I am advising you in this manner at the risk of incurring the displeasure of Government. Drinking liquor is bad. The Government is no doubt kind-hearted, but it wants to make you drink liquor. The liquor trade is now more extensive than ever and the Government is the cause of this. If you take a pledge not to touch liquor or use foreign goods, the Government will take offence, but do not fear. If you, who are

about two lakhs in number, act in unison and in a spirit of determination, what is there that you cannot accomplish? If you act up to the above advice your condition will improve, and you will command respect like the working class in England. When you go back to your villages, tell your relatives how necessary it is to support the Swadeshi movement.

COMMENTS ON TILAK'S TRIAL

(From Report on Native Papers for the Week ending 25th July 1908, Page 31, paragraph 29.)

Dnyan Prakash of 24th July 1908.

Every one has received an electric shock through the terrible decision in the Kesari Case. Individual differences of opinion are of no account to-day. This is an occasion for greater sorrow than that felt for the death of Ranade. It is greatly to be lamented that we have lost the services of such a talented and heroic man at his age. We do not think that anybody will be able to fill his place. Everybody could foresee clearly the end of the trial from the very beginning. This is the first occasion on which a Judge has allowed executive convenience to influence him; and Mr. Davar's concluding words create a doubt as to the purity of the Court. Government wanted to see Mr. Tilak out of the country in the present political situation and preferred to resort to the law-court to accomplish that end to deporting him outright. It is impossible for a community to do full justice to a man about whom it is prejudiced. Justice was surely blind in this case inasmuch as neither the prosecution nor the Judge had a word to say against the diatribes indulged in by the Anglo-Indian press which were placed before the court by Mr. Tilak in the course of his defence. Every one regretted the absence of the independent and outspoken Badruddin Tayebjee at this juncture. We do not know what Mr. Justice Davar meant when he addressed Mr. Tilak and talked about the country "you profess to love". We do not think he would have lost anything if he had resisted the temptation to use harsh language about a man whom he was on the point of ejecting from his mother country. He had no business to add insult to the injury. It does not lie in the mouth of Mr. Justice Davar to talk about Mr. Tilak's patriotism. Mr. Tilak himself has suggested in his last pathetic remarks that the good of the country lies in pursuing the future course undaunted by difficulties.

TILAK'S SENTENCE, 1908

(From Reports on Native Papers for the Week ending 1st August 1908, Page 33, paragraph 31.)

Kal of 31st July 1908.

There is no sense in saying that Mr. Tilak was sentenced according to law. There was a mockery of justice, not justice. It is sheer madness to argue that there was a possibility of obtaining justice where everything was going on according to a pre-arranged plan. Every one knows what inferences to draw from the fact that Mr. Branson closed his speech all of a sudden and Mr. Davar tried his level best to end the matter the same night and read out a charge to the jury which had been already written out. It is a wonder that the Court that found Mr. Tilak guilty thought the Pioneer and the Civil and Military Gazette innocent. It is a consolation to think in this hour of sorrow that men of all shades of opinion without distinction have condemned Mr. Justice Davar's decision. Government are playing a deeper game than is apparent to the casual observer. The present crusade undertaken by Government is very dangerous, and we should meet it in a becoming spirit. Government are enraged at the Swadeshi and Boycott movement, but cannot oppose it publicly. They want to kill the agitation by having recourse to subterfuges and by removing the renowned leaders of it from our midst. Do Government take us for idiots? If we have any stuff in us, we will carry on the agitation with renewed vigour and bring Government to their senses. It is the duty of every one of us to show that he is a Maratha in this hour of dire trial. Mr. Tilak was sent to Mandalay not because he caused any personal loss to the Governor, but apparently because the Swadeshi movement which he organised so successfully made the Manchester mills work half time. The same is the tale to be told about Chidambaram Pillay and Eabu Aravind Ghose. Our duty does not end with moaning for a day or two like women or closing our shops. If we have any manliness left in us or any sense of honour or any recollection of our best traditions, we can make the Government even now tremble with fear. When Bengal was partitioned, the Bengalis dealt a severe blow to British trade by fighting against it with the double-edged sword of Swadeshi and Boycott. We should fight with the same weapons now and assist the Bengalis thus already engaged in the industrial war. We should spread Swadeshi and Boycott in every nook and corner of Maharashtra. We should follow unswervingly the vows of Swadeshi and Boycott,

if our regret for Mr. Tilak is not a mere show. The history of Bengal teaches us what difficulties we will have to encounter in our undertaking. In this way lies our religion; to forsake it is the way to hell. We will be faithless to our salt if we do not complete the work of Mr. Tilak. We would only then feel that we also did our little best in lightening the burden on our motherland in whose service our leaders sacrificed their very life, when we have carried out the vow in question.

TILAK TRIAL DISTURBANCES—1908

(FROM G. D. VOLUME 114 OF 1908.)

No. 10503-6-R, dated the 27th August 1908.

FROM

H. G. GELL, Esqr., M.V.O.,
Commissioner of Police, Bombay ;

TO

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,
Judicial Department.

In accordance with the orders of Government contained in their Circular No. 4403, dated the 25th June 1900, I have the honour to report for the information of Government the circumstances which attended the trial of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the disturbances which took place in Bombay as soon as his conviction became known.

2. As Tilak was good deal mixed up with Paranjape's case I will commence with the trial of the latter. On the 11th June 1908 S. M. Paranjape, Editor of the *Kal* was arrested in Poona and brought to Bombay for trial. Though Paranjape himself was practically unknown in Bombay, his paper had been widely read here for a long time, and the knowledge that it advocated the views of Tilak and other extremists made it an organ of some moment. The arrest and trial of the Editor, therefore caused a good deal of excitement and this excitement was no doubt fostered by the advent of Tilak himself who came, on knowing that his friend and admirer had been arrested and did his utmost to assist him in his defence. Mr. Paranjape was eventually convicted in the High Court and sentenced to 19 months' rigorous imprisonment on the 8th July 1908.

3. Meanwhile Tilak was arrested for offences under sections 124-A and 153-A, Indian Penal Code, in Bombay, on the 24th June. On the 29th June first hearing of his case came on in the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate. During the course of the day large crowds collected outside the court-house, and becoming disorderly had to be dispersed. One Kanchan Kumar, a Swadeshi preacher, took up a position on the Maidan and did much to excite the feelings of the crowd by his harangue, but on their being dispersed, and an attempt being made to seize him, he disappeared, and was not arrested till subsequently. Whilst being dispersed the crowd stoned the Police and such Europeans as were near at the time and eight arrests had to be made.

No further trouble was experienced till after the case had been adjourned for the day and the court had been closed, when, remnants of the unlawful assembly re congregated and commenced to stone isolated Europeans passing along Cruikshank Road.

The Venerable the Archdeacon of Bombay and a professor of the St. Xavier's college were amongst those who received injuries from stones.

The arrival of some European Police officers and Native Police on the scene soon put a stop to the desultory stone-throwing, and the members of disorder were chased away not to reappear.

4. An incident worth mentioning is that on this day, the 29th, the first issue of the extremist paper, styled the *Rashtra Mata*, appeared. One of the last acts of Tilak, on the day he was arrested, was the final settlement of the management of this paper. Tilak is reported to have stated that he was aware that a warrant had been issued for his arrest, if so, it is probable that he had a hand in the articles which appeared in the first issue of this paper and it is intelligible, therefore that its articles on the 29th June should have been aimed at lowering Government and exalting Tilak. It was sold in thousands that day by newsboys, tobacconists, etc.

5. Tilak's application for bail and its refusal by the High Court caused almost as much consternation as his arrest and was made use of to demonstrate the animus of Government against Tilak.

6. All sorts of rumours became current about this time and one of the arguments used to gain the sympathy of the masses, specially the mill-hands, was that Government were displeased with Tilak because he interested himself in the Temperance and Swadeshi movements, movements which caused loss of revenue to Government etc.

7. During the time which elapsed between the committal of the case to the High Court and its trial there, Tilak's friends and sympathisers came down to Bombay from all parts of the Presidency, and the interval was made use of by them and friends already in Bombay to stir up the feelings of the people against Government. All vernacular papers drove a roaring trade, while a great deal of quiet preaching was done in chals and private places. No stone was left unturned to show the world the sympathy with which Tilak was regarded in India. Amongst other things it was decided to endeavour to induce all mill-hands in Bombay to strike, and to proceed to the High Court in large numbers.

8. There are 85 Mills in Bombay employing some 100,000 hands, of which at least 50,000 must be able-bodied. Anyone able to enlist the sympathy of so large a number of men must occupy a powerful position, and if, intent on disorder, can practically set all authority at defiance. Tilak had no doubt considered this point and for some time before his arrest, had endeavoured to gain them over. The large majority of mill-hands are Marathas, and Tilak is a Brahmin, but that did not stand in his way. Since December last he devoted his attention to them and on the 15th of that month he addressed a meeting of them at Chinchpoogly, in which he spoke to the following effect :—

“His object, he said, in holding the meeting at Chinchpoogly was to educate the mill-hands, who numbered about 2 lakhs—perhaps more in number than all the British Forces in India—on the truths and benefits of Swadeshi. It had been alleged that Swadeshi had been brought into existence for the benefit of Brahmins. That was not so. It was for the advantage of all and if all the people embraced Swadeshim, the poverty of the country and people would not be so great. The work in Mills would increase and the employees would be benefited. He also spoke strongly against the use of intoxicating liquors and advised his hearers to give them up and said that though Government were making great efforts to popularize inoculation, they did nothing to minimize the liquor evil.”

9. Subsequently the temperance movement in Poona, Ahmednagar, Belgaum, etc. came into prominence. Tilak came again to Bombay on the 6th and 7th June. On the night of the 6th June he attended at a Sattya Narayana Puja held by mill-hands at Victoria Road and the following day addressed a mass meeting at Chinchpoogly as below :—

He stated that the income to Government from Abkari alone exceeded the total revenue of the Maratha Empire, that the policy

of Government in these days was to encourage drunkenness and that if people attempted to advise others not to drink they were prosecuted for so doing by Government officials. He advised the mill-hands specially the Jobbers and Head Jobbers, to form committees of mill-hands in their respective mills for the purpose of discouraging liquor drinking amongst the mill-hands. Khaparde was present with Tilak at the meeting.

10. It is clear from this that Tilak had considered the advisability of gaining the sympathies of mill-hands and teaching them how to organize, and had he been vouchsafed a longer period of liberty, would no doubt in time have had a large organised body of mill-hands at his disposal.

Fortunately he was arrested in time and though no doubt his followers will try and carry on his work, I do not think they have yet succeeded in doing much.

11. It cannot be said with any truth that in the late disorders, the mill-hands carried on any organized movements. A large number were induced to take oaths not to work on certain days, but there was no unanimity amongst the mass of them. If there had been, we should not have seen the hands of one mill breaking the windows of other mills to get the employees out.

12. However, one thing at this time was pretty clear and that was that either at the trial or after it large bodies of mill-hands would attempt to make demonstrations at or near the High Court, and that, if allowed to assemble in any great masses, they might become disorderly and cause a great deal of damage not only to property but also to life. To prevent this and to be in a position to put down with a strong hand all attempts at disorder and not allow the disorderly element for even a moment to obtain the upper hand, it became necessary to consider the question of Military assistance, in the event of the Police proving unable to cope with the situation.

13. General Greenfield whom I consulted at this juncture was most sympathetic and expressed his great willingness to answer calls made on him. After some discussion he came to the conclusion that the Garrison was not sufficiently strong to afford the necessary number of men with reliefs, and he consequently arranged forthwith that additional troops, including some Native Cavalry, should be brought to Bombay.

14. As a Police precaution I issued a Notification under section 23(3) prohibiting assemblies throughout the city during

certain dates..... I also sent for a Jobber named Deoji Gunoo and a Doctor Salunkey. Both these men were said to possess great influence amongst mill-hands generally and as it was known that they had taken a prominent part in the movement started by Tilak, it was generally believed that they would have a great deal to say with reference to a strike amongst mill-hands. I warned them both of the danger they ran in fomenting trouble, and advised them to use all their influence on the side of Government.

15. Later on I interviewed almost all the mill-owners in Bombay, and asked them to use their influence in keeping their hands in order, as it was generally rumoured that in the event of Tilak being convicted they intended to strike and make demonstrations.

16. On the 13th July at 11-30 a.m. the trial of Tilak before the Hon. Mr. Justice Davar and a special Jury began.

17. In consequence of the danger of a disturbance on each occasion Tilak was conveyed to and from between the Common Jail and the High Court during the course of the trial, the route being considerable in length and through the heart of the Native Town, the Honourable the Chief Justice arranged that he should be kept in a temporary lock up in the High Court building.

Tilak was accordingly brought to Court early on the morning of the 13th and kept there till Friday evening, the 17th, when the Court adjourned till Monday morning. He was then removed to the Common Jail and remained there Sunday evening, when he was again taken back to the High Court which became his residence until the close of his trial.

18. In connection with this temporary lock up, 12 European Officers, 24 unarmed Native Officers and men and Native Officers and 10 armed men were requisitioned for duty during the time the Court rose until it reassembled, i.e. from 5-30 p.m. to 11-30 a. m.

19. During the sitting of the Court 20 European police officers, 11 armed, 190 unarmed and 30 mounted Native Officers and men were on duty in and about the Court. In addition to the above there was a Military detachment of one Commissioned officer and 50 rank and file posted in the University Hall.

20. On the 13th, numbers of mill-hands, and otherwise employed Natives, made their way into the Fort and attempted to assemble near the High Court. They were kept moving throughout the day by the police and the Cavalry, and dispersed in the evening.

21. *14th July 1908.*—On the 14th July, all the mills were working and in consequence of their experience on the 13th but few Natives made their way into the Fort.

22. *15th July 1908.*—On the 15th July, a few hands of the Sun Mill absented themselves, but not in connection with Tilak.

23. *16th July 1908.*—On 16th July, the Queen and the Lakmidas Mills struck work to go and see Tilak's trial, and 320 employees of 4 other mills absented themselves on the same pretext.

24. *17th July 1908.*—On the 17th July, 28 mills stopped working, some of them compelled to do so by the hands of other mills. The latter went about in gangs breaking with stones the windows of the mills in which the operatives had assembled and commenced to work.

This meant some 35,000 mill hands free for mischief for once the unwilling hands were driven out, the spirit of unrest seemed to seize them.

Owing to the reports which had been received troops and the Magistrates had been called out.

25. I was at the Greaves Cotton Mills at 6 p.m. Delisle Road where I had gone on learning of the unruly attitude of the hands. I found on arrival Mr Dastur, Mr. Setalvad and Native Cavalry. Under their eyes the hands some 10,000 in number, were filing out quietly, though they had commenced to break the furniture inside the mills prior to the arrival of the Cavalry.

26. While there Mr. J. C. Sumption of the Advocate of India brought information that some Europeans whilst passing through Currey Road had been mobbed and assaulted, and had taken refuge in a liquor shop in that road. Curry Road I may explain, runs at right angles between Delisle and Supari Bag Roads and crosses the two Railways, the B. B. & C. I. and G. I. P. Along nearly the whole length of this road there are chals on either side, occupied by mill-hands. In all they must number nearly 6,000 and they and the hands living on Kala Chowki road are the most rowdy in Bombay. Europeans employed on the Railways must use this road on their way to and from work.

27. On receipt of the information I at once proceeded to the spot in my motor car with a few European officers and men, the

Magistrates and the Cavalry following. The liquor shop had been wrecked, while the three Europeans, Railway employees, were concealed in an inner room by the parsi liquor seller. They were taken out and escorted to the station. Proceeding along the road to find out whether another European said to have been assaulted could be rescued, we were greeted by a volley of stones from inside the court yard of a chal. We rushed in but stones continuing to be hurled by a mob of men, who refused to desist, some revolver shots were fired. No one was injured. Just then Mr. Dastur and Mr. Setalvad arrived with the Cavalry, and in company with them we passed through the court-yard, in which were three lines of chals.

28. As stated, there are chal buildings on either side of the road, and had the leading party not been checked, others would have joined in and a very dangerous situation would have arisen, whilst, had not information been promptly brought, there is not the slightest doubt that the three Europeans would have been murdered.

29. A similar incident happened in the riots of 1898, when two soldiers were dragged out of a liquor shop in Grant Road, where they had taken refuge, and were killed with sticks and stones.

30. *18th July 1908.*—On the 18th July, the employees in the Crescent Mill struck work in consequence of Tilak's prosecution.

31. *19th July 1908.*—On Sunday, the 19th, all mills were closed, but everything was quiet.

32. *20th July 1908.*—About 6 a.m, on the 20th whilst the employees of the Morarji Gokuldas Mill were going in to their work, their mill was stoned by hands of the Jacob Sasson Mill who had decided not to work. Disorder took place and the police who were on the spot were attacked by stones, a European officer being especially picked out. Whilst this was going on I appeared on the scene and what happened then is described in a telegram I sent to Government. I reproduce the wording :—

“ At 6-20 this morning I got information that Jacob Sassoon Mill hands about four thousand were out and creating disturbance. I motored to scene and moved half military detachment to corner, Curry Road East. Superintendent and Inspector and I then walked up Curry Road driving the mob in front. Mob retreated for some distance and then turned, formed up and stoned us heavily. Stop. I warned them to desist and disperse and continued to advance. Stop. Stone throwing became more violent, I then

fired my revolver as did the Superintendent and Inspector with me. Some rioters wounded. Casualties uncertain, Military half detachment on hearing firing doubled up, but crowd had dispersed. A number of coolies working in godowns at the Grain Bazar and a few cart drivers struck work."

33. *21st July 1908.*—Some coolies employed in godowns at the Grain Bazar prevented carts from carrying goods belonging to Europeans along Frere Road, in some cases over-turning the carts and throwing the goods out on to the road. Foot and Mounted Police under the Superintendent of Police, B. Division, restored order.

34. This day also mill hands belonging to four mills struck work, in connection with Tilak.

35. Notices in the Marathi language were found pasted up in the water closet of the Maneckji Petit Mills, Tardeo. The translation ran to the following effect :—"Why are you asleep? Awake, be ready, and assist your Parel comrades."

36. *22nd July 1908.*—This day all the mills were working as usual. At 9-40 p.m. Tilak was convicted and sentenced to six years' transportation. He was immediately sent away by special train to Ahmedabad.

37. It is said that on this day the cloth shop employees of the Mulji Jetha Market held a meeting, at which they decided not to attend work for six days, one day for each year of Tilak's imprisonment.

38. *23rd July 1908.*—The fact of Mr. Tilak's conviction became known this day, and nine mills struck work out of sympathy for him. The cloth market, the Grain Market, Freight and Share Market and Cotton Exchange closed their business.

39. At 2 p.m. about 200 men and boys rushed round Girgaum, Sonapur, Chandanwadi and Lohar street and forced shops to be closed. On a posse of police being sent to intercept them, the crowd dispersed. Two men were arrested and charged before a Magistrate under section 122 of Act IV of 1902, and on conviction were sentenced to eight days' rigorous imprisonment each.

40. *24th July 1908.*—This morning 70 mills stopped work. At an early hour some mill hands belonging to the Western India Mill situated at Kala Chowki Road stoned the Bombay Cotton Mill which had commenced work, with the result that the employees came out and joined them. The crowd then proceeded along Chinchpoogly

Road where they stoned the Rachel Sassoon Mill and the E. D. Sassoon Mill, causing the employees to come out. At this juncture Superintendent Mayers and Sub-Inspector Finan arrived on the scene and they kept the crowd moving along Chinchpoogly Road till it reached its junction with Albert Road. Here other police officers came up and the mob divided into two parties. One went into Albert Road and brought the hands of the City of Bombay Mill out by stoning the Mill, who joined with them, and were dispersed by a party of Cavalry under Lieutenant Summers, while the others drove the police down the Chinchpoogly Road stoning them to such an extent that they had to fire their revolvers on them, killing three and wounding others. Superintendent Mayers and Sub-Inspector Finan who bore the brunt of the attack received several injuries from stones, also Sub-Inspector Home.

41. Another party of Mill hands came suddenly on Inspector De Burgh and Sub-Inspector Guider at the junction of Gorupdeo and Connaught Roads and stoned them savagely. A victoria driver who was passing with a wounded man, seeing the peril, placed the wounded man on ground, and drove to their assistance, managing to rescue them in time to save their lives. The Inspector had received a nasty wound on the head and must have fallen a victim but for the timely intervention of the ghariwalla.

42. Meanwhile the Military had been sent for from the Byculla Bridge, where a detachment of 50 Royal Scots had previously been stationed and whilst they were coming by train the crowds along Parel Road stoned them. The fourth Presidency Magistrate, Mr. C. H. Setalvad, came up about this time, and a squad of Military was sent with him to disperse a mob throwing stones at the junction of Ulster and Sussex Roads. The mobs nothing daunted by the approaching Military stoned them, and continuing to do so notwithstanding the Magistrate's orders to disperse, seven rounds were fired at them. One person only was found injured.

43. About 9 a.m. whilst the Cavalry were proceeding along Gorupdeo Road dispersing a large crowd from every direction. Lieutenant Summers who was in charge accompanied by a European Police Sub-Inspector fired a few rounds as did two Native Officers with him. Casualties not discovered. Further on in the same neighbourhood lieutenant Robertson in charge of a party of the Royal Scots, which had been stationed near the P. & O. Dockyard, with Inspector Murray attached, came on the scene and had to open fire on a crowd of mill hands armed with sticks, who were stoning the police and the Military. One man was picked up dead.

On both these latter occasions I came up shortly after, and from what I could discern of the circumstances, considered that both Military officers had shown a wise discretion.

44. At noon 1,400 employes of the G. I. P. Railway workshops at Parel failed to resume work after luncheon, but they went home peacefully.

45. About 1 p.m. information was brought to the police that rioters had attacked the Turkey Red Dye Works at Mahim, and attempted to wreck the place.

Superintendent Okeeffe with some police accompanied by Lieutenant Reed, Royal Scots, and four men went to the scene. They found that Abraham Cohen, the care-taker, had been brutally assaulted, and that the Manager, J. Cornarman had to use his shot gun in defence of himself, his wife and children. In doing so he wounded one Bala Sakharam.

The Manager, his wife and children were escorted to the Railways Station and sent into the Fort. Seven persons were arrested.

46. Lieutenant Reed, Superintendant Okeeffe and party then returned to the Head Quarters, and whilst on route they were set on by a large crowd of mill employees on strike near the Pipe Road. Lieutenant Reed seeing that the police were overpowered, and at their request, took command and ordered his men to fire. Four rounds were used and two men were shot dead and one man injured.

47. A little before 3 p.m. the mill hands resident on the east side of the G. I. P. Railway line at Curry Road partially wrecked the Curry Road Station and the stoning was so heavy that the Poona Mail was delayed.

The Military (Volunteers) and police on receiving information at once proceeded to the spot to disperse the crowd. They were met with volleys of stones and on being ordered to desist the crowd refused to obey the order. The Hon'ble A. Hill Trevor, Additional Presidency Magistrate, ordered the Military under the command of Lieutenant Taylor to disperse the rioters. This order was obeyed. Several rounds were fired, 5 were picked up and 15 injured persons were removed to the J. J. Hospital.

48. *25th July 1908.*—On the morning of the 25th the Textile Mills began to work; the mill hands were perfectly orderly and all was proceeding satisfactorily, when a hoard of mill employees belonging

to the Standard Mill, situated a short distance off, rushed up, stoned and attempted to wreck the mill, and attacked the European employees. Finding themselves hard pressed the Europeans fired a few shots.

49. The Hon'ble A. Hill Trevor and I were at this time turning into Delisle Road from Elphinstone Road and on hearing the shots we motored up to the spot. I ordered the crowd to disperse but they failed to do so. The Hon'ble A. Hill Trevor then opened fire and 2 men dropped. The crowd still remained in a hostile attitude nor far distant, and I therefore telephoned for a detachment of Military from Jacob's Circle. Whilst so engaged the cavalry with Mr. Philips, Deputy Commissioner, came up, and the assembly dispersed.

50. Seventy-six mills struck work this day. Thirty-one street lamps were broken along Sewari and Kala Chowki Roads.

51. *26th July 1908.*—His Excellency the Governor arrived in Bombay from Poona on the 26th.

52. Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey called a meeting of the Bombay Native Piece Goods Association to discuss the question of opening of the cloth shops. It was decided to open the market on the following day.

53. *27th July 1908.*—On the morning of the 27th Ranchordas Jadhavjee Thackersey came to Shaik Memon Street and opened his shop. On seeing this the servants of other cloth shops collected and created a disturbance. Ranchordas called the market peons to his assistance. Coming up, a free fight took place, and Ranchordas thereupon closed his shop and went away.

Lukmidas Morarji, J.P., owner of the several shops then came on the scene and lectured the employees, but they refused to listen, saying that they had taken an oath not to resume work for six days.

54. Later on in the day it was rumoured that His Excellency the Governor intended driving through the Native Town and taking Shaik Memon Street en route. This was at once seized upon as a good opportunity to make a demonstration in favour of Tilak. Black flags were hung across the street with Tilak's photograph and the words "Tilak Maharaj-ki-jai" on them. The street became blocked from end to end with a dense crowd of people, all hostile

and demonstrative. A party of European and Native Police under Superintendent Flanagan came to the spot and attempted to clear the street and restore order, and as the crowd refused to disperse charged them repeatedly. The crowd retaliated and stoned them and continued to do so. A party of cavalry with the Deputy Commissioner passed through later on and they too were stoned. At about 5-20 p.m. a detachment of the Northampton Regiment under the command of Captain Rawlins came up, and they were stoned also. The police who had remained in the street, notwithstanding the cruel stoning they were undergoing, and had refrained from firing on the crowd in spite of the greatest provocation, were now able to make nine arrests from a house of which the occupants had made themselves conspicuous throughout. The nine men were subsequently convicted and sentenced to nine months rigorous imprisonment each.

55. The stone throwing however had not abated and about 5 p.m. Mr. Dracup, Third Presidency Magistrate, arrived. After attempting in vain for some considerable time to persuade the stone throwers to desist, he ordered the Military to fire. Four rounds were fired and four persons were picked up suffering from bullet wounds. Things then quieted down, and the Military withdrew from the spot.

56. Later on news was received at the Head Police Office that the house of Mr. M. J. S. Shroff was attacked and that the rioters were trying to set fire to it. A military guard was at once despatched to his residence, and the mob was dispersed by the police.

57. *28th July 1908.*—The weavers of the Maneckji Petit Mills after going into the mill in an orderly manner, struck work at 7-30 a. m. and they induced the other hands to go on strike for the day. Seeing this the Manager immediately shut down the engines and the employees began to leave the mill shouting out "Tilak Maharaj-ki-jai" and became very turbulent.

The Police who were present dispersed them whereon a number rushed into the compound and began to throw stones from there. The guard of the Northamptons turned out and on their approach the hands cleared off.

58. At 9-30 a.m. information was received that a large crowd had assembled at the ordinarily peaceful locality of Thakurdwar and were stoning Europeans in motor cars, carriages and tram cars, and were preventing clerks, etc., from going to work in their offices. The police and Military hastened to the scene when the crowd dispersed. The Military were withdrawn.

59. At 11 a. m. the crowd again assembled and recommenced their tactics of stoning and attacking Europeans. Information was also received that the whole of Girgaum Road as far as Kandewady was in a state of disorder, and that large stone slabs had been placed across the tram lines. On the approach of the Military the crowd melted away. The Military withdrew and a police post was kept at Thakurdwar.

60. At 2 p. m. the Military had again to be called to the spot as disorder had recommenced. On arrival they were received with volleys of stones from the side streets. Higher up the police clearing the street were severely stoned, and had to fire three revolver shots in self defence. No one was injured but the stone throwing ceased and the crowd dispersed. This occurred near Kandewady. At other parts of Girgaum Road, viz., Thakurdwar, the stoning of the Military and the police continued, and Mr. James McDonald, present in his capacity of Additional Presidency Magistrate, received a severe blow from a large stone thrown at him. The thrower was seen in the act, and was arrested later in the day, and on being charged was convicted and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment. Eight other persons were arrested and sentenced to one years' rigorous imprisonment each.

61. During the day Europeans in different parts of the town, proceeding to their ordinary avocations, were stoned and though but few complaints were made, there is no doubt but that the feeling against Europeans was most hostile. Much trouble would have ensued had not the Military been posted at different points, throughout the Island.

64. It is satisfactory to know that throughout the trouble at no point did the Mahomedans join in the disorder, and though strenuous attempts were made by the Hindoos to induce them to join forces, they resisted all attempt. Not a small number of Mahomedans are employed in the mills, and at one time a most resentful feeling sprang up amongst them against the Hindoo mill hands, who so persistently forced the engines to be closed down and the work stopped, thus causing them the risk of a loss of pay. I am inclined to think that had the disturbance continued much longer this feeling might have eventually brought them into actual contest with their Hindu employers.

65. The arrival in Bombay of His Excellency the Governor on the 26th was most timely, and his presence in the city, for some days, until in fact quiet had been restored, helped much in relieving the situation.

66. It is a question whether, if Tilak had not been arrested and tried in Bombay, much feeling would have been evinced on his behalf here.

For years past the popularity of Tilak has steadily been growing in the Presidency and other parts of India, and many natives, even those who do not belong to the extremist party and who do not think with him, look upon him as a man actuated wholly by his desire to ameliorate the condition of Indians, and respect and admire him. He possesses a personality, and wherever he used to address the people, he gained adherents. But even where he was not personally known his fame spread, especially amongst the working classes, partly through the efforts of certain of the vernacular press and partly owing to the many agents who were sent abroad to preach about him and his works. By many he is revered and in countless houses pictures of him are hung on the wall. In Bombay City "the Bombay National Union", sided by the paper called the "Hind Swarajya," had brought him to the notice of thousands. This paper was produced under the support of Shyamji K. Verma, through his nephew Nitisen Dwarkadas. Its tone from the commencement was most rabid against Government and its non-suppression for so long gave people the impression that Government were afraid to deal with the situation. Eventually the Editor C. L. Thanawalla was prosecuted, convicted and sentenced to one years' rigorous imprisonment on the 15th May 1907. A new Editor was immediately forthcoming in the person of T. P. Mangrolewalla, but as the tone of the paper did not improve he too was prosecuted and on the 2nd July last convicted and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment. On the 30th May last during one of the hearings of the case a large crowd assembled in and the near the Court house, which becoming an "unlawful assembly" had to be dispersed. Eight arrests were made and the accused were dealt with.

67. Other papers which also preached Tilak were the Vihari and the Arunodaya, both of them Marathi papers. Editors of both papers were arrested for offences under section 124-A and 153-A of the Indian penal Code and they were both convicted, the former to three years' rigorous imprisonment and the later to 14 months' rigorous imprisonment.

68. In addition to the writings in these papers, much was done to popularise him by preachers who harangued audiences on the Chowpatty sands. They purported to be lectures on Swadeshi merely but under that guise much was said against British Government and Europeans and in favour of Tilak's views. Every effort was made to prosecute the preachers but the reports as taken down by

shorthand writers failed to afford sufficient grounds. Eventually steps were taken under the police Act and a prohibitory Notice under section 23, sub-section 2, clause (a), was on the 5th June served on one R. D. Parmar. This order Parmar treated with contempt, and at a meeting he addressed the next day held it up to ridicule. Later on in the day the preacher was arrested and sentenced to the maximum punishment, viz., one month's rigorous imprisonment.

69. The above are some of the means whereby Tilak was brought before the people of Bombay, and his doings and sayings were further spread by the many religious Hindoo preachers, who are daily in the habit of reading Purans to the mill hands in their chals.

70. I am not prepared to say therefore that there was no sympathy for Tilak in Bombay prior to his arrest and trial, but I do not think there was sufficient to have caused the intense excitement amongst the Mahrathas and Banias which showed itself, and the probability is that had Tilak been tried elsewhere, agitation would not have been carried on in Bombay to the extent it was. Some one must have started the idea of closing shops and going on strike for so many days. I do not think the movement was spontaneous. As I have already stated there was not much interval between the arrest of Tilak and his trial in High Court but in that short time, there can be no doubt that emissaries were at work inflaming the minds of the mill hands and others to riot and in other ways disturb the peace.

71. Every mill has its Brahmin clerks who possess more or less influence amongst the jobbers, while the jobbers are men to whom the mill hands look for their future. If a man wants work in a mill he goes to a jobber, who gets him employment and the jobber it is as he knows who gets him dismissed if he offends him. Most mill hands are in debt, and if they wish to obtain money on credit they know that their jobber will stand security. Every other jobber of any consequences obtains, in this way, a hold over a number of hands and they follow him and consider that their fortunes are mixed up with his. If such a jobber misbehaves and the Manager of the mill wishes to dismiss him, he dare not do so as he knows that with the jobber will go a number of hands, and this is a serious matter where there is a limited number of men available. Since the commencement of the plague, the supply of mill hands has not been equal to the demand, hence every Mill Manager is anxious to keep his hands on at all risks. Thus the Manager is more or less at the mercy of his jobbers, and if the latter are in any way under the thumb of the clerks, they become an excellent channel for the dissemination of sedition amongst the mill hands.

72. It is not unlikely therefore that the agitation, in whosoever's mind it may have originated, was engineered through the Brahmin clerks in mills.

73. What gained Tilak more sympathy than anything else after the trial began, was his address to the jury. In this address which occupied 21 hours, he was allowed the most extraordinary latitude both by the Judge and the Advocate General and the question of relevancy was never for one moment permitted to interrupt his torrent of words. This address, in reality, was made not so much to the jury as to the gallery, and he seized this opportunity to make what was a vehement political attack on British administration. His remarks were printed and published far and wide, and they were eagerly perused by the educated and explained to the masses, day by day. This style of address was anticipated as Paranjpe had adopted the same methods during his address, and it was apprehended that it would have a disastrous effect on the minds of the populace. That this apprehension was not mistaken was, I think, borne out by the results.

74. As pointed out, the idea of organising had already been put in to the minds of the mill hands by Tilak not long before his imprisonment, and to prove that the seed did not fall on barren soil, I may mention that since Tilak spoke on the subject, an association has been formed styled "The Bombay Mill hands Defence Association". The object and reasons of this association are clear, and I do not propose to discuss them but what I desire to call attention to is the fact that it is the first step towards organisation on the part of mill hands.

75. In the recent disturbances the mill hands were the chief instruments used for disorder. But they had no organisation, no leader, no common object and no weapons other than stones. They broke the windows of mills, it is true, but that was because some of their number stuck to their work and they wanted them to come out. Had all the mills closed down simultaneously, the probability is that the hands would have been at a loss as to what to do. They were aware they were expected to show sympathy for Tilak, but how to do so except by going or trying to go to the High Court, they knew not.

76. If a combined movement against Government can ever be effected, then we may expect that there will be organisation, a leader, a common object, and there will be weapons, such as pick-axe, hatchets, crowbars, bludgeons, etc. The idea of the mill hands arming with such weapons was mooted during the close of the

recent trouble. The object will be the destruction of Europeans, Government buildings, offices, the Railways, the tramways, the telegraph lines, etc., looting of shops, European for choice, and possibly the burning of mills belonging to Europeans. The area over which they will operate will be the 23 square miles of Bombay, and the numbers engaged will be 50 to 60 thousand able bodied mill hands plus such of the population as are inimical to British Rule.

77. To deal with such a situation there is the Bombay Garrison consisting three companies of Royal Garrison Artillery, half a Battalion of British Infantry, one Regiment of Native Infantry, supplemented by a force of 1,274 volunteers composed of Foot, Mounted and Artillery, and the police Force.

78. The latter force is made up of 85 Europeans armed with revolvers, 2,038 Native Constables armed with batons, and 100 Native sowars armed with sabres, and 70 Native Constables armed with breech loading, smooth bore, 476 rifles firing buck shot.

79. The presumption is that before such a movement could come to a head, the police would for some time have been in possession of information enabling them to judge the gravity of the situation, and that steps would already have been taken to warn the Military to be in readiness in the event of the Civil power being overawed. It is equally likely that the Military authority would have made arrangements to obtain additional troops from outside, acting on experience gained during the late riots. If then the trouble had not spread sufficiently over the rest of India to prevent the Military requisitions being complied with, the Bombay Military authorities would be prepared for all emergencies.

80. The first steps necessary, however, on the breaking out of disorder, would have to be taken by the police, and it should be, their endeavour to act without Military assistance until such time as it became clear that without such assistance the revolutionists must gain the upper hand. Is the force at present constituted capable of adequately resisting and, if possible, nipping in the bud, such an out break? I do not think it is. The difficulties experienced in recent events have shown that.

81. I do not at the same time think it would be possible to strengthen the police in such a manner as to deal with a combined movement which lasted for any considerable time. The wide area and the numbers concerned, would preclude that. I am however

of opinion that changes in the personnel and numbers might be made, which would at any rate enable the police to hold the elements of disorder at bay until such time as the Military were able to concentrate.

82. In my reorganisation proposals, made prior to recent events, I have asked for an addition of 50 Europeans. This would bring the number of European police up to 135. But of them 24 belong to the Harbour, the Government Dockyard, the Prince's and Victoria Docks, the Motor Vehicles Department, the Public Land Conveyance License Department and the Sanitary police. I am of opinion now that there should not be less than 200 European officers, exclusive of those belonging to the Harbour, etc., and that amongst them should be included a second Deputy Commissioner, and an Assistant to the Commissioner.

In the trouble the Superintendent, K Division, was practically carrying on the duties of an Assistant to the Commissioner, instead of being engaged in his special work of detection. He could not be spared for that work with the result that it suffered.

The Deputy Commissioner and I having to be out of doors most of the time, found it so difficult to carry on the usual office routine that I have to indent on the Inspector General of Police for an Assistant Superintendent.

But in ordinary times also, the Deputy is too much tied down to his office, and much useful work might be done by him, if there were a second Deputy. The present Inspector General of police, Mr. Kennedy, who acted as Commissioner of Police, Bombay for six months came to a similar conclusion.

I find constantly also that I require an officer above the rank of the Bombay Superintendent whom I can entrust from time to time with urgent and confidential work in and out of office. I cannot go myself, I cannot ask the Deputy to go, and yet it is highly desirable that some one should be immediately interviewed on business of great moment. I have to fall back on the Superintendent, K Division, not of the requisite status. This often happens.

In the recent trouble the European officers were invaluable, but the paucity of their number threw on each and every one of them an almost intolerable amount of work, and they remained on duty from the beginning of the trouble until the end, without any relaxation, sleeping and feeding when and where they could. On no one

occasion did any one of them complain, on the contrary they performed their duties most cheerfully and willingly.

83. Another addition I would advocate would be an increase in the Mounted Branch. I have 100 sowars at my disposal, and they did excellent work in the riots, but they had to be distributed over so wide an area that they were practically lost.

Bombay has no Cavalry, with the exception of 53 sabres of the Bombay Light Horse. I am of opinion that the Mounted police Force should be augmented by at least one squadron of 120 strong and that the total body should be armed with lances and revolvers.

84. The number of armed police available for duty on emergencies is too small. Whenever any trouble occurs I invariably have to ask the Inspector General of Police to take over the duties of treasure escorts. But even then there are only 75 men for duty.

I have asked in my reorganisation proposals for additional armed and unarmed men to form a standing reserve. This reserve would be real reserve and should have no duties except those necessitated by emergencies. They should be ready in their lines to be called out at a moment's notice. I have fixed the number at 75 armed and 65 unarmed.

Now, however, I consider that such a reserve should not number less than 200 men all told, and that they should all be armed. When called out for duties their arms need not always be carried but they should possess them.

During the trouble the Military mounted guard at 14 posts; this was the maximum number, but each guard consisted of 50 men. Had I had 200 men at my disposal, we could have manned about six posts with 15 men at each post, taking into consideration reliefs.

This would not have sufficed for long, but it would have made a good beginning. But these men are required in ordinary times, in consequence of the manner in which mill hands have been going out on strike during the last few years. A glance at the Annual Report will show that during the year 1907 no less than 13,794 mill hands were involved.

I consider these additions should be carried out forthwith. Every day the mill hands are beginning to realise their strength,

and quite apart from any extraordinary outbreak, any day may witness a large and combined strike.

85. The last point is the recruitment of the native police. The present Native Force is composed of three fourths Hindoos and one fourth Mohomedans. Nearly the total number of the Hindoos come from Ratnagiri. In any extraordinary outbreak, such as has been suggested, in which it is likely that the mill hands would take leading part, it is most desirable that the forces opposed to them should be men of other districts. A great number of the police have relations amongst the mill hands, male and female, and though this might be expected to work in favour of the police being able to obtain information regarding their movements, it worked in a contrary direction in the recent troubles, and the opposition the mill hands met with was not so great as might have been the case, had they belonged to different districts, the great majority of the mill hands belonging to Ratnagiri.

86. The danger of having so many men belonging to one district has not been unnoticed in the past, and efforts were made years ago, by my predecessors in office, to enlist men from other districts and provinces but the attempts failed.

Renewed efforts will again be made to fill up vacancies as they occur with men from other provinces and for this purpose recruiting parties will be sent to the different centres.

TILAK'S SENTENCE AND MILL WORKERS' RIOTS, 1908.

(From Report on Native Papers for the Week ending 1st August 1908, Page 26, paragraph 24.)

Mahratta of 2nd August, 1908.

"Now that the disturbances in Bombay have subsided, we may, we suppose, state freely what we think of them without being misunderstood. These disturbances have a history which may be divided into three parts. In their initial stage they were a mere passive

expression of sorrow at the sufferings of Mr. Tilak on the part of the toiling thousands in the industrial field of Bombay who, though not educated, were familiar enough with Mr. Tilak's name and personality to feel for him in the hour of his trouble. And this passive expression of sorrow took the usual form of a temporary cessation of work. If the men who voluntarily stopped work had been allowed to do so without interference or molestation, then there would have been no trouble. We all know that such stoppage of work could not possibly have gone on for an indefinite period of time. But strange to say, the authorities and the Anglo-Indian press were not prepared to allow the sympathisers of Mr. Tilak even that much latitude. Admittedly the stopping of work was meant as an expression of sympathy and respect for Mr. Tilak; there was no secret about that. But the authorities and the Anglo-Indian press took umbrage at it. They could not even bear the idea of the people showing sympathy for a man who had been judicially convicted of sedition. The action, however, to which they were opposed was legal; and so they set about to counteract it in a round about and under-hand manner.....The movement for stopping work and the counter-movement for forcing it to go on—these were the two main factors which contributed to the disturbances. But of the two the second was less remote and more avoidable than the first; and on the analogy of the doctrine of contributory negligence in the law of Torts, we are inclined to think that so far as the preparatory stage of the riot goes, those connected with the counter-movement are more responsible for the disturbances than those who had thought of quietly stopping work for a brief space of time. It would be easy enough to imagine what might have happened in the absence of this counter-movement. The mills would have stopped work for some little and that would be about all. There is not a scrap of evidence to show that the mill-hands meant to do anything else but to quietly show their sympathy for Mr. Tilak. Breach of peace was not their purpose; for what were the poor people to gain by it? But imprudent counsels prevailed, and some mills were kept going in spite of the unwillingness of the operatives to work. A kind of coercion also was used to keep them working. The consequence was that with one class of mill-hands clamouring outside, and another class within the mills who were only coerced to work and were prepared to step out if they met with the least support from outside, the situation of passive expression of feeling at once assumed the form of a disturbance. But the conduct of the officials in another matter, viz., the closing of the bazars was calculated to throw a still more clear and certain light upon this question of the responsibility for the Bombay riots. Now with regard to the closing of the mills

it may perhaps be urged with some degree of plausibility that it might have resulted in thousands of mill-hands being idle and that in its turn might have led to the growing of mischief. But nothing of the kind was to be feared from the closing of the shops ! For it is impossible to find in the City of Bombay a more peaceful class of people than its business men, the shop-keepers, their Gumastas and servants. And surely the closing of the bazars could not possibly have by itself led to any riots. But the meddlesome hand of official mischief-maker was to be seen even here, and with what consequences we have all seen. The closing of the bazars was meant as an expression of sympathy for Mr. Tilak ; and in their unreasonable solicitude for securing their judicial prosecution of Mr. Tilak from even the slightest disapprobation from the public, the officials set out, with the assistance of their non-official henchmen, upon a campaign of coercion of these business men, which was the most unwise thing they could do. The result was that the stopping of business in Bombay was after all more prolonged, and the expression of sympathy for Mr. Tilak rendered all the more pointed and educative than it would have been otherwise. It is this imprudent counter-movement that naturally led to remonstrance and the remonstrance led to rioting. That with such large reserves of civil and military power at their command, Government succeeded eventually in putting down the disturbances speaks nothing in their favour. But apart from the sad loss of life caused by the procedure adopted in putting down the riots, are Government sure that even on the merits of the policy of interference they do not stand to-day one inch lower in the estimation of the people than they did before Mr. Tilak's conviction and their interference with the spontaneous general movement of sympathy for him ? If it was legitimate for Government to prosecute and transport Mr. Tilak, it was, we think, equally legitimate for the people to express their sympathy for a citizen and public-spirited scholar and fellow-countryman who, they believed, worked for them and who, they also believed, suffered for that work. In transporting Mr. Tilak and in coercing the people with a view to prevent any expression of sympathy for him, Government were evidently burning the candle of the popular goodwill at both ends; and for the result, as we have already indicated, they have themselves to thank. Mr. Justice Davar himself remarked in his charge to the jury that Government had no right to expect that the people should entertain affection for them ; but their interference within the liberty of the mill-hands and the businessmen of Bombay showed that they would have the people indirectly express their affection for Government by going on with their business as if nothing at all had happened in their social and political world."

TILAK'S PETITION FOR REMISSION OF SENTENCE, 1912. ....	278

(FROM J. D. FILE NO. 1223 OF 1912.)

Confidential.

No. 30/17119A/223 Conf.

GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,
JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT :

Bombay Castle, 3rd October 1912.

To

THE MOST HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF CREWE, K. G.,
His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, London.

My Lord Marquis,

With reference to the Secret Despatch from the Bombay Government No. I, dated the 18th September 1908, we have the honour to forward, herewith, a memorial dated the 5th August 1912, to the address of His Majesty the King Emperor of India, from prisoner Bal Gangadhar Tilak, at present confined in the Mandalay Central Prison, who prays that the unexpired portion of his sentence of six years' simple imprisonment may be remitted or that such other and better relief be given as to His Majesty may seem fit. As Your Lordship is aware the sentence originally passed upon the convict by the Bombay High Court was one of six years' transportation and a fine of Rs. 1,000. This sentence was commuted by this Government to simple imprisonment for six years, the fine being remitted.

2. We beg to state that in February last the prisoner presented a similar petition to us and was informed in reply that the Governor in Council was unable to accede to his prayer. Copies of the petition and of the reply of the Bombay Government are attached.

3. We would now forward for His Majesty's information the accompanying extract from a letter of July 1909 from Mr. B. S. Carey, C.I.E., Officiating Commissioner, Mandalay Division, reporting a conversation which then took place between Tilak and Lieutenant Fennell, an officer of the Burma Military Police. No doubt three years have elapsed since the date of the letter; nevertheless the present petition contains neither expression of penitence nor promise of future good behaviour. A copy of the recent report on Tilak's health also accompanies which shows that his health is good. For these reasons and bearing in mind the considerations

detailed in the Bombay Government's Despatch of 1908, to which reference has been made above, we would most earnestly deprecate the convict's release.

4. A copy of this Despatch has been forwarded to the Government of India for information.

We have the honour to be,

My Lord Marquis,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
humble Servants.

*Accompaniments to the Despatch to His Majesty's Secretary of
State for India, No. 30, dated 3rd October 1912.*

TILAK'S PETITION TO BOMBAY GOVERNOR

(FROM J. D. FILE NO. 1223 OF 1912.)

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY IN COUNCIL,
Bombay.

The humble petition of Bal
Gangadhar Tilak, now undergoing
incarceration in the Central Jail,
Mandalay, Upper Burma.

Most Respectfully Sheweth—

That this is an application for mercy by the petitioner under the following circumstances :—

2. The petitioner was sentenced by the Bombay High Court, under sections 124A and 153A, Indian Penal Code, to six years' transportation, on 22nd July 1908. But Government was pleased to commute the sentence into one of simple imprisonment, and the petitioner was transferred to the Mandalay Central Jail in September 1908.

3. The petitioner will thus complete $\frac{2}{3}$ of the period or 4 years of his sentence in July next. During this period three special remissions were granted to prisoners, one on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the late Queen's Proclamation, and two

others on the occasion of the ascension to the throne and the Coronation of His Majesty the King, Emperor of India. These remissions would have amounted to 15 months in all, in the petitioner's case. But the petitioner was excluded from this benefit by the rule that the remissions were not to be granted to those who had over two previous convictions.

4. But worse still, the petitioner is unfortunately debarred from earning even the ordinary jail remission for good conduct, convict wardership, etc., which in the petitioner's case would have amounted to about 14 months in four years—by the fact that his sentence is now one of simple imprisonment.

5. While thankfully acknowledging the favour already shewn, the petitioner, therefore, appeals to mercy and prays that Government be pleased to remit the unexpired portion of the petitioner's sentence, or kindly order that the petitioner, may, at least receive all such remission as he could have obtained by his good conduct, etc., but for the commutation of his sentence. There are many instances of prisoners released after obtaining a remission equal to 1/3 of their sentence, and the petitioner humbly trusts that Government would not deny him a similar privilege as an act of mercy, especially as he is now 56 years of age and subject to diabetes.

And for this act of kindness the petitioner will ever pray.

(Signed) BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

Mandalay Central Jail,
24th February 1912.

BOMBAY GOVERNOR REJECTS THE PETITION

(FROM J. D. FILE NO. 1223 OF 1912.)

No 4133, dated the 31st May 1912.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA.

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your confidential letter No. 352-16 J-54, dated the 14th May 1912, regarding a petition, dated the 24th February 1912, from convict Bal Gangadhar Tilak at present confined in the Mandalay Central Prison, who prays that the unexpired portion of his sentence may be remitted or that he may at least be allowed such remissions of the sentence as he would have

obtained by his good conduct, etc., in jail, but for the commutation of his sentence, I am directed to request that, with the permission of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor, the prisoner may be informed that the Governor in Council is unable to accede to his prayer.

I have, etc.

(Signed) K. W. BARLEE,
for Secretary to Government.

TILAK WOULD RECOMMENCE HIS PREACHING AND TEACHING

(FROM J. D. FILE NO. 1223 OF 1912.)

*Extract from a letter of July 1909, addressed to the
Government of Burma by Mr. B. S. Carey, C.I.E.,
Officiating Commissioner, Mandalay Division.*

“Lieutenant Fennell, who took Tilak to Meiktila, tells me that the prisoner spoke most openly to him on the journey and told him that the moment he was released he should recommence his preaching and teaching against the British. He said that he knew law as well as any man and that had he but been a little more careful in choosing his words he could never have been convicted. He says that the British are treating India better than any other foreigners would treat her, but no foreigner has a right to rule India, and no amount of trying to do right can count against the initial wrong done by the administration of the country by the British. He says that he will run his newspaper again and that he will devote his life to getting the British turned out of the country. He quotes Japan and Russia, and he says that India will rise before long, already the people are preparing or being prepared and the Indian Empire will live and outlast the British Empire, which like all Empires must crumble. He confesses that our departure will be followed by years of bitter warfare, but one race or one religious body will conquer and will rule, and India will be for better or for worse ruled by her own sons.”

TILAK'S HEALTH IN MANDALAY PRISON

(FROM J. D. FILE NO. 1223 OF 1912.)

*Letter No. 1-T, the 8th May 1912, from Captain P. K. Tarapore, I.M.S.,
Medical Officer and Superintendent of the Mandalay
Central Jail to the Inspector-General of Prisons,
Burma.*

With reference to your Prison Department endorsement No. 5093-29-C, dated the 3rd May 1912, I have the honour to submit below a report on the health of Prisoner Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

2. The prisoner was admitted into this Jail in September 1908 weighing 117 lbs. I believe his original weight was somewhere near 125, and the deduction was probably due to the change in mode of living and the long journey from India to here. The prisoner appears to have improved gradually but steadily, as the following statement will show :—

Weighment during 1909 between 117 to 120.

Weighment during 1910 between 119 to 126.

Weighment during 1911 averaged between 123 to 125.

Weighment during 1912 between 122 to 125.

The prisoner may thus be said to have kept his normal weight, during at least 1910, 1911, 1912 the original reduction being a phenomenon often seen in prisoners of all classes. The last week or two, the prisoner has lost a couple of pounds but I attach no importance to it; we have had a "heat wave" lately and every body has, I am sure, suffered a little.

3. Apart from the weighment, the prisoner's general health is, in my opinion, as good as can be expected. He has always been cheerful and active. Even at his present age (55) and with diabetes, I have often seen him running up or down stairs in his quarters. He pursues his usual occupation of reading and writing and is hardly ever ill. Those who see him at long intervals have remarked that he is ageing fast, but of course I am unable to judge on this point owing to the fact of my seeing him constantly.

4. There is only one trouble the prisoner has worth mentioning, viz., diabetes. He has been subject to it for years. He has had it all the time he has been under my observation. But the progress of the diabetic condition is controlled as far as possible by suitable diet and medicines. Two years ago the prisoner used to pass over 100 ounces of urine per diem with an average sugar content of about 4 per cent. The latest treatment (a German method) appears to have done the prisoner a lot of good, inasmuch as he passes from 50 to 75 ounces of urine a day with a sugar content of about 1 per cent.

5. Under the circumstances, I do not consider that the prisoner is showing signs of a breakdown. It has, at the same time, to be borne in mind that a diabetic may collapse suddenly at any time. The danger, however, is no greater now than it was on the first day the prisoner was admitted into Jail.

TILAK'S MEMORIAL TO SECRETARY OF STATE ...	283

(FROM J. D. FILE NO. 1223 OF 1312.)

No. 155-M-16-J-54, dated the 15th August 1912.

From

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA ;

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 4133*, dated the 31st May 1912, I am directed to forward, for favour of disposal, a petition addressed to His Majesty the King, Emperor of India, by prisoner Bal Gangadhar Tilak, confined in the Mandalay Central Jail, praying that the unexpired portion of his sentence may be remitted by a pardon or a remission, or that such other and better relief be given as to His Majesty may seem fit.

To

HIS MAJESTY THE KING, EMPEROR OF INDIA.

The humble memorial of Bal
Gangadhar Tilak, now a prisoner
in the Central Jail at Mandalay.

Most Respectfully and Loyally Sheweth :

That the petitioner was, on the 22nd day of July 1908, convicted and sentenced at the Bombay High Court Sessions on two charges under sections 124A and 153A of the Indian Penal Code, for publishing certain articles in his newspaper at Poona.

2. That the two charges were treated as one transaction for the purpose of conviction and as two separate transactions for the purpose of punishment, and a heavy sentence of six years' transportation, in all, was awarded, three years on each charge, the sentences to run consecutively. The petitioner's application for special leave to appeal was dismissed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, on the 3rd day of March 1909.

3. That after the passing of the sentence, the Government of Bombay was pleased to reduce the rigour of the sentence by commuting it into one of simple imprisonment for the same period of six years. But, on the other hand, this favour unfortunately and unexpectedly deprived the petitioner of the benefit of earning the usual jail remission for good conduct, work, etc., which, in the case of a hard-labour prisoner, may amount to 1/4th of the period of his sentence, but to which a simple imprisonment prisoner is not entitled according to the existing jail rules. The petitioner is also debarred, on technical grounds, from reaping the benefit of special remissions, such, for instance, as were granted to prisoners on the auspicious occasions of his Majesty's accession to the throne and coronation. Had it not been for the disabilities so imposed, the petitioner could have, by his invariable good conduct, easily earned such remission as would have, in the ordinary course, brought out his release about this time. The petitioner applied to the Government of Bombay for relief in this respect. But his application has been recently rejected by the said Government.

4. That as a matter of grace the petitioner now seeks to obtain His Majesty's merciful consideration of his case. He has undergone 2/3rds, or four out of six years' term of his sentence, is now 56 years old, and is suffering for a long time from chronic diabetes; while his family affairs have been brought to a sad crisis by a heavy bereavment which he has recently suffered.

5. The petitioner, therefore, humbly and loyally prays that His Majesty may be graciously pleased to grant :—

(i) That the unexpired portion of the petitioner's sentence may be remitted by a pardon or a remission, or,

(ii) that such other and better relief be given as to His Majesty may seem fit. And His Majesty's petitioner will ever pray.

(Signed) BAL GANGADHAR TILAK.

Central Jail, Mandalay,

5th August 1912.

INDIA OFFICE REFUSES TO GRANT ANY REMISSION

(FROM FILE NO. 543 OF JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT—1913.)

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON

13th December 1912.

Confidential.

Public ;

No. 19.

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR IN
COUNCIL,
Bombay.

Sir,

I have received the letter of Your Excellency's Government, No. 30 (Judicial), dated the 3rd October last, with which you forward a memorial, addressed to His Majesty the King, Emperor of India, by prisoner Bal Gangadhar Tilak, in which he prays that the unexpired portion of his sentence may be remitted or that such other and better relief be given as to His Majesty may seem fit.

2. I request that the memorialist may be informed that I have considered his petition, but that I am unable to advise His Majesty to comply with the prayer thereof.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

J. D. letter, No. 564-88-Conf., dated the 21st January 1913.

From

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY ;

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Confidential letter No. 155-M/16 J-54, dated the 15th August 1912, forwarding

a memorial to His Majesty the King, Emperor of India, from prisoner Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who is at present confined in the Mandalay Central jail.

2. In reply I am to request that, with the permission of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, the prisoner may be informed that His Majesty's Secretary of State for India has considered his memorial, but is unable to advise His Majesty to comply with the prayer contained in it.

TILAK'S HISTORY TICKET

(FROM H. D. SPECIAL FILE NO. 1793-1913.)

R. N. 9224.

Ahmedabad Central Prison.

Age ... 52.

Health ... Fair.

Weight ... 126.

Sentence ...

6 years Transportation and
Rs. 1,000 fine.

Committed to simple imprisonment by Government.

Date of Sentence

... 22nd July 1908.

Date of Admission

... 23rd July 1908.

Date of Expiry

... 21st July 1914.

Date of release if he earns full works ... 6th December 1913.

Date.

23rd July 1908

... Quaranted.

27th July 1908

... Limes 2 and Sugar oz. 2 and Milk Lbs. 2
and Rice.

29th July 1908

... Interview with D. V. Vidwans and V. G.
Ketkar. Three Vakilatnamas signed.

Date.

- 3rd August 1908 ... Labour—medium.
- 5th August 1908 ... Stop 1 Lb. Milk and Rice and issue $\frac{1}{2}$ Rice rations.
- 6th August 1908 ... Interview with Khaparde and Vidwans—
Weight 125 Lbs.
- 7th August 1908 ... Petition to High Court for an appeal to
the Privy Council signed before the
F. C. Magistrate, Ahmedabad City.
- 10th August 1908 ... Wheat Bread Oz. 2 in morning.
- 11th August 1908 ... Potatoes 1 Lb.
- 20th August 1908 ... Interviews with Vidwans, written instruc-
tions for Khaparde Re : The petition
to Privy Council and Petition to
Parliament handed over.
- Written instructions for his petition
to Mr. Baptista also handed over the
letter referred to Petition to High
Court.
- 21st August 1908 ... Wire sent to Baptista calling him for an
interview.
- Wire sent to Raghavaya Solicitors
requesting them to send Baptista to
receive instructions.
- 22nd August 1908 ... Interview to Baptista.
- 23rd August 1908 ... Weight 116.
- 27th August 1908 ... Interview Vidwans.
- 29th August 1908 ... Increase Milk to 2 Lbs ; Wheat ration
to 1 Lb. Give also 1 oz. Ghee,

Date.

- 1st September 1908 ... Marks for the last month, 3.
- 3rd September 1908 ... Telegram from Raghavaya Re : Appeal matters communicated.
- 4th September 1908 ... Telegram from Raghavaya informing that rule has been argued and judgment reserved, communicated.
- 7th September 1908 ... Telegram from Raghavaya informing that judgment will be delivered tomorrow. Communicated.
- 8th September 1908 ... Telegram from Raghavaya — Rule discharged — communicated.
- 11th September 1908 ... Weight 118.
- Two powers of Attorney and 3 warrants signed in the presence of F. C. Magistrate Ahmedabad.
- Interview with Karandikar and Widwans receiving instructions for appealing to the Privy Council.
- 11th September 1908 ... Under section 402 C. P. Code of 1898, the sentence of "6 years transportation" was commuted to one of simple imprisonment for a like term. 9th September 1908.
- 13th September 1908 ... Marks for 13 days of September, 13.
- 23rd September 1908 ... Admitted Mandalay.
- 22nd November 1908 ... Interview with Kelkar — Vidwans.
- 31st December 1908 ... Letter from Raghavaya, Brings Nagindas (Solicitors) with Draft Deed of Gift.
- 2nd January 1909 ... Letter to Vidwans regarding Deed of Gift.

Date.

9th January 1909	... Letters to G. S. Khaparde, London.
22nd January 1909	... Letter to Vidwans.
6th February 1909	... Letter to Family.
11th February 1909	... Telegram filing appeal to Privy Council.
14th February 1909	... Letter to Khaparde, London.
21st February 1909	... Interview to Raghavaya.
25th February 1909	... Letter from Khaparde appeal to Privy Council.
1st March 1909	... Letter from Vidwans.
3rd March 1909	... Letter from Khaparde.
4th March 1909	... Telegram — Decision of appeal to Privy Council—received.
5th March 1909	... Letters to Khaparde London. Letters to Vidwans, Poona.
23rd March 1909	... Letters from Vidwans.
1st April 1909	... Letter from Khaparde London.
2nd April 1909	... Letter to Vidwans.
5th April 1909	... Interview to Joshi, regarding Deed of Gift and Power of Attorney signed by Tilak and witnessed by Joshi and a Magistrate.
22nd April 1909	... Letter from Khaparde, London.
27th April 1909	... Letter from Vidwans.
20th May 1909	... Interview of Vidwans.
25th May 1909	... Letter from Vidwans with a letter from Mr. Sane, Berlin.

Date.

- 27th May 1909 ... Letter from Khaparde, London.
- 19th June 1909 ... Letter from M. R. Ranade, Sholapur Re :
Publishing a posthumous manuscript
of a *modi* work of a friend.
- 26th June 1909 ... Reply to letter under date 19th September 1909.
- 26th June 1909 ... Letter from Vidwans — report on
studies of Tilak's children and legal
paper (Petition to Court of Wards,
Poona).
- 2nd July 1909 ... Letter to Vidwans.
- 10th July 1909 ... Telegram — Birthday congratulations
from Marathe — Mazgaon, Bombay.
- Transferred to Mukkala Jail on 18th July
1909 on account of Cholera in
Mandalay Jail — Order of I. G., Prison.
— Telegram — Confidential 17th July
1909.
- 18th July 1909 ... Letters to G. S. Khaparde, London, Sane,
Germany and Vidwans.
- 24th July 1909 ... Letters from Khaparde.
- 26th July 1909 ... Letters Vidwans, S. M. Sane.
- 14th August 1909 ... Letters to Khaparde, London.
Letters received from Bombay National
Union — Refused as it was of a political
nature.
- 21st August 1909 ... Pamphlet on the authority of Vedic
Culture and by the author Havman G.
Jacobite.
- 4th September 1909 ... Letter from Khaparde, *only extracts*.

Date.

- 9th September 1909 ... Transferred to Mandalay.
- 13th September 1909 ... Letter to Vidwans.
- 26th September 1909 ... Letter from Vidwans.
- 23rd November 1909 ... Letter from Khaparde, London.
Letter to Vidwans. — Passed.
- 24th November 1909 ... 1. Memorial to Secretary of State for India.
2. Council's opinion.
3. Projected petition to House of Lords.
With forwarding letters from Mr. Dalgade, Solicitor, 8, Warwick Court, Gray's Inn, London — Khaparde, London.
- 25th November 1909 ... To Government of Bombay.
1. Memorial to Secretary for India.
2. Council's opinion.
3. Projected petition to House of Lords.
4. Forwarding letter to Government of Bombay.
5. Nominal Roll.
- 6th December 1909 ... Two copies of memorials passed to Tilak for signature ; one for Solicitors in London other filed for reference.
- 8th December 1909 ... Letter to Dalgade — Solicitors, London.
With duplicate copy of the memorial.

Date.

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----|--|
| 27th December 1909 | ... | Letter to Vidwans. Memorial to K. E. with forwarding letter from Secretary to Government of Bombay, passed for correction. |
| 29th December 1909 | ... | Letter to Vidwans.
Letter to Dalgade, Solicitors, London.
Re : Memorial with two copies of forwarding letter. |
| 1st February 1910 | ... | Letter from Vidwans in part (part disallowed being political). |
| 1st March 1910 | ... | Letter from Vidwans with a copy of the New Press Bills from Burma Official Gazette. |
| 3rd March 1910 | ... | Letter from E. Dalgade, Solicitor, London, forwarding copy of Memorial to King Emperor, <i>Letter not passed</i> as it contains political matter. Tilak informed that the memorial was presented to Home Secretary on 11th February. |
| 4th March 1910 | ... | Interview with Vidwans. Copy of petition to King Emperor passed for perusal and action. |
| 28th March 1910 | ... | 1. Result of petition to K. E.
2. Forwarding letter from E. Dalgade, Solicitor, London. |
| 2nd April 1910 | ... | Letter to Vidwans. |
| 18th April 1910 | ... | Memorial to the Governor in Council Bombay through the I. G. Prison, Burma. |
| 29th April 1910 | ... | Letter from Vidwans. |
| 6th May 1910 | ... | Letter to Vidwans. |

Date.

30th May 1910	... Letter from Khaparde — Re. : Appeal for release.
4th June 1910	... Letter from Vidwans.
11th June 1910	... Letter from Vidwans.
20th June 1910	... Petition for transfer to a Cooler station and to live on parole. Cannot be granted — Wire No. 882/M 16J. 31 of 17th June 1910 from Secretary to Government of Burma.
1st July 1910	... Letter from Vidwans.
2nd July 1910	... Reply to Vidwans.
1st August 1910	... Letter from Vidwans.
2nd August 1910	... Reply to Vidwans.
1st September 1910	... Letter to Joshi, Vidwans.
2nd September 1910	... Reply to Vidwans.
1st October 1910	... Letter from Vidwans. Telegram to Vidwans, asking result of adoption case.
2nd October 1910	... Telegram from Vidwans.
22nd October 1910	... Interview with G. S. Khaparde Re : Case.
1st November 1910	... Letter from Vidwans — The judgment of the adoption case. By Bombay Law Court.
3rd November 1910	... Reply to Vidwans.
1st December 1910	... Four letters from Vidwans. Judgment in the adoption-case by Bombay Law Court.

Date.

1st January 1911	... Four sheets letter from Vidwans.
3rd January 1911	... Letter to Vidwans.
1st February 1911	... Letter from Vidwans.
2nd February 1911	... Reply to Vidwans.
2nd March 1911	... Four sheets letter from Vidwans.
3rd March 1911	... Reply to Vidwans.
1st April 1911	... Five sheets letter from Vidwans.
4th April 1911	... Reply to Vidwans.
6th May 1911	... Three sheets letter from Vidwans.
7th May 1911	... Reply to Vidwans.
20th May 1911	... One letter written to his wife as a special case informing his wife that he is doing well, and asking her to look after Children.
1st July 1911	... Letter from Vidwans.
4th July 1911	... Reply to Vidwans.
1st August 1911	... Five sheets letter from Vidwans.
5th August 1911	... Reply to Vidwans.
24th August 1911	... Letter from Vidwans. Telegram to Vidwans Re. : Family matters.
2nd September 1911	... Two sheets reply to Vidwans.
10th October 1911	... Notice in appeal H. S. S. of 1911 of Bombay High Court Appellate Side — Revised and returned.
20th October 1911	... Telegram from Mr. Malbari dated 19th October 1911.

Date.

1st November 1911	... Five sheets letter from Vidwans.
2nd November 1911	... Reply to Vidwans.
1st December 1911	... Letter from Vidwans.
2nd December 1911	... Reply to Vidwans.
3rd January 1912	... Reply to Vidwans.
20th February 1912	... 1. Letter with two sheets instructions for the education of his children. Letter in Marathi to his wife— Translation on File.
24th February 1912	... Petition to Bombay Government Re : Remission.
1st March 1912	... Letter from Vidwans.
1st April 1912	... Letter from Vidwans.
4th April 1912	... Letter to Vidwans.
1st May 1912	... Letter from Vidwans.
2nd May 1912	... Letter to Vidwans.
1st June 1912	... Letter from Vidwans.
4th June 1912	... Two sheets letter to Vidwans.
9th June 1912	... Special letter to Vidwans.
19th June 1912	... Letter from Vidwans. 4 sheets old memorial for Reperusal.
1st July 1912	... Letter from Vidwans.
3rd July 1912	... Two sheets letter to Vidwans.
1st August 1912	... Letter from Vidwans.

Date.

3rd August 1912	... Letter to Vidwans.
5/6th August 1912	... Two sheets memorial to H. M. the King.
1st September 1912	... Letter from Vidwans.
3rd September 1912	... Letter to Vidwans.
1st October 1912	... Two sheets Letter from Vidwans.
4th October 1912	... Letter to Vidwans.
2nd November 1912	... Letter from Vidwans.
5th November 1912	... Letter to Vidwans.
30th November 1912	... Letter from Vidwans.
1st December 1912	... Letter to Vidwans.
10th December 1952	... Telegram to Vidwans.
20th December 1912	... Telegram from Vidwans.
2nd January 1913	... Letter from Vidwans.
4th January 1913	... Letter to Vidwans.
1st February 1913	... Letter from Vidwans.
3rd February 1913	... Letter to Vidwans.
27th February 1913	... Letter from Vidwans.
8th March 1913	... Letter to Vidwans.
29th March 1913	... Letter from Vidwans.
3rd April 1913	... Two sheets letter to Vidwans.
29th April 1913	... Letter from Vidwans.
5th June 1913	... Letter from Vidwans.

Date.

7th June 1913	... Two sheets letter to Vidwans with instructions to Teachers.
5th July 1913	... Letter from Vidwans. Two sheets letter to Vidwans.
31st July 1913	... Letter from Vidwans.
27th August 1913	... Seven sheets letter from Vidwans.
1st September 1913	... Two sheets letter to Vidwans.
20th September 1913	... One sheet letter with summons to Vidwans.
30th September 1913	... Seven sheets letter to Vidwans.
2nd October 1913	... One sheet letter to Vidwans.
1st November 1913	... Not sent :—Telegram to Vidwans asking by letter up to date information — 9 sheets letter from Vidwans.
3rd November 1913	... Two sheets letter to Vidwans.
25th November 1913	... Summons to be served on Tilak. Summons with instructions to Vidwans.
29th November 1913	... Four sheets letter from Vidwans.
1st December 1913	... Letter to Vidwans.
31st December 1913	... Three sheets letter from Vidwans.
2nd January 1914	... Letter to Vidwans.
20th January 1914	... Fifteen sheets letter from Vidwans.
4th March 1914	... Two sheets letter from Vidwans. Letter from Bapāt to Tilak. One sheet letter to Vidwans.

Date.

26th March 1914	...	Seven sheets letter from Vidwans.
18th April 1914	...	Five sheets letter from Vidwans.
28th May 1914	...	Ten sheets letter from Vidwans.

Weight.

Year.	Month.			Weight in Lbs.
1909	...	...	...	117
1910	January	...	...	125
	February	...	...	124
		...	...	123
	March	...	...	121
		...	...	121
	April	...	...	121
		...	...	121
	May	...	...	121
		...	...	122
	June	...	...	122
		...	...	122
	July	...	...	122
		...	...	126
	August	...	...	125
		...	...	124
	September	...	...	124
		...	...	125

Year.	Month.		Weight in Lbs.
1911	October	.. ...	125
		... ...	126
	November	... ...	125
		... ...	124
	December	... ...	125
		... ...	125
	January	... ...	124
		... ...	123
	February	... ...	125
		... ...	123
	March	... ...	123
		... ...	125
	April	... ...	124
		... ...	125
	May	... ...	124
		... ...	125
	June	... ...	125
		... ...	126
	July	... ...	126
		... ...	128
	August	... ...	119
		... ...	124

Year.	Month.		Weight in Lbs.
	September	...	124
		...	121
	October	...	121
		...	121
	November	...	122
		...	123
	December	...	124
		...	125
1912	January	...	124
		...	125
	February	...	123
		...	124
	March	...	123
		...	123
	April	...	122
		...	122
	May	...	123
		...	123
	June	...	122½
		...	122
	July	...	122½
		...	123

Year.	Month.		Weight in Lbs.
	August	...	123
		...	124
	September	...	124
		...	124
	October	...	123½
		...	123½
	November	...	124
		...	124
	December	...	124½
		...	125
	1913 January	...	126
		...	126
	February	...	125
		...	124½
	March	...	125
		...	125
	April	...	124
		...	124
	May	...	123½
		...	124
	June	...	123
		...	122½

Year.	Month.		Weight in Lbs
	July	...	122
		...	121½
	August	...	123
		...	124
	September	...	123
		...	124
	October	...	124½
		...	124½
	November	...	127
		...	127
	December	...	128
		...	128
1914	January	...	128
		...	128
	February	...	128
		...	128
	March	...	126
		...	128
	April	...	128
		...	127½
	May	...	127½
		...	127
	June	...	127½

CONFIDENTIAL CIRCULAR WARNING PEOPLE NOT TO
ASSOCIATE WITH TILAK

(FROM J. D. FILE NO. 1703 OF 1914, PAGE 245.)

Confidential.

No. S. D. 1137.

SPECIAL DEPARTMENT :
Poona, 26th June 1914.

Circular.

The release of Bal. Gangadhar Tilak and his return to Poona will make a considerable change in the political situation in the Presidency. Government desire that District Magistrates and the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, should closely watch any developments that take place and keep Government informed of any movement that may be promoted for expressing sympathy with him or promoting his propaganda.

2. Until Tilak shows by overt acts that he has altered his views and intends to modify his propaganda, he must be looked upon as an enemy of the British Government, and people who associate themselves with him must be considered to be unfriendly.

3. Government have a right to expect that persons who enjoy any favour at their hands, should not associate themselves with Tilak in any way whatever. Special attention should be directed to the following classes of persons :—Jaghirdars, inamdars, watandars, title holders, *Government servants* of all grades, Government pensioners and teachers and persons employed in or in connection with recognised educational institutions.

4. If any one belonging to any of the above classes should pay a visit to Tilak, he should be warned, the attitude of Government as stated in paragraph 2 above being explained, and he should be informed that association with Tilak or repeated visit will be looked with grave dissatisfaction and will be marked by such punishments as Government may consider suitable in each case.

5. The action indicated in paragraph 4 above will be taken by the District Magistrates in the case of jaghirdars, inamdars, watan-dars, title holders, *Government servants* and *Government pensioners*.

When a District Magistrate takes action in the case of departmental employees not under his direct orders, he should inform the local head of the department of the fact.

6. The Director of Public Instruction will take action in the case of teachers and persons employed in or in connection with recognised educational institutions, either on information received from his own departmental officers or from the Secretary to Government, Special Department.

7. All cases of action under paragraph 4 should be immediately reported to Secretary, Special Department, for the information of Government.

8. The Director of Public Instruction should be requested to issue a circular to all Managers of recognised educational institutions informing them that students should not be allowed to associate themselves with Tilak in any way or to pay visits at his residence.

9. Attention is invited to the following Government Resolutions and Circulars which contain instructions on the subject noted against each:—

Circular No. 1316/12	Conf.,	Attitude to be maintained by
dated 2nd March 1906	(General Department).	Government Servants towards
		political or quasi-political
		movements.

Circulars Nos. 4877/60	Conf.	Warning to holders of titles or
and 5632/70	Conf., dated 30th	grants of land.
	July and 14th September 1908	
	respectively. (General Department).	

Government Resolution No. 2396,	Discipline in primary schools.
dated 30th September 1908.	
(Educational Department).	

Government Resolution No. 2395,	Discipline in Schools and
dated 30th September 1908.	colleges.
(Educational Department).	

Government Resolution No. 1570,	Discipline in Government insti-
dated 4th August 1909. (Edu-	tutions.
cational Department).	

Government Resolution No. 7438-91-Confl., dated 16th December 1908. (General Department). Participation in political movements by Government pensioners.

Government Resolution No. 2718-49-Confl., dated the 16th March 1909. (Rev. Department). Attachment of inams or allowances.

The orders of Government contained in these documents remain in force and the instructions contained in this Circular should be regarded as supplementary to them.

L. ROBERTSON,
Secretary to Government.

TILAK ON DELHI WAR CONFERENCE, 1918

(A Lecture on 3rd May 1918 at Bombay as reported on page 401 of Bombay Presidency Police Abstract, 1918.)

Mr. Tilak's Address

Ladies and gentlemen, you are meeting here in a gathering, which is held under the auspices of the two Indian Home Rule Leagues and the Bombay National Union. It was, at first arranged that at this gathering a lecture should be given by the Honourable Mr. Dadasaheb Khaparde (hear, hear) but that idea was given up in favour of holding a pan-supari meeting. This, therefore, is a pan-supari meeting, while the lecture meeting is abandoned. (laughter). Now if the new arrangement is suggested to be cancelled and the lecture to be delivered, I am sure, you will all vote against it (cries of "no, no"). Well, if you have the authority to give one opinion in that matter, I have no less authority to give a contrary opinion (hear, hear and laughter). Well, now for what purpose is the pan-supari ceremony going to be held? I will tell you why. You know that a Conference was held at Delhi the other day. According to the verdict of the Viceroy the Conference was extraordinary. I also say it was really extraordinary (laughter) because such a Conference never took place before (laughter). Because in this Conference there were sitting together the Princes and Chiefs and the people's representatives as also the Government officers. They were all sitting in the same row, possibly the people's representatives were sitting a little behind the Princes and Chiefs. Be that as it may, they all as it were on the same level, with the Viceroy as President of the gathering. Under these circumstances, you may say that an

opportunity like this for all such people to meet together, being rare, was certainly an extraordinary one (laughter). Now this was the Conference or the Durbar held at Delhi, but there was no solid work, it seems done. Of course, there were various things which added to the prettiness of the function, which may not have failed to impose on the minds of the spectators its own importance. This Conference aimed at giving encouragement to the people of India to find recruits to fight for their Mother country. That was the main object of the Durbar, but what did happen there? You will find from the fate, which overtook the resolution of Mr. Khaparde on "Self-government" that so far from the people being encouraged to take up arms for the protection of their Motherland, a wet blanket was thrown on their shoulders, for the resolution of Mr. Khaparde was thrown out. Call it Self-government or Swaraj; it is the same thing. Swaraj should be given to India at least it should be promised to her people. Mr. Khaparde's resolution said that until Swaraj is given or promised to be given to the people of India, they will never be filled with the necessary ardour to take up cudgels for their country. This is the point that must be considered by the Viceroy and other authorities in whose hands lie the reins of Indian Government. I said that Mr. Khaparde's resolution on "self-government for India" was disallowed, but do you know the reason why? (laughter). Because, as the Viceroy explained, in the Conference the Princes and Chiefs of India were present and, therefore, "We must not discuss the subject of Self-government". Now ladies and gentlemen, who invited these Princes and Chiefs to the Conference? (Laughter). We did not. (Renewed laughter). Well having invited the Princes and Chiefs to the Conference, the Government should have no scruples in moving the Self-government resolution in their presence, because at the present crisis all will have to fight for India—the Princes and Chiefs and the people of British India. However, the resolution of Self-government of the Honourable Mr. Khaparde was discarded, and thus the chief object for which the Conference should have been held was dropped. I say, ladies and gentlemen, the plea advanced by the Viceroy was one that should not have been advanced. The Princes and Chiefs on the one hand and the ordinary people in India, on the other, are all equally interested in protecting India at this critical moment, so that, the resolution on Self-government for India could be advisedly discussed in the presence of the Princes and Chiefs of India. Now you all know, from the published report of the progress of the war that the British Empire is in the grip of a serious travail. That cannot be gainsaid. The times are really very critical. The war situation in the Western Front is serious to the last degree. The time is foreshadowed for an invasion of India. This is what the Viceroy said the other day but this is

what we had anticipated long ago. (loud laughter). Then we could not say so fearlessly (laughter), but now we say it openly on the authority of the Viceroy, so that, there is no fear that we shall be suspected of sedition. "There will be an invasion of India, there must be an invasion of India". The Viceroy said so, and he also said the invasion of India must take place at no distant date and therefore, the Viceroy further said, the assistance of the people of India is now necessary to the British Government for the protection of the Motherland of the Indian people. Now, as already said, the Durbar in question was held for the purpose of enthusing the people of India and inspiring them with the idea of fighting for India. That was why the Durbar was held. That was why the Conference was called into existence. The object was to encourage the people of India to fight for their country by giving them the assurance that they would be given self-government. Look at what Mr. Lloyd George did for Ireland. Why is that not done for India? If Ireland needed to be encouraged by the promise of self-government, why not India? (Hear, hear). But that is not done for India which should have been done. Our representatives—the people's representatives—had been to the Delhi Conference. They were merely 30 in number. If all these 30 had emphatically pressed it home to the Viceroy that the resolution of Self-government must be passed, I am sure the Viceroy would have been obliged to take up that question in some shape or other (hear, hear). But they did not do it—our 30 representatives did not do their duty. (Cries of Shame). Now out of these 30 people only 14 could be found to sign the requisition asking the Viceroy to consider the question of self-government for India in the Conference. So far so good, but when the time came for actually presenting the requisition to the Viceroy, who do you think, ladies and gentlemen acquitted themselves of that noble duty? It was really difficult to get those 14 gentlemen to submit the requisition to the Viceroy. It was only Mr. Khaparde who had to do it single handed (laughter and cries shame). Now, why should this be so? The reason is not far to seek (laughter). The reason is that these men were the nominees of Government. If they were the representatives of the people this unpleasant episode would never have taken place. Government nominees are always afraid to oppose Government, and they were afraid on the present occasion. Their argument was "Where is the necessity for opposing the Government? They have invited us; we are invited by them to this great Durbar (laughter). We meet here under Government invitation and we see Princes and Chiefs with their dresses resplendent with jewellery, worth five or ten lakhs of rupees (laughter). The whole hall is shining with the lustre of that

Jewellery. If in the midst of such a glorious assemblage some one were to make an uncouth speech, how can that be stopped?" This is the way how some of the Government nominees seemed to argue among themselves with the result that the resolution was not forced on the Viceroy, and no assurance of self-government to be given to us was given by the Viceroy. According to my idea, the Viceroy should have been forced to accept the resolution. For, look at the state of Ireland. The British people promised to give Ireland Home Rule when they saw that they could not be without Ireland. It was only when they found that they could not do without the assistance of Ireland that the British people promised to give Ireland Home Rule. Why should these very people not give Home Rule to India?

India has got 30 crores of subjects without whose assistance how can India be protected? Of course the bureaucracy tried to do without the assistance of the 30 crores of Indian subjects. That was their dodge, but when they now find that the Empire is getting helpless without the assistance of the 30 crores of Indian subjects, they feel that now the time has come when they cannot do without the assistance of the people of India and therefore, they will pay money or give bribes in order to get as many recruits as they like. Now just consider this situation. Bureaucracy does not want to give you self-government, but they want to be protected, by your giving you lives. The bureaucracy want you, the people of India, to protect their lives. Why should that be so? Why should the bureaucracy be unwilling to give up their own lives? (Hear, hear and laughter). I would say to them "First make a self-sacrifice yourselves, and then we shall follow you". (Hear, hear and laughter). We say we are finally convinced that everyone of us—the people of this country—must make a self-sacrifice. There is no go without it; we must; because we have to protect our country. Therefore we have to fight, we have to die for the country. We shall not die for the bureaucracy. (Hear, hear). The Viceroy said the people of India are expected to fight for their "Motherland". Now ladies and gentlemen, this word "Motherland" is a very sweet word. We know it is very sweet and are charmed by it. Remember, the bureaucracy is reigning over us for the last 150 years, and we ask them "what sacrifice are you going to make for our country? Are you prepared to let go some of the power that you have in your hand?" If the bureaucracy is not prepared to sacrifice some of its power, which it has enjoyed during the last century and a half, what right have they to ask the people of India to die for them? As I said, it is merely a dodge on the part of the bureaucracy to treat us like this. As another plank in their platform to treat us like that, I may mention the fact that our deputation they sent back.

They say that the political agitation should be stopped. Fortunately they have done it at the Delhi Conference. They said, before the Conference was held that there should be no political activity in order that the whole attention of the people may be concentrated on one question, that is the question of war. They said that at the Conference no more questions could be discussed and that only one question could be discussed. I would like to ask "If you place four or five questions before the bureaucracy do you think you would be confounding them? (Laughter.) I do not know exactly what the dodge is in the mind of the bureaucracy as regards their intention to stop all political agitation. It is only God who can read their mind, I cannot, at all, divine what is in their mind that makes them say that the questions of self-government should not be allowed to go to England through our deputation. Take the mind of Mr. Lloyd George. See what he is going to give to Ireland. It is in the hands of the bureaucracy to give us self-government. We are their subjects, and we will try to give them as much help as possible, but they must stop treating us as they have been treating us. Why they are treating us like that, as I said I cannot read on the outside of their mind. I cannot do that correctly. Now see, how the matter stands. Although the Empire is in danger, our bureaucracy is not prepared to make a self-sacrifice by parting with some of their power to the people of this country. I have already said that critical times are overshadowing our country, and we recognise our duty to be prepared to protect the country. Whether the Government give us the power or not and whether the bureaucracy protect our country or not, it is our duty to protect it, because it is our country, our Motherland. We want to do that. When in former days there was an invasion made against India by Nadirshah, Eajirao sent a message to the Emperor of Delhi that "We are coming to your help". (Hear, hear) Ladies and gentlemen, to protect India is always the duty of the Indian people (cheers). That duty must be done by lakhs of our people.

But we do not want to do that for the sake of the bureaucracy. We love our Motherland, and if we fight we shall fight for the Motherland and not in order that the bureaucracy should enjoy their power in India permanently. That cannot be done by us, and that must be stated distinctly. If we fight for our Motherland, it is not to let it remain under the permanent suzerainty of the bureaucracy. We must say so distinctly—there is no harm in doing so. We tell the bureaucracy, "It is your wish to encourage us to fight. It is also our desire to fight but when we apply to be admitted into the Indian Defence Force, you submit our applications to the C. I. D. and on their remark rests your determination to accept or to reject the

applications. You fear that if you admit us in the Army and give us certain powers, you shall be losing your powers." Ladies and gentlemen, I cannot understand any other reason why the people of India are not admitted to the Commissioned Ranks in the Army; and there is no other explanation. Therefore, our idea is that they do not want to give us any powers, because they want to keep those powers in their hands. Their idea is. "If we give the people of India an inch, they are sure to take an ell." Ladies and Gentlemen, although the Delhi Conference has been a disappointing one, it has done some good. For instance, so far as the Military question is concerned it has decided (1) that the Salaries of the Indian Sepoys in the Army should be increased, (2) Military training should be given to Indians and (3) Commissioned Ranks should be thrown open to Indians. As I said in this respect the Conference has done us some good, but remember that the above three concessions are simply yet in the nature of recommendations. They are not yet "*faits accomplis*". When they become so we shall consider ourselves lucky (hear, hear). The great charge against us now is that we do not want to protect our country. I say that is absolutely a false charge.

We do want to protect it, but how can we do it? For the last five generations we are allowed to grow without the touch of arms and therefore, our fighting capabilities are gone. We have had no Military training, because we are not trusted and we do not know how to use weapons. Now, however, it is said by the authorities "We shall modify the Arms Act." We say unless the Arms Act is revoked and unless we are treated with confidence, Government will not be benefited. We say to Government "Give us your confidence because confidence begets confidence. We will give you our confidence. You give us yours." There is nothing wrong in saying this to Government. Some people say "it is no use hustling the Government; we should strike a bargain with them." That is some people's advice. On the contrary, the Emperor had said that the difficulties of the Empire are the opportunities of India—the need of the Empire is the opportunity of India (cheers and laughter). Five or ten days ago I was afraid of giving out my views like these in such distinct terms, but now that the Emperor has said so, I can make bold to say so as distinctly as I can. The Magna Charta was obtained by the people of England when they got the opportunity to have it in the reign of King John. Therefore, I say all depends on Time. Such times come in History and then Evolution takes place. Evolution does not take place of itself. It takes place when the Time comes, that is, when people take advantage of Time.

We are not dealing here philosophically. We are discussing this question as men of the world. As I said if in some respects the Delhi Conference is a failure, it has done us some good in other respects. It has awakened us to future work. It has also done the Government in the eye, in that Government has not succeeded in one of its objects, viz., hushing up all political discussion. Mr. Khaparde's resolution on self-government for India was not allowed to be brought before the Conference but all the same it came into being, though abortively, in connection with the Conference. It was the desire of Government to pass through the whole work of the Delhi Conference without making the slightest reference to the question of self-government for India, but they did not succeed. Home Rule was mentioned on the board of the Conference. That was no small gain to the people of India. The next gain from the Conference is the fact that we know the assistance of the people of India is coveted by Government. In that behalf five or ten Committees were appointed. The Durbar was thus in many respects very profitable to the people of India although they did not get from it all they wanted from it (cheers). The Durbar having given the people of India something the people are given a fresh opportunity to go ahead. Remember again the sentence in the Emperor's message "The Empire's need is India's opportunity". We have to exploit that opportunity not in any other sense than the sense in which Australia and Canada have exploited it. We do not want anything more. By "exploiting", we do not mean to take ill-advantage of the difficulties in which the British people are plunged at present; we mean making use of the opportunity after the fashion of the Colonies. The aforesaid views of the Emperor are laconically expressed but the words are comprehensive in their meaning. We will not have ill-advantage over Government at this juncture nor shall we allow them to have ill-advantage over us in the times of our difficulties. Now, ladies and gentlemen, you know that Mr. Montagu has gone to England just now that is only four days before the Conference was held. This is very significant. One does not understand why he was allowed to go so closely on the eve of the Conference. Was it because there is a dearth of steamer? (Laughter). The paucity of steamers may be in our way, but certainly not in Mr. Montagu's (hear, hear and laughter). Everyone is entitled to assign any reason he likes for packing Mr. Montagu off to England only four days before the Conference was held. I dare say he went away at such a peculiar time because he did not want to give us any thing with respect to self-government. Ladies and gentlemen I will now conclude.

You meet here to give pan supari to your representatives who had been to the Delhi Conference. Speaking on their behalf I gratefully

acknowledge your thanks. Difficult as their task in the Conference was, it was rendered more difficult by their fear to open their lips and, under these circumstances, if they have done very little work in the conference, at least to that extent they have done their duty that we acknowledge (cheers). I again refer you to the Emperor's sentence. "The Empire's need is India's opportunity", and looking to the war situation we may say "The greater the Empire's need the greater is India's opportunity". (hear hear and laughter). How "greater" it is, is matter of the Rule of Three (hear, hear and laughter).

Messrs. Dadasaheb Khaparde and Dr. Munje thanked the meeting for doing them the honour of pan supari, albeit they could not do in the Conference as much as they had expected to do.

Messrs. Tilak, Dadasaheb Khaparde and Dr. Munje being garlanded the meeting was dissolved.

TILAK'S SUPPORT TO GANDHI

(FROM "MY REMINISCENCES" BY D. D. SATHAYE.)

LONDON,

15th May 1919.

My Dear Dr. Sathaye,

Herewith my usual Weekly report.

I have already written before that we should fully support Mr. Gandhi. It is impossible to give you any more definite advice from here ; for by the time it reaches India it is stale and useless.

I am doing all right. My left ankle was sprained on 28th April. But I am now in a position to walk and it will be all right in a week.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) B. G. TILAK.

TILAK'S ACTIVITIES IN ENGLAND

(Extract from the Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence for the year 1919, Paragraph 1253, pages 817-19.)

[A few notes regarding Lokmanya Tilak's activities in England received by the Director of Central Intelligence from England are found in the Bombay Presidency Police Abstract of Intelligence for the year 1919, Paragraph 1253, pages 817-19. They are reproduced below.]

C.I.D., Bombay Presidency, September 27 :—The Director, Central Intelligence, writes:—"Before his departure for England, Tilak sent Lajpatrai a donation of 5,000 dollars for the American Branch of the Home Rule for India League, which was inaugurated on the 22nd October 1917.

The draft was not sent through the post, but was given by Tilak to Mrs. Basant who entrusted it to a Theosophist lady who was returning to America from India.

The following are extracts from notes received from England regarding Tilak's activities there:—

"Tilak was reported to have been taking a keen interest in the military situation, especially as regards the unrest and dissatisfaction in connection with the demobilization. He was kept fully informed by his Labour friends concerning the spreading of Bolshevik tendencies in England, and was hoping, with the down fall of the Government, to find scope for his activities in Labour and Socialistic circles."

"He is also reported to have given £ 2,000 to the Labour party and was much disappointed at the result of the general election."

The Home Rule leaders proposed to come over in 1918 at the height of the German Spring offensive and obtained passports, Tilak being among them. These were, however, revoked. Later Tilak got leave to come over, solely on account of his suit, and landed here on the 19th November 1918. He was subsequently unmuzzled, and despite various accidents, he appeared at several meetings where he skilfully varied his sentiments according to his audience. To the N. L. C. for instance he was strikingly moderate and appealed to the democratic instincts of his audience. To the Cambridge "Majlis" he

was more extreme, and the East and West banner was tentatively unfolded. But from a general view of his speeches, he never went as far as his satellites, and scrupulously avoided advocating the separation of India from the British Empire. He appealed for the self-governing India by the Indians within Empire. The principal complaint was the shortage of foodstuff, the native not having one square meal a day, while profiteers exported large quantities of food to the detriment of the natives.

He maintained that Chelmsford-Montagu Scheme did not go far enough, and that the Indians were quite ripe for self-government and quite sufficiently educated. Tilak himself made none of those incitements to violence and riot that were a feature of his earlier efforts. His imprisonment and fear for his own skin, seem to have sobered him some what, but he attacked the Moderates bitterly for their subservience to the Imperial authorities. The Muhammadan residents in this country, however, do not seem to have been much moved by Mr. Tilak, and only one was present to receive him on his visit to Cambridge.

Tilak's associates.—The Home Rule for India League has, of course, found many common ties with other disruptive forces in the Empire. With the Theosophists, the tie was an old one, but Mrs. Besant seemed somewhat terrified by the spectre of revolt that her restless doctrines had conjured up. Matters had gone farther than she had intended, but on her arrival in this country, some months after Tilak, she seems to have been obliged to make a humble surrender to him. With the Sinn Fein movement, too, Tilak's adherents have formed an alliance; and Sinn Fein speakers, mostly females and frenzied to boot, have addressed meetings, generally off the point, held by the Home Rule for India League. Even more significant is the alliance between Tilak and the Labour Extremists. Tilak seems to have become convinced that a Labour Government is a certainty within a year or so, and he had consequently made himself as pleasant as possible to the I. L. P. in the hope that on reaching power they would grant his demands. He invariably accuses the British Government in India of being "Capitalistic" and grinding down the workers. He has contributed £2,000 to the Labour Party Election Funds, resisting a request to make it £5,000. He and his friends have apparently abandoned all hopes of obtaining their extreme demands from the Liberals—erstwhile defenders of Indian nationalisation, and now set aside as too moderate—vide Montagu—and have transferred their affections to the Socialists.

Robert Williams, Robert Smillie, George Lansbury and Joshian Wedgewood figure among his patrons and speakers at his meetings. Baptista seems to be generally used as go-between.

Tilak's three companions, Karandikar of Satara, his legal adviser and ostensibly a "moderate" and very wealthy; Vasudev Joshi, a printer, and Namjoshi (both of Poona) are his bodyguards and personal attendants.

The Indian Home Rule League in England is designed to establish a centre to train and educate the younger men in politics of an extreme kind. They are prepared to wait ten years to attempt to overthrow British domination. The promoters also intend to work up enthusiasm for Indian Home Rule among British students, especially in the Universities; to interest the Muhammadan world in the cause; to encourage Japanese competition and to make a great Pan-Hindu Budhistic propaganda. Hence Tilak's visit to Cambridge and especially careful attention given to the students.

As a contrast to the studied moderation of Tilak's language in public, it is worth noting that in the course of a conversation about New Years' day, he expressed his disbelief that India would ever be granted Home Rule, stated that the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme was purely a blind, instanced Egypt still a slave despite her control over her own finances, army, commercial contracts and industrial developments and stated that only by a "clean cut", by a complete severance from England, can India look to become a nation among nations.

Tilak was also in constant communication with Lajpatrai at New York, and, both in U. K. and U. S. A., a Press campaign of the movement was inaugurated. Edgar Wallace was especially useful for this scheme.

He (Tilak) has the strongest hopes of the deliverance of India by the Bolsheviki, and was delighted with the Afganistan imbroglio and the Amritsar riots, which occurred as a result of Gandhi's agitations.

Tilak applied for permission to go to Paris for the Peace Conference, but a visa was refused.

In March 1919 it was reported that Tilak's party was trying to oust the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and Tilak asserted that they were associated with the India Office. The result was a quarrel between him and Mr. Polak, acting editor of India,

The Labour leaders published a manifesto protesting against the 'mailed fist' in India, the bombing of inoffensive citizens and the incompetence and ignorance of the officials, and demanded the disallowance of the Rowlatt acts (May 1st).

Recently the breach between Mrs. Besant and the Theosophists and Joseph Baptista and the Extremists seems widening.

The Extremists also laughed at Gandhi's idealism. Tilak has admitted that his conversion from Extremists idea—though his recent speech at Cambridge was little less than an inducement to the Indian students to riot—has been due to the desire to please the Labour Party and win over the Moderates.

Tilak feels that the present situation of affairs is full of possible developments and affords an opportunity which should be utilised. He attaches importance to the German-Japanese question, the American-Japanese question and the Russo-Indian question. He feels, too, that the position of Rabindranath Tagore might help his schemes. Tagore enjoys a universal reputation and in many quarters is held in reverence. His words and his acts are consequently taken to be authoritative and important. He could make a second Tolstoy, and would be a splendid intermediary between the Indian leaders and the Japanese in connection with the hopes of the Japanese militarists to stand well with the former so as to use them as a lever in coming troubles with England. Tagore is highly esteemed in Japan, and Tilak is counselling a development of these ideas, and a refusal to accept anything which Government may offer. There must be, he thinks, a regrouping of the powers within the next year or two; these would bring about results which could easily be manipulated for the complete severance of India from England. He therefore advises the younger men to equip themselves with the best knowledge obtainable, especially in technical matters so as to be prepared to do their part when the time comes.

Regarding the members of the Select Committee Tilak thinks the Committee's constitution curious. All the seven members are men, he says, who oppose Indian reform in one way or another. It is true that Lord Sinha, one of them, is an Indian but his feelings are lukewarm. Even if he were whole hearted in the matter he is beset with the influence of the other members, and at the very best could only be one against six. Tilak does not wish the Reform Bill to go through, so that he may have a peg to hang his grievances on when he returns to India.

He expressed his intention of sending telegrams of congratulation to the King-Emperor, the Prime Minister and Mr. Montagu on Peace Day as from the Indian National Congress. Reports that he had done so would be sent to India, 'showing how loyal they are to the Throne'. It is not known if the telegrams were actually sent.

BOMBAY LABOURERS HONOUR TILAK

(From Bombay Secret Abstract, 1920, Paragraph 95.)

January 19th.—On the 29th November 1919, an open air meeting attended by about 10,000 was convened behind the Elphinstone mills by the leaders of the labouring classes for the purpose of presenting an address to Tilak, their Chosen representative for the Washington Labour Congress, on his return from England.

The President Mawji Govindji opened the proceedings with a brief speech after which the address was read out and handed over to Tilak.

Tilak then received garlands from numerous mills and associations, after which he spoke as follows :—

Everyone in this country could be described as a majur or labourer. In this respect the Hindu and Christian religions differed, the latter regarding work as a curse ; the former as a blessing, and man's greatest desire, according to the poet Tukaram, to be born and born again to do the work ordained by God. It is wrong, therefore, to distinguish between men as labourers and masters. The idea originated in England and has been brought to India, but must not be allowed to spread. The English had begun to realise that it was wrong.

Under the old mirasi system everyone owned some land and was both master and labourer, an ideal state. The land could not be taken from him, but now the Government often assumed the ownership. In fact, the present system was that all the land belonged to Government who let it out on 30-year contracts provided the tenant paid the revenue. If he failed, it mattered not though the land had been in his family for generations, it lapsed to Government. It was a remarkable fact that whereas formerly the 80 per cent. of the population who form the agriculturist class used to own

their land, now Government owns it. In England, on the other hand, the Government were anxious to transfer ownership to the farmer. Thus there was one law for England and another for India, and they were still dependent on the whims of their rulers. An author had once said : " O God, make me a dog but not a servant ". Once Indians were all masters, now they have all become servants. They had to pay revenue which was spent by others. All had become slaves, all Sudras.

The speaker then compared wages in India and England. The labourer in India, who used to get 2 annas a day, now owing to the war, gets 12 annas or in English money, 1 shilling ; while in England an ordinary Constable draws Rs. 150 a month and a tram way conductor £ 4 a week. His audience could imagine the luxury they lived in. He should warn them, however, that wealth was a comparative term and depended on the buying capacity of money. In England everyone was much poorer than they had been before the war. The conclusion he wished to draw was that it was preferable to increase the happiness of the labourer than his wages ; that a man's pay must be proportionate to his expenses, and this was not the case in Bombay as many from the mofussil had discovered. In former times, under a more suitable form of administration, the labouring classes were fortunate in this respect, but the present Government had upset this. It was a wise, prudent Government no doubt, but it wanted to produce wealth from their labours and to reduce them all to labourers, while the wealth was sent out of the country. This state of things must be replaced by the old one when all were kings and independent. Government would not willingly allow this to happen, but might do so under compulsion. The Indian labouring classes are more intelligent than their English confreres, not better educated perhaps, but, though illiterate, better able to earn a living. At the same time he strongly advocated the English system of free compulsory education and its adoption in India.

He next at some length explained why he had not gone to Washington in connection with the Labour Conference, the gist of which was that having been elected by the labourers as their representative, he declined to go as an assistant to the man selected by Government.

Proceeding, he said he had brought them a message from the English Labouring classes. It was that they should form Trade Unions ; and the stronger these were, the sooner they would obtain their rights. They must not be deterred by opposition in this respect.

He strongly recommended unity between the different castes of Hindus and between Hindus and Muhammandans. There was no sense in inter-caste quarrels for while they were quarrelling a stranger was reaping the benefit. Similarly, the Mussalmans had been, more or less, openly supported against the Hindus ; but what had they gained—the demolition of Turkey. The whole thing was obviously a game. Government merely wanted to test the power possessed by the people, so it devolved upon the people to combine and assert themselves. The speaker could do nothing for them unless they first made an effort to help themselves.

One thing they should quickly realise, namely, that it was the duty of the State to provide every worker with work. Every one had a right to demand work and should demand it. In England if a man could not find employment he asked Government and if they could not give him any they fed him from an unemployment fund. There Government were careful of the interests of the working men, knowing them to be their own interests, whereas out here the Government did nothing and merely obstructed when others tried to do something—a dog in the manger policy, in fact. He referred to the strikes in Ahmedabad when the strikers, backed up by Gandhi struck three times and finally got what they wanted. The more such things occurred, the more civilised a country became.

The Bureaucrats or white Brahmins, as they were called by some, must be got rid of. He was proud of the fact that he himself was a Black Brahmin with a white heart and not a white one with a black heart. No one could be a true Brahmin, Kshatria, Vaishya or Sudra whose heart was black.

Concluding, he said they must sink all differences and make a combined effort to emancipate themselves. England took many years to be freed from *zulum*. India having England's experiences to go upon, need not take so long and would succeed in ten years.

TILAK'S DEATH AND BOMBAY ASSEMBLY

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING 7TH AUGUST 1920, PAGE 2, PARAGRAPH 7.)

Mahratta, 8th August 1920.

“Those who seek equity must do equity” is a well-known maxim. With just a little alteration in words we may say that these who seek co-operation must do co-operation. We regret His Excellency

the Governor showed a remarkable lack of both tactfulness and fair mindedness in disallowing a resolution which the Honourable Mr. Belvi wanted to move at the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council. The resolution related to the late Lokamanya Tilak, but was framed in words which might secure universal assent. The resolution was worked as follows : "This Council places on record its deep regret at the recent death of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a former member of this Council, a great oriental scholar and a prominent worker in the cause of the country and held in high estimation by a large number of the people of the India." The letter to the President of the Legislative Council, craving permission to move the resolution, was signed by about 17 non-official members, some of whom might even be described as the political opponents of Mr. Tilak..... To such an urgent and influentially signed requisition His Excellency the President was pleased to reply that the motion was out of order for want of notice. We are aware that notices of motions have to be given a certain number of days in advance, but it is a matter of mere common-sense that this was precisely one of those motions of which "due notice" cannot possibly be given. We hear the Honourable Mr. Belvi, naturally resenting such ungracious treatment in a matter of this moment, observed in a sharply sarcastic manner to His Excellency the Governor, when he orally disallowed the resolution, that it was certainly improper for Mr. Tilak to have so ill-timed his death as not to allow due notice to be given of a motion relating to that event. We all know the spirit which actuated His Excellency in refusing the permission asked for by Mr. Belvi. We only hope that the Honourable member and those who sympathise with him will make effective retaliation whenever in future they have an occasion for it. And occasion of this sort will not be wanting, for Mr. Tilak is not the only person who so ill-times his death, nor Mr. Belvi the only person who wishes to move a resolution of this character. Personality is a game at which more than one can play, and it is not difficult for non-official members to make it occasionally hot and unpleasant for Government if they be bent upon it."

TILAK AND MILL STRIKES

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT OF 1920, PARAGRAPH 60, PAGE 54.)

Poona, January 12th.—The Commissioner, Central Division, writes:—"After discussing the Shanwar Wada, I asked Tilak if he had a pleasant time in England and the conversation turned on the

pressure of prices in England and India, and the present mill strikes in Bombay were mentioned. Tilak said that they were due to economic causes, and the men were demanding a rise in wages of 50 per cent. (including the 35 per cent. which they got last year), whereas their cost of living had risen by 100 per cent. I remarked that the strikes were evidently due to economic causes as he said, unless they were due to agitation. Tilak made no reply to this and kept his eyes on the ground. During the conversation he said that he thought it was the duty of Government to make the mill owners give better wages and to introduce legislation for the purpose, if necessary, and to introduce a profiteering law or real control of prices. The two main functions of any Government were, he said, to protect a country against external aggression and its people against misery. In his opinion the people of this country had been too patient in suffering under high prices. Speaking of conditions in England, he saw great changes coming in ten years, but he made it clear that all he meant was a Labour Government and not a military revolution. He admitted that many of the English Labour leaders were sensible men and that English working men were at heart conservative. Asked whether Indian working men were conservative, he said he thought they were, and not likely to be attracted by Bolshevism. Asked how the mill-hands in Bombay managed to support themselves during the strike, he said "Partly out of their savings and partly by charity". He had been arguing that their wages were wholly inadequate and failed to see the inconsistency in his reference to their savings. He said the Bhatias of Bombay (other than mill owners) were largely supporting the strikers.

Asked whether he had done penance for his stay in England, he said he had not done so, but would give a few shillings (sic) to the priests on some suitable opportunity and that would make things all right; meanwhile he was accepted everywhere as a Brahmin within the fold. He spoke slightly about penances and old religious practices generally; and I asked him what had become of his orthodoxy. He said he was still partly orthodox and partly not, and all the world knew of the change in his beliefs. "But," he said, "though the Hindus are changing their religious practices, they retain their belief in their gods". On rising to depart he thanked me for the interview and said that he was not very well but had come to keep his appointment. I think he expected me to approach him with regard to political projects and I seemed to detect disappointment in his face when I told him that I had asked him to come and see me about the Shanwar Wada. In fact I think it probable that his inability to concentrate his mind on the non-political subject which I broached, was due to his disappointment."

LOKMANYA TILAK'S OSEQUIES

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT OF 1920, PAGES 1155, 1174,
PARAGRAPHS 1131, 1162.)

Bombay City, August 3rd.—Tilak's Obsequies and the inauguration of Non-co-operation.—August 1st, 2nd and 3rd.—The third Caliphate Day passed peacefully. Except for some damage done by non-cooperating gharrywalls to three of four victorias which were playing for hire, and for demonstration by the mourners in Tilak's funeral procession designed to secure the removal of the headgear of covered spectators, no manifestation of violence and no regrettable incidents occurred anywhere. The suspension of work was complete in the heart of the city and in the business quarters ; but became less and less marked as the distance from the centre of things increased. It was complete during the middle hours of the day, after the news of Tilak's death had become generally known. All the mills and most of the markets were closed. No performances were given in the theatres during the day ; but in the evening the Cinemas were open. Very few public conveyances were to be seen, though the tramways, like other Municipal and Public services, worked as usual on Sundays. Tea, bidi and pan shops did not close at all.

Throughout the forenoon large crowds thronged the neighbourhood of the Sardar Griha Hotel, in the first floor varandah of which, from an early hour of the morning, the dead body of Tilak was seated in state in full view of the spectators below. Shortly after the arrival of the special train from Poona, the funeral procession started from Carnac Road. After traversing for three hours some of the densest parts of the city, the body was finally placed, between 5 and 6 p.m., on a pyre erected on Chowpatty foreshore and there burnt in the presence of large crowd. But for the heavy rain which fell at intervals throughout the day, the mourning crowds would have been larger even than they were. Two more special trains arrived from Poona later in the day. The evening meeting at Mastan Tank was not a large affair. Not more than 4,000 persons attended. The speeches were moderate. There were no surprises in the way of announcements of resignations of titles or otherwise. Owing doubtless to the unsettled weather conditions, the meeting broke up much earlier than usual.

As a test of the strength of feeling in regard to non-co-operation the day was a failure. Tilak's death, combined with normal Sunday conditions, would probably have produced, in any case, phenomena differing little either in kind or in degree from those above recorded.

Hindus and Muhammadans, with their respective leaders, participated in normal proportions in all the day's observances.

The hartal was continued as a mark of respect for Tilak throughout August 2nd. Though less generally observed than on the previous day, it caused some anxiety and occasioned some minor disturbances. Interference with traffic was reported from Ripon Road and Grant Road. On Frere Road Road iron drain pipes were placed across the tram lines thereby stopping the trams, and bullocks were taken out of laden carts. At Colaba, the gates of a mill were smashed by a crowd—three or four hundred strong — of Cotton Green employees, who thereby succeeded in compelling the stoppage of work. In the north of the Island a few mills closed down in the early morning, and a larger number after midday. Seven hundred men of the E. B. and C. I. Railway Workshops at Parel refused to work at all ; and after the lunch interval all work ceased at the G. I. P. Railway Workshop at Matunga. Throughout the day large crowds visited the place of Tilak's cremation, to mark which some persons unknown had placed large stones in position. During the evening an unruly crowd, several thousand strong, and carrying a large black flag suddenly appeared at Sandhurst Bridge. Marching to Chowpatty, it took charge of the traffic and by threats and blows compelled all passers by (whether in cars or on foot) to remove their headgear. Before any damage could be done, however, the police on duty, reinforced by a heavy shower, restored order and dispersed the mob. During the evening all was quiet. The day's observances ended with a public meeting attended by a few hundred Hindus and presided over by Khaparde to express regret at Tilak's death and to sympathise with his relatives.

On August 2nd, the activities of the various Corps of Volunteers were distinctly questionable, especially during the earlier part of the day. They persuaded open shops to close. In at least one instance they interfered with traffic and they accompanied, without attempting to check the unruly mob at Chowpatty. Khatri and the heads of some of the Hindu Corps were finally summoned by the commissioner of Police and sent off to keep their men in order. On being apprised of the disturbances, Gandhi and Chotani went round the town and so helped to maintain peace.

On August 3rd, conditions were practically normal again. In the morning a large crowd of mill-hands tried, but, though some damage was done by stones, failed to stop working mills. The day was otherwise undisturbed.

Bombay City, August 9th.—TILAK'S tenth day observances passed without regrettable incident. The hartal was general

and, if anything, more complete than that of the 1st August, though of course, it was predominantly Hindu in character. was general and, if anything, more complete than that of the 1st August, though, of course, it was predominantly Hindu in character. No previous hartal had evoked so much interest among the mill-hands, the dock-labourers, and the railway workmen of Bombay. The mills were all shut, and though the docks and the railway workshops remained for the most part in action the men absented themselves therefrom in large numbers. Crowds streamed down to Chowpatty throughout the day for the purpose both of bathing in the sea and of visiting the spot where Tilak was cremated. Numerous small processions, one or two of considerable size, moved during the morning through the larger thoroughfares towards the sea or to one of the advertised public meetings. But the crowds were nowhere enormous and the peace was never broken.

Telegrams of condolence were received from several Associations of Indians abroad as well as from the Khilafat deputation in Europe. One of these telegrams, that from Sacramento, California, is worthy of reproduction :—

“Convey on behalf of Hindustanis in America to Indian National Congress their mourning consolation on the death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak who passed exerting his efforts to liberate India from foreign yoke. We unitedly feel this great loss to India on this occasion. Publish this”.

A movement is on foot to approach Government to reserve, for the purposes of a public memorial, the exact spot on which Tilak was cremated. Copies of petitions to this effect have been published in the Sandesh and are being circulated for signature. In this connection, it is to be noted that the editor of the Sandesh (A. B. Kolhatkar) was subjected to personal violence when he rose to speak at one of the meetings of condolence.

TILAK'S MANIFESTO—CONGRESS DEMOCRATIC PARTY—1920

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT OF 1920, PARAGRAPH 701.)

April 28th.—The following manifesto by Tilak appeared in the *Mahratta* of the 18th April :—

Mr. TILAK has sent us the following for publication :—“The Congress Democratic Party, as the name denotes, is a party animated

by feeling of unswerving loyalty to the Congress and faith in Democracy. It believes in the potency of democratic doctrines for the solution of Indian problems, and regards the extension of education and political franchise as two of its best weapons. It advocates the removal of all civic, secular, or social disabilities based on caste or customs. It believes in religious toleration, the sacredness of one's religion to one self, and the right and duty of the state to protect it against aggression. This party supports the claim of the Muhammadans for the solution of the Khilfat question according to Mahammadan dogmas, beliefs and the tenets of the Koran.

This party believes in the integration or federation of India in the British Commonwealth for the advancement of the cause of humanity and the brotherhood of mankind but demands autonomy for India and equal status as a sister-state with every other partner in the British Commonwealth including Great Britain. It insists upon equal citizenship for Indians throughout the Commonwealth, and effective retaliation whenever it is denied. It welcomes the League of Nations as an instrument for guaranteeing and enforcing the peace of the world, integrity of states, and freedom and honour of nations and nationalities, and for ending the exploitation of one country by another.

This party emphatically asserts the fitness of India for Representative and Responsible Government, and claims for the people of India, on the principles of self-determination, the exclusive right of fashioning the form of government and determining the most appropriate Constitution for India. It regards the Montagu Reforms Act as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" and will strive to remedy the defects by introducing, with the aid of the members of the Labour party and other sympathisers in British Parliament, at the earliest opportunity, a New Reforms Bill for establishing full Responsible Government in India, including full Military control, full Fiscal freedom, and an exhaustive Declaration of Rights with constitutional guarantees. To achieve this object, it contemplates and recommends a resolute and energetic campaign in India and in the countries represented on the League of Nations. In this matter the party's watchword will be "Educate, Agitate and Organise."

This party proposes to work the Montagu Reforms Act for all it is worth, and for accelerating the grant of full responsible government; and for this purpose it will without hesitation offer co-operation or resort to constitutional opposition whichever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular will.

Apart from the foregoing aims and principles, the partly platform will contain the following planks, but it does not profess to be exhaustive :—

IMPERIAL.

(1) Repeal of all repressive legislation (e.g. the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act, the Arms Act, etc.); the introduction of trial by a jury of one's own countrymen especially in cases of offences against the State; the abolition of rigorous imprisonment for such offences, and jail reform with the view of placing offenders of all classes on a par with similar offenders in Great Britain.

(2) Securing for the labouring classes, agricultural and industrial, a fair share of the fruits of labour, a fair minimum wage, reasonable hours of work, decent house accommodation, and adjustment of relationship between capital and labour on equitable basis, and promoting organisations suitable for the purpose.

(3) Control of the export of foodstuffs and other necessities of life by tariff or by other methods with a view of reducing the prices thereof and conserving supplies.

(4) Promotion of Swadeshism and Development of Indian Industries by all recognised methods including State subsidies and protective tariff.

(5) Nationalisation of railways and regulation of railway tariffs by legislation with a view to assist industrial development and to abolish privileges and favouritism in their working.

(6) Retrenchment first and foremost in every department especially in the Military expenditure, and taxation when imperative or desirable; but taxation graduated according to the capacity of various classes, corporations or individuals so that the burden may be proportionate to the means of wealth of the taxpayer.

(7) Creation of a citizen army, officered by Indians; naval, aerial and military education; and Commissions for Indians in all military services without racial discrimination.

(8) Recruitment of all services by open competitive examinations in India.

(9) Promotion of National unity by such means as the establishment of a *lingua franca* for all India, betterment of relations

between followers of different religions, and especially a Hindu-Moslem Entente.

(10) Readjustment of provinces on linguistic basis.

PROVINCIAL.

(1) Immediately securing full popular autonomy for the provinces.

(2) Permanent Rayatwari settlement on the Basis of an equitable assessment.

(3) Village control over reserved and protected forests in regard to pasturage, fuel, dealwood, and use of minor products.

(4) Absolute prohibition of Veth, Bigar and Sarbarai.

(5) Education through the vernaculars as high as possible.

(6) Free and compulsory education without distinction of sex, and special contributions and increased grants-in-aid from State funds to Municipalities and Local Boards to carry out this object immediately.

(7) Restoration of Village Panchayats with administrative and Judicial powers.

(8) Abolition of drink.

(9) Extension of the franchise without sex distinction.

(10) Sanitation upon a systematic basis under a Minister of Health.

(11) Carrying out departmental reforms already enunciated and approved by popular opinion, e.g., agricultural development, extension of irrigation, co-operative movement, industrial and technical education suitable to the needs of the country, organised medical relief and encouragement to indigenous systems of medicine.

Upon this programme the party appeals for votes and support for candidates pledged to these principles with the fullest confidence of receiving an enthusiastic response so as to ensure victories in the coming election battles."

LOKMANYA TILAK'S MEMORIAL

(FROM BOMBAY POLICE COMMISSIONER'S FILE NO. 3074/H/1924.)

[The following letter shows how the Collector of Bombay was unwilling to give permission to erect any memorial of Lokmanya Tilak.]

BOMBAY COLLECTOR'S OFFICE,

Old Custom House,

2nd August, 1924.

Returned. I learn unofficially from the Commissioner of Police who has verified the fact by inquiry at Mr. Boyd, the then Commissioner of Police that permission to cremate the late Mr. Tilak on Chowpatty sands was given on the understanding that no memorial or enclosures be erected there.

2. The Commissioner of Police considers that the request of the Corporation should not receive any consideration, as it would establish a most inconvenient precedent. He sees no justification or necessity for an enclosure.

3. He says the Mohammedans would not like a memorial to Mr. Tilak erected on the sands, but for political reasons they would not probably raise active opposition.

4. I agree with the Commissioner of Police and Executive Engineer, that the enclosure is neither desirable nor necessary. Government by giving land or permission to enclose land and so form a memorial to a man who spent his life opposing Government, finally by methods for which he got 6 years' imprisonment, would put themselves in a foolish position. Such a memorial would be a nuisance as becoming a centre of attraction and demonstration by political extremists. (It was to avoid such probabilities that General Kitchener destroyed the Mahdi's tomb at Khartoum). It would also become a serious obstruction to any future scheme for developing the shore for the benefit of the public. The area of the beach is very limited. The public frequent the beach in crowds. Complaints are often made about boats and stalls being allowed to take up space. A Tilak enclosure would be an additional obstruction. Before long, as usually happens in Bombay, a pujari would take up residence in the enclosure, get permission to erect a dwelling, or

more likely put up one without leave, a temple would next be applied for, or put up, and an intolerable nuisance arise. Other political leading lights like Mr. Gandhi etc., would be cremated there. The same thing would occur in their cases and could hardly be refused if once given, and the beach in time would become a regular cemetery.

5. Large crowds of the community like Mahomedans who are two lakhs in Bombay, and Christians objected to Mr. Tilak and his methods, and would dislike the enclosure.

6. With reference to the wording of the Corporation's Resolution, the place of cremation will not disappear and so it needs no protection from disappearance or inability to identify it.

7. Permission should therefore be refused. It is open to the admirers of Mr. Tilak to provide a memorial including ground for it at their own expense.

(Signed) J. P. BRANDER,

Collector of Bombay.

असहकारितेविषयीं खुद्द टिळकांचेच उद्गार !

(खाडिलकरांचा लेखसंग्रह भा. २ पानें १४६-९२.)

कलकत्त्याच्या ज्यादा राष्ट्रीय सभेचें अध्यक्षस्थान आपण स्वीकाराल कां, अशा प्रकारचा प्रश्न खाजगी पत्रानें बंगालचे बॅरिस्टर दास यांनीं टिळकांना केला होता. दोन्ही बाजूंनीं २।४ दिवस बरीच चर्चा होऊन टिळकांनीं अखेरीस कलकत्त्याच्या ज्यादा काँग्रेसचें अध्यक्षपद आपणास नको, असें बंगाल्यास कळविलें होतें. हा निकाल बंगाल्यास कळविल्यानंतर पुणें सोडून मुंबईस यावयाच्या शेवटल्या दिवशीं सकाळीं प्रस्तुत लेखकाची व टिळकांची गांठ तास दोन तास पडली होती. त्यावेळीं झालेली चर्चा दोघांच्या आयुष्यांतील शेवटचीच चर्चा होय, असें कोणासहि वाटलें नव्हतें.

“मी आज मुंबईस जात आहे आणि तुम्हांस सांगलीस जावयाचें आहे, तेव्हां घटकाभर कांहीं गोष्टींचा खल करूं या”, असें म्हणून टिळकांनीं या भाषणास सुरवात केली होती. कलकत्त्याच्या राष्ट्रीय सभेचें अध्यक्षस्थान न स्वीकारण्यांत आपण कोणचें राजकीय धोरण नजरेपुढें ठेविलें आहे, हें त्यांनीं त्या प्रसंगीं विशद करून

सांगितलें. “महात्मा गांधी यांची असहकारितेची तत्वे कोणाहि विचारी पुरुषास अमान्य होण्यासारखी नाहीत. तथापि निरनिराळ्या व्यवसायांच्या व दर्जांच्या लोकांत तीं निरनिराळ्या प्रमाणांत अंमलांत येण्याचा संभव असल्यामुळें या प्रमाणाच्या भेदाला अनुसरून कलकत्याच्या राष्ट्रीय सभेंत २।४ तट दृष्टीस पडल्यावांचून राहणार नाहीत आणि कदाचित् या तटांमुळें कलकत्याच्या राष्ट्रीय सभेचे २।३ तुकडे होण्याचा संभव आहे. हे तुकडे होऊं नयेत म्हणून त्यावेळीं मोठ्या जोराची खटपट करावी लागेल आणि निरनिराळ्या पक्षांना राष्ट्रीय सभेच्या ४।९ वर्षे संघटित झालेल्या राजकीय शक्तींत कमीपणा आणूं नका, असें आग्रहपूर्वक सांगून राष्ट्रीय सभेची शक्ति या नात्याची जूट कायम ठेवण्याचा उद्योग मला करावा लागेल. निरनिराळ्या तटांची ही तोंडमिळवणी तडजोडीनें व मोकळेपणानें मला करतां यावी म्हणून मी अध्यक्षपद स्वीकारलें नाहीं. मवाळ निघून गेल्यानंतर राष्ट्रीय सभेची शक्ति कमी न होऊं देण्याचें काम अध्यक्षीयांच्या मानाहून मला अधिक महत्त्वाचें वाटत आहे. राष्ट्रीय सभेंत मतभेद असले तरी राष्ट्रीय सभेच्या हल्लींच्या अनुयायांनीं एकोप्यानें वागूनच नोकरशाहीशीं झुंजलें पाहिजे. एरवीं स्वराज्याचें पाऊल पुढें पडणार नाहीं मी कलकत्याच्या राष्ट्रीय सभेचें अध्यक्षस्थान स्वीकारीत नाहीं याचें कारण हा असला एकोपा राखण्यास माझा अधिक उपयोग होईल, असेंच मला वाटत आहे. कोणत्याहि एका मताचा अभिमान मी यावेळीं धरतां कामा नये; आणि राष्ट्रीय सभेचे सर्व अनुयायी एका मार्गानें वागतील, अशी खबरदारी घेणें याप्रसंगीं मला अधिक कल्याणप्रद वाटत आहे”. अध्यक्षस्थान नको म्हणण्याच्या वेळचे टिळकांचे वरील विचार ज्यांना ज्यांना माहीत आहेत त्यांना त्यांना कलकत्याच्या राष्ट्रीय सभेनंतर राष्ट्रीय पक्षानें कायदे कौन्सिलांत जाण्याचें नाकारलें तें टिळकांच्या तोंडच्या खुद्द आज्ञेमुळेंच नाकारलें, याविषयीं बिलकूल संशय नाहीं. कलकत्याच्या काँग्रेसनंतर महात्मा गांधी यांची चळवळ फार जोरावर येईल आणि या चळवळींत आपणास महात्मा गांधीप्रमाणें जोरानें पडावें लागेल, हें टिळकांना पूर्णपणें मान्य होतें. सदर संभाषणाच्या वेळीं त्यांनीं तसें बोलून दाखविलें होतें. अशा रीतीनें चळवळ एकदोन महिन्यांतच जोरावर आल्यावर महात्मा गांधी व टिळक ह्या दोघांनाहि नोकरशाही अटकेंत ठेवील असा खुद्द टिळकांचा अंदाज होता. आणि या अंदाजाच्या दृष्टीनें स्वतःच्या वर्तनासंबंधानें विचार त्यांनीं प्रस्तुत लेखकापुढें त्यावेळीं मांडले होते. अशा रीतीनें नोकरशाहीच्या अटकेंत पडण्यापेक्षां विलायतेस वर्षे सहा महिने जाऊन रहाणें बरें, असें मला वाटत असल्यामुळें मुंबईस गेल्यावर तशा व्यवस्थेला अंशतः मी सुरवात करणार आहे असें टिळकांनीं बोलून दाखविले. युरोपखंडांत किंवा विलायतेस रहाण्यापेक्षां येथें अटकेंत पडला म्हणून काय बिघडलें, अशी शंका विचारली असतां टिळक म्हणाले कीं, “अटकेंत” शरारीचे हाल होतील किंवा

एकांतवासानें त्रास होईल म्हणून मी अटक टाळू पहातो, असें नाही. कारण अटकेंत ठेवण्यांत शारीरिक दुःखें सोसावयास लावण्याचा नोकरशाहीचा हेतूच नाही. या हेतुनें अटक करण्यांत येईल असें मला वाटत नाही. महात्मा गांधी यांच्या इच्छे-प्रमाणें जर खिलापतीची व असहकारितेची चळवळ चांगली जोरावर आली तर पूर्ण स्वराज्याच्या हक्का संबंधानें लोकांशीं बोलणें लावणें नोकरशाहीला भाग पडेल, आणि अशा बोलण्याच्यावेळीं काँग्रेसनें तडजोडीला यावें म्हणून, अटकेंत ठेवलेल्या पुढाऱ्यांना सोडून देण्याच्या मध्याचें बोट जसें पुढें करण्यांत येतें तसें मध्याचें बोट तयार करण्या-करितां आम्हांस अटकेंत ठेवण्यांत येईल, असें मला वाटतें. आणि मग या मध्याच्या बोटाला भुलून पूर्ण स्वराज्याची मागणी न करतां अर्धवट तडजोडीला पुढाऱ्या वरील प्रेमांमुळे अनुयायी तयार होतात अशी मला भीति वाटत आहे. कांहीं कमकुवत लोक तर असल्या बोलण्याचालण्याच्या वेळीं अगदीं थोडक्यावरच खूप होतील, आणि पुढाऱ्यांना सोडविण्याकरितां आम्ही असें केलें असा बहाणा करून आपल्या बुद्धीचा दुर्बलपणा झाकूं लागतील, तसें होऊं नये अशी माझी उत्कट इच्छा आहे. दुर्बलपणानें ब्रिलकुल कमी माप घेतां कामा नये. पुरें माप पदरांत न पडण्यास माझी अटक कदाचित् कारणीभूत होण्याचा संभव मला दिसत असल्यामुळे ती मी टाळू पहात आहे. तशा प्रसंगी हिंदुस्थानांत अटकेंतच आपण असल्यावर आपणाशीच तडजोडाचा बोलणें चालणें करण्यास नोकरशाहीला ठीक पडणार नाही काय ? असा प्रश्न विचारला असतां टिळकांनीं स्वच्छ सांगितलें कीं, “माझ्याशी सलोख्याचें बोलणें नोकरशाही कधींही बोलणार नाही. माझें पूर्वचरित्र असेंच आहे कीं, असलें बोलणें नोकरशाही माझ्याशीं कधीं काळीं बोलेल असें कोणीहि मनांत आणूं नये, ज्याच्या मनांत असें येईल त्याला मनुष्य स्वभाव समजत नाही असें मी म्हणेन. असल्या कामास माझा हा देह पूर्व-चरित्रांमुळे आतां निरुपयोगी झाला आहे. किंबहुना मी सल्लामसलतींत आहे असें पाहून हडाहडानें नोकरशाही प्रसंग आला असतांहि असल्या बोलण्यापासून पराङ्मुख होईल. तेव्हां तें काम आपल्या नशीबी असणें शक्य नाही असें समजूनच अटकेंतून सोडविण्याच्या मोहास बळी पडूं नयेत म्हणून महात्मा गांधी यांची चळवळ जोरावर आल्यावर मला हिंदुस्थान सोडून बाहेर जाणें भाग आहे. ही चळवळ जोरावर येईल आणि नोकरशाहीला स्वराज्याचें बोलणें लोकांशीं बोलण्यास भाग पाडील, असें मला स्पष्ट दिसत आहे. तसला तो प्रसंग समीप आल्यानंतर सलोख्याच्या वाटाघाटीचे वेळीं हिंदुस्थानास माझा कांहींहि उपयोग नाही, हें मी ओळखून आहे. येथें काम नाही तर रहा तरी कशाला ? उलट अटकेंत पडून अपुरें माप हिंदुस्थानच्या पदरांत पडण्यास पर्यायानें मी कारणीभूत होण्याची मला भीति वाटत आहे. म्हणून कांहीं महिन्यांनीं हिंदुस्थानातून बाहेर जाण्याच्या विचारांत मी आहे.” तास दोन तास चाललेल्या संभाषणांतील वरील महत्वाचे मुद्दे आज आम्ही वाचकांपुढें मांडले आहेत.

[The above extract of an article by K. P. Khadilkar, (pages 146 to 152 of the collection of his articles, part 2) gives the gist of an important discussion Khadilkar had with Lok. Tilak on the day the latter left for Bombay, where he died after a fortnight. C. R. Das had pressed Tilak to accept the presidentship of the Special session of the Congress at Calcutta, which the latter declined to do. When asked why he refused to accept the responsibility, Tilak gave the following reasons :—

Gandhi's dynamic programme of Non-co-operation was sure to be effective. But there was every possibility of the programme being not acceptable to all to the same degree. There was fear that there would be three or four different groups in the Congress formed on this issue. Tilak wanted to stop such groupings. He wanted to work for unanimity on the issue, which he could do only if he was free from the responsibility of the Presidentship. Absolute unity among the ranks of the Congress had to be preserved if Gandhi's programme was to be made successful.

During the course of the talk Tilak expressed his desire to go to England and work there for the Swarajya movement. When asked why he thought his stay in England would be more useful, Tilak stated that Gandhi's movement was sure to gain momentum within a short period and when the movement spread among the people government was sure to arrest him (Tilak) and Gandhi. Tilak thought that when both of them were in jail attention of the people would be diverted from the issue of Swarajya to the release of the leaders and government would offer terms for their release, which, he was afraid some weak minded people would accept even at the cost of diluting the country's demand for Independence. Tilak wanted to save the country from this danger. Hence he thought it better for him to avoid jail by going out of India. He also felt that government would never try to negotiate with him on the issue of Swarajya, as they thought him to be absolutely uncompromising.]

THE REVOLUTIONARIES

1

CHAPEKAR BROTHERS

CHAPEKAR BROTHERS

[If the news of the murders of two European Officers—Mr. Rand, the Special Plague Officer in Poona and Lieutt. Ayerst, had given shock to the official world in India, the news of executions of four young patriots (1 Damodar Hari Chapekar (Executed—18th April 1898), (2) Balkrishna Hari Chapekar (Executed—12th May 1899), (3) Wasudeva Hari Chapekar (Executed—8th May 1899) and their accomplice (4) Mahadeva Vinayak Ranade (10th May 1899) must have spread horror and discontent in the country. According to the Sedition Committee Report “indications of a revolutionary movement were first observed in Western India” (Sedition Committee Report, p. 1). This means that these murders form the beginning of these activities. After the 1857 rebellion, Wasudeva Balvant Phadke made an attempt to organise an armed resistance (1877-78). Within another twenty years Chapekar Brothers came forward with their terrorist activities. They did it ‘for the sake of his people’ (D. H. Chapekar’s statement). Atrocities like the pollution of sacred places and the breaking of idols were committed by European soldiers at the time of house searches in Poona. Chapekar tells that they wanted to “take revenge” of this. His statement (8th October 1897) amounts to a confession and he was charged under section 302 of the Indian Penal Code, tried and hanged.

Balkrishna who had remained in hiding was trapped in the Hyderabad State (January 1899). It is said that when he was ill during this period of his wanderings Lokmanya Tilak had made arrangements for giving him medical help at Hyderabad through Shri Keshavrao Koratkar who later on became a Judge of the Hyderabad High Court. It appears, Balkrishna was betrayed by his friend for the consideration of the reward and was arrested.

Wasudev Chapekar, Mahadeo Vinayak Ranade and Sathe were arrested in their attempt to shoot the Chief Police Constable Rama Pandu (9th February 1899). Earlier the same night, they had shot dead Ganesh Shankar Dravid and Ramchandra Shankar Dravid who had supplied information to Mr. Brewin (Superintendent of Police) about the Chapekar brothers.

The case of these four accused was conducted in the month of February. Balkrishna and Vasudeo Chapekar and Ranade were sentenced to death. Balkrishna had made a petition for clemency. One of the High Court Judges, Justice Parsons, “did not find it proved that he (Balkrishna) actually took part in the murder”. He therefore had recommended the Government to exercise their prerogative of mercy. Justice Ranade, it appears, did not agree with

Justice Parsons. All the three accused had made petitions that they be hanged on the same day. This request it seems was rejected, and they made the same petition to Government of India. But that was not complied with and they three were hanged on separate dates (May 1899). Their accomplice Khando Vishnu Sathe was sentenced to ten years R. I.

The autobiography (see appendix; it was originally written in Marathi and was translated into English by the Police; the English version found in the police files is given here) of Damodar Hari gives a vivid picture of his mind, temper, views and his organisation with its aims and objects. He had taken the law in his own hands to punish those who, according to him, were irreligious. He thrashed Prof. Patwardhan, the Editor of 'Sudharak' with an iron bar in the street when he was returning home at midnight. He also had thrashed Prof. Welinkar for accepting Christian Faith. Tilak who was supposed to be the champion of orthodox sections by the social reformers was also not a religious man according to Chapekar. That was the type of his mind. The name of his youth organisation was "Society for the Removal of obstacles to the Hindu Religion." It appears, that the pollution of sacred places and breaking of idols outraged his mind more than any other things.

His petition for mercy made to the Governor of Bombay makes certain very revealing statements. He has alleged that his previous statements were taken by 'force, fraud and inducements' and that he was innocent. He also has stated in it "had some educated person been in my place he would have placed before the Government and the public such a graphic description of the treacherous proceedings of the police as would have amazed the world. Little would I have cared for the sentence of death, if I had possessed sufficient intelligence to unmask the villainy of the wicked so as to put my poor countrymen on their guard". These words clearly indicate the intensity of his mind. He also had told how the police officials harassed him in order that he may involve the names of Tilak and Nattu brothers with the murders. He stoutly refused to submit to such treacherous proposals. The nature of the evidence on which he was tried and convicted deserves attention. Ganesh Shankar Dravid, a convict in jail, twice convicted on counts of forgery for five years, is the chief informant and guide of the investigating officers. Two years before this murder (Rand) Dravid was sent to jail. He was offered liberal promises and it was through this instrument that they collected or connected the link. The lawyers who defended Chapekar were of opinion that there was not enough evidence against him to justify the sentence of death.

Reports of newspapers show with what courage and calmness all these patriots approached the gallows. Chapekar's autobiography (Appendix) reveals certain statements. But he himself has stated that the idea of writing it was not of his liking. Was he compelled by circumstances to write? His introductory remarks explain his mind well. Could it be that his statement in his petition that he was innocent is not true and that even though he was unwilling to write his autobiography, he wrote out courageously with the intention "to serve his country" so that "the details of my mistakes will help to guide those patriots who will come after me."

It appears, that Brewin managed to get the information from Chapekar and also made him write the autobiography. The promises made by him to Chapekar may not have been intended for being fulfilled at all. The relevant point is that statements made by Chapekar in his mercy petition are contradictory to what he has stated in his autobiography.]

REWARD FOR INFORMATION OF CRIMINALS

*Murder of Mr. W. C. Rand, I.C.S. and Lt. Ayerst at Poona
on 22nd June 1897.*

(FROM J. D. VOL. 169, CONFIDENTIAL, COMPILATION No. 1938 OF 1897.)

The Deputy Magistrate, Poona announced on June 25 1897 that "a reward of Rs. 20,000 will be paid to any person or persons not being the actual perpetrators or instigators of these crimes, who will give such information as will lead to the detection and conviction of the perpetrators and instigators of the crimes above mentioned.

(Signed) R. A. LAMB,
District Magistrate, Poona".

A second notification as per G. R. No. 5399, dated 24th July 1897 of the Judicial Department was published in a Gazette extraordinary offering "A free pardon to any person directly or indirectly concerned in, or privy to, either of the above mentioned murders, not being an actual perpetrator or an instigator thereof, on condition of his making such full and true disclosure of the whole of the circumstances within his knowledge relative to the said murders, and also to every other person concerned, whether as principal or abettor, in the commission thereof as will enable the authorities

to obtain the conviction of such person ; for provided, that no part of the aforesaid reward shall be claimable by any police officer.

(Signed) S. W. EDGERLEY,
Secretary to Government."

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S REPORT REGARDING THE MURDER

(J. D. VOL. 169 CONF. COMP. NO. 1938 OF 1897.)

The following confidential report regarding these murders was sent by the Bombay Government to the Secretary of State. Report dated 29th July 1897, No. 52 of 1897 :—

" My Lord,

We have the honour to make the following report for your Lordship's information in regard to the recent murder of two British officers in Poona.

In regard to the actual facts of the occurrence, so far as at present known, we have the honour to state that a State Banquet and reception at Government House, Ganesh Khind, were part of the celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee at Poona on the evening of June 22nd. Bonfires were also lighted on two hills near to Ganesh Khind, and a display of fire works from a hill just outside the grounds of Government House also formed part of the programme. There were thus an unusual number of Natives on the road to Government House, besides the guests who were present at the above functions. The Police arrangements were also more than usual, there being an Assistant Superintendent of Police, an European Inspector, 4 European constables, a Chief constable and 40 constables on duty on the grounds and a jamedar and 4 constables outside. It appears that Lieut. Ayerst and his wife were returning from the reception at Government House to Poona, about midnight, driving in a hired Victoria. There were only two other carriages near theirs, that of Lieut. Lewis and Lieut. Sargent some little way ahead and Mr. Rand's immediately in front of their own. About 600 yards from the gate on Poona road, Mrs. Ayerst noticed a Native seated on the back of the Victoria just ahead of theirs, saw a flash, heard a loud report and saw the Native jump off the Victoria and run off the road into the field to the right.

She thought the man had left off a fire work as a practical joke and remarked on it to her husband. The flash and report startled the horse of Mr. Rand's carriage and made it swerve to the right. She immediately heard a report behind their own carriage. Her husband exclaimed "My God ! I am killed" and fell back. The horse of their carriage dashed forward passing Mr. Rand's carriage on the near side. Mrs. Ayerst found her husband was bleeding and tried to staunch the wound and cried for help. Before the horse could be controlled she came up with the leading Victoria and called out for help. The occupants, Lieuts. Lewis and Sargent, stopped her carriage when they found that Lieut. Ayerst was dead. They stopped the carriage coming up in the hope of it containing a medical man (i.e., Mr. Rand's on which the first shot was fired) and found therein Mr. Rand also seriously wounded. Lieut. Lewis then told Mr. Rand's coachman to drive to the Sassoon Hospital, himself took charge of Mrs. Ayerst and drove to the hospital, while Lieut. Sargent took Lieut. Ayerst's body also to the Sassoon Hospital.

A search party of police despatched by the Assistant Superintendent of Police on the receipt by him of intelligence of the killing of Mr. Ayerst and the wounding of Mr. Rand discovered, early in the morning of Wednesday June. 23rd, in a culvert close to the scene of the offence, two native swords in scabbards and an axe of a peculiar shape. The sword scabbards were wound over with a piece of white turban. One of the scabbards is silver-mounted. The hilt of one of the swords is of gold.

Mr. Rand died of the wounds he had received on the morning of July 3rd without ever being conscious and collected for a sufficient space of time to make a statement in the matter.

Briefly this is all that is known up to the present time. As regards the origin or supposed origin of the crimes, it is quite impossible at present to offer any certain opinion. The most generally accepted theory so far is that the selection of one of the victims was due to the desire for revenge for supposed wrongs inflicted in the course of plague operations in Poona, and that Lieut. Ayerst was mistaken either for Dr. Beveridge or Lieut. Owen Lewis, both of whom had prominent duties to perform in the city of Poona in that connection. With the motive was probably coupled a wish to create a startling political sensation in harmony with the aims of the chief local agitators. As regards the murder of Lieut. Ayerst the D. M. holds the opinion that he was murdered simply to prevent any assistance being given to Mr. Rand and to ensure the escape of

the murderers. Some suppose that the motive for the crime, if it is to be traced to plague operations, might have been personal ; others that the act had no personal bearing, but it was inspired by the peculiarly violent writing of the Poona papers regarding plague administration ; and others again see in the choice of time and place a political plot emanating from a section of the Poona Brahmins who have for some years past set themselves to embarrass the Government and are believed to have been engaged in exciting discontent and disaffection throughout the presidency. Some of the recognised organs of the section have, in articles which only shortly preceded the murders, almost openly advocated the duty of forcible resistance to the authority and inferred from historical precedents that assassination in certain circumstances was justifiable.

Whether the crime was the composite result of all the above elements, it is impossible at present to say, but we are strongly of opinion that there is considerable truth in the allegation of fact underlying both the latter theories. We have offered a large reward (Rs. 20,000) for information which would enable us to obtain a conviction as regards the actual offenders and their instigators, if any. We have placed a large force of additional police in the city, partly to prevent any possibility of further ebullition of crime—and before these latter orders were actually issued we had received an official application from the D. M. asking for military guards to be detailed to attend officers whose work lay in the city—partly also because the circumstances surrounding the crimes of the 22nd were such as in our opinion to require that we should show to the community that we were in earnest in repressing such outrages, and that the consequences of sympathy or even apathy as regards sedition must involve the community or section of it in responsibility for the result flowing from such propaganda and that every member of the community had therefore a personal interest in seeing that he is not committed in the eyes of Government by the criminal actions and insidious machinations of a disloyal and reckless minority. We have also had carefully examined those of the vernacular papers bearing the worst reputation, and we have insinuated prosecutions against two of them under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. One of these is *the Kesari*, edited by the Hon. Mr. Tilak and the other *the Poona Vaibhav*, edited by a less well-known person but a man who is a member of that section of the Poona Brahmins above referred to. We have also under Regulation XXV of 1827 arrested Balwantrao Ramchandra Natu, a second class Sirdar of the Deccan and Hon. Hari Ramchandra Natu. These brothers with Mr. Tilak are the backbone of the party who

are by common consent credited with seditious and revolutionary opinions and with great activity in the dissemination thereof. The opinion, as far as it has been ascertained, of loyal and educated native gentlemen in Poona who had no connection with, or personal knowledge of, the conspiracy to murder, also points with singular unanimity to the Natu family having been directly or indirectly concerned in the actual crime, and the local officials hold that the removal of the above three men from Poona will probably lead to obtaining important informations.

We shall have the honour to address Your Lordship again as regards the results of the above measures.

We have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servants,

(Signed) SANDHURST.

(Signed) J. NUGENT.

(Signed) E. C. K. OLLIVANT."

GOVERNMENT'S SCRUTINY OF NATIONALIST PAPERS

(J. D. Vol. 169 of 1897.)

The Government of India having expressed a desire to know the possible motive behind the two murders, the Governor of Bombay asked for translations of allegedly seditious articles in local newspapers that might have incited the unknown perpetrator of the crime to commit the murders. The following articles were sent to the Government by the Oriental Translator :--

No.	Paper.	Date.	Heading.
1.	Sudharak	... 18th April 1897 ...	The Climax of Loyalty.
2.	Sudharak	... 19th April 1897 ...	Oppression of Plague Committee.
3.	Sudharak	... 19th April 1897 ...	Why do we weep like Cowards ?

No.	Paper.	Date.	Heading.
4.	Sudharak	... 3rd March 1897 ...	Appeal to citizens of Poona.
5.	Sudharak	... 3rd May 1897 ...	Does not the Government make Bandobast? Learn to make it yourself.
6.	Sudharak	... 10th May 1897 ...	Loss of our self-respect.
7.	Pratod	... 17th May 1897 ...	Preparation for becoming independent.
8.	Kesari	... 15th June 1897 ...	Shivaji's utterances.
9.	Kesari	... 15th June 1897 ...	Shivaji's Coronation Festival.
10.	Poona Vaibhav	... 11th April 1897 ...	Panic due to Plague Measures.
11.	Poona Vaibhav	... 11th April 1897 ...	Increase in the spread of Plague.
12.	Poona Vaibhav	... 11th April 1897 ...	Do not bow down to harassment.
13.	Champion	... 4th July 1897 ...	Comments on the speech of Mr. Lamb, Collector of Poona.
14.	Mahratha	... 4th July 1897 ...	Do.
15.	Dnyan Prakash	... 5th July 1897 ...	Do.
16.	Kesari	... 6th July 1897 ...	Do.
17.	Kalpataru	... 3rd July 1897 ...	Do.
18.	Jagat Samachar.	3rd July 1897 ...	Do.
19.	Subodh Patrika	... 4th July 1897 ...	Do.

MR. LAMB'S UTTERANCES

(J. D. VOLUME 169 OF 1897.)

The speech referred to above was delivered by Mr. Lamb, the Collector of Poona, in a meeting of citizens held after the unhappy

murders. The tone of the speech was very threatening. Here are a few of his utterances :—

“Since the occurrence of the outrage I have been hoping, even expecting, that some expression of abhorrence of these terrible misdeeds might reach me from Poona”.

“I have to warn you. I have just said that Government has its resources and the power and the will to use them. And in so saying I beg you to believe that I am not speaking idly. If disloyalty and sedition, conspiracy and assassination go unchecked amongst you, then I am here to solemnly warn you that, what you prove yourself unable to check, Government will inevitably adopt severe measures to check for you”.

After uttering the above sentences Mr. Lamb abruptly left the meeting accompanied by the detective police officers whom he had brought with him. Mr. Lamb had expressed the opinion in his written speech that these murderous outrages were the result of a widespread conspiracy of the Poona Brahmins, and the Native Press and the Shivaji movement had helped a good deal to bring about this state of things. Nay, even the educational institutions were responsible for turning out a generation of students imbued with nihilistic ideas.

HISTORY OF GANESH DRAVID

(G. D. VOLUME 142 OF 1898, CONFID. COMP. No. 1289.)

Ganesh Shankar Dravid was sentenced in the early part of 1896 to 3 years' imprisonment for forging Col. Humphrey's signature and to 2 years' imprisonment for the second forgery, by which he released himself from jail. Mr. Brewin, Superintendent of Police, Bombay, knew this Dravid to be a man connected with all sorts of unlawful activities in Poona. It, therefore, struck him that he should tackle Dravid to get some information about the perpetrator of the murders at Poona. He did so and it was through the information supplied by Ganesh Dravid and his brother that the police were able to trace Chapekar as the possible perpetrator. The following is the report submitted by Mr. Brewin, regarding Ganesh Shankar Dravid.

MR. BREWIN AND DRAVID BROTHERS

Report dated 22nd April 1898 concerning the Dravid Brothers submitted to the Commissioner of Police, Mr. R. H. Vincent, Bombay, by Mr. Brewin, Superintendent of Police, Bombay :—

“ With reference to the expression of opinion which I have been directed to furnish in letter No. 2 of the 14th instant from the Secretary to Government in the Judicial Department, I beg to lay before Government the following statement of facts :

During the conduct of my investigations into the Ganeshkhind murder case it appeared to me that a series of undetected outrages, committed in Bombay and Poona, had features in common ; and so I concluded that they were works of one set of *Budmashes*, resident probably in Poona.

Consequently I asked the local Police if they could give any information regarding the person who composed such a set. The Police after enquiry, informed me, that they could learn nothing of the existence of such a gang.

On this juncture, it occurred to me, from my previous knowledge of his antecedents that Ganesh Shankar Dravid, a convict in the House of Correction, was a likely person to give me the information I sought, whereupon I visited him in the House of Correction and casually introduced the subject. He seemed surprised at my enquiry and asked me how he could possibly know anything about the matter seeing that he had been in jail over 2 years prior to the night of the murders. I thereupon explained the nature of the assistance I wanted, and promised him, that in the event of his information furnishing me with a clue, I would, through the District Superintendent of Police, Poona and the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, try and induce Government to give him a full remission of his sentence. I also acquainted him with the terms of the Government proclamation offering the reward of Rs. 20,000 and told him that in the event of any information imparted to me by him leading to the arrest and conviction of the murderers, I would set forth his claim to the reward. After hearing all I had to say Dravid asked for time to consider my proposal and told me that he would give me an answer in a few days. After this interview I returned to Poona and asked the District Superintendent of Police to arrange for the transfer of Dravid from Bombay to Yerrowda. This matter being arranged I saw Dravid at Yerrowda,

the day after his arrival and he then told me, he had made up his mind to assist me, and said he was prepared to answer any question I put to him. I thereupon told him, that I suspected, he was a party to all that had been done in Poona, during the agitation following the introduction of the age of consent Bill, into the Vice-regal Council, to the assault committed upon Inspector Smith of the Poona city Police, to the attempt to burn the Congress Pandal and other offences. I then asked him to give me the names of all the persons, who were associated with him in those crimes. He then gave me the names of Gopal Krishna Sathe, Kumtekar, the brother of the Secretary of the Poona Municipality, Damodar Hari Chapekar and others. He also gave me information regarding the formation of a club by Damodar of which he said his brother Nilkanth had been a member. Having obtained this information, I went to Nilkanth, but he absolutely refused to tell me anything. Consequently I took him to Ganesh Dravid, who prevailed upon him to give me all the knowledge, he was in possession of. Nilkanth then informed me of the doing of the Chapekar brothers in collecting and drilling about 120 youths in Poona; he explained the circumstances under which this quasi "Volunteer Corps" was dispersed and how afterwards the Chapekar Brothers established a club from amongst the youths they were in the habit of drilling; how the members of this club had been directed by the Chapekars to procure arms; how the club was broken up; and how he eventually saw the arms, that had been collected in the club, in the possession of Damodar. Nilkanth also informed me that Damodar and Gopal Krishna Sathe, were familiar with the use of fire arms, as they used to go out pig shooting near Parbatti.

It was this information which led to the arrest of Damodar and it was the confronting him with the facts I had learnt from Dravid, that induced him to make the confession which resulted in his conviction.

It was owing absolutely to the information that I obtained from the Dravids, that Damodar was arrested and brought to conviction and in my opinion they are clearly entitled to the whole of the reward between them. I do trust that in addition to this money reward that Government will be pleased to grant Ganesh Dravid a full remission of the unexpired portion of his sentence, especially since he was assured by me that Government would undoubtedly release him, if he furnished me with a clue, to elucidate the mystery surrounding the murders. Unless this is done, an impression will get abroad that Government do not uphold the pledges of their officers, to the detriment of public interest."

DRAVID ASKS FOR FULL REMISSION OF SENTENCE

(J. D. VOLUME 142 OF 1898.)

Letter by G. S. Dravid to the Superintendent, H. M.'s House of Correction.

H. M.'s HOUSE OF CORRECTION :
Byculla, 11th August 1897.

To

THE SUPERINTENDENT,
H. M.'s House of Correction,
Byculla.

Sir,

On account of my being in the jail for the last two years I do not know what has taken place outside. But from the heresay I come to know that an European Officer is murdered in Poona and that the Police find it impossible to catch the real culprit who has committed the murder. From what has passed and gone I feel confident that I shall be in a position to find out the real culprit provided Government are prepared to grant me the full remission of my present sentence. I am sure Government will as well be prepared to grant me if I were to ask them to do anything more but that I cannot say about that here prematurely. The only thing I want is that I shall be provided with all the papers of the investigation that will be made upto to the date of my release and secondly I should be given the assistance of two smart detectives whose names will be given hereafter. These men will have to be entirely under my orders.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. S. DRAVID,
Convict.

DRAVID BROTHERS RECEIVE Rs. 10,000

After the conviction and sentence of Chapekar, Government decided to give half of the announced reward i.e. Rs. 10,000 to the Dravid Brothers for the information. The other half was kept in abeyance until the capture of Balkrishna Chapekar who had absconded.

CONFESSION OF DAMODAR HARI CHAPEKAR

(J. D. VOLUME 169, CONF. COMP. 1938 OF 1897.)

Government of India (Mr. Hewett) sent a letter from Simla dated 4th November 1897, to the Secretary, Government of Bombay, asking him, which of the numerous theories advanced as to the cause of the murders was likely to be substantiated by the confession made by Damodar and whether his confession might lead to any renewal of public criticism of the Bombay Government's action in imprisoning the Natus and imposing punitive police on the city of Poona.

The Secretary wrote to Mr. Kennedy, Superintendent of Police, Poona, for a copy of Damodar's confession, which was sent by him on 17th October 1897. The confession had been recorded on 8th October 1897 by W. R. Hamilton, Acting Chief Presidency Magistrate. The following is the full text of the confession :—

THE CONFESSION

(RECORDED BY W. R. HAMILTON, CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE,
ON 8TH OCTOBER 1897.)

Q.—What is your name ?

A.—My name is Damodar Hari Chapekar, Brahman. I was born at Chinchwad, but my family has been living at Poona for many years. Say for twelve or fifteen years. I am about to make a statement voluntarily. My father and my brothers live together. I am the eldest son and am now 27 years old. Balkrishna is 24 years old. Wasudeo is 17 or 18. We use to repeat Kirtans at different houses. About 2 or 3 years ago I wished to enter into the cavalry and made enquiries from natives in the Risala but was told I could not be employed as I was a Brahman. Therefore I petitioned the Commander-in-Chief at Simla and got a reply that I could not be employed. I was told before that the Risala was divided into companies of different castes and as there were not enough Brahmans there was no company of Brahmans and I could not be employed. I offered to collect 400 Brahmans and form a company but they would not accept the proposal. I have given copies of the correspondence and the replies sent to me to the police.

I then determined to do something for my faith and began to oppose the Reforming party. Thereafter my brother Balkrishna and a man named Bhuskute joined together with me and at different

times we gave a thrashing to several Reformers with an iron pipe viz. to Patwardhan, Kulkarni, Thorat and Velinkar who has become a christian. Our object was by practice to gain courage and also benefit our faith. Last year I was at Bombay, where I generally come every year for 4 months and then I put some dammer (Tar) on the Queen's Statue and a string of shoes round her neck. Afterwards I burned the Examination Pandal at Kolaba.

Q.—Was anybody with you in this mischief?

A.—Balkrishna was with me, and Bhuskute was at Poona. He died about 4 or 5 months ago, of the plague. Balkrishna and I both went to the Queen's statue at about 4 A.M. Balkrishna applied the dammer while I stood near on watch. We bought 6 annas dammer from the Bazar, and the shoes we stole from the house of Bal Mangesh Wagle in Kandewadi. These were about 6 or 7 old shoes and they were kept in a basket under his staircase. We put a string of about 10 shoes round the neck of the statue and we got 2 or 3 shoes from our chawl. Balkrishna was also with me when we burned the Pandal.

Q.—When did you return to Poona?

A.—About Kartik. I went to Poona with the whole family. Then the operations for the suppression of the plague were commenced and Mr. Rand was appointed the head of the Plague Committee. In the search of houses a great zulum was practised by the soldiers and they entered the temples and brought out women from their houses, broke idols, and burnt Pothies (Holy Books). We determined to revenge these actions but it was no use to kill common people and it was necessary to kill the chief man. Therefore we determined to kill Mr. Rand who was the chief.

Q.—What did you do?

A.—We had two pistols, that is one revolver, of 5 barrels which was out of order and only one barrel was useful and one pistol. We had also 7 or 8 swords and 2 or 4 guptis (sword sticks). We had no powder and shot and Balkrishna and I stole some loose powder and some shot from the house of Kachre a large gardener at

Kothrood. We got the caps from R. James who was employed in the small arms Factory at Kirkee. He was a friend of mine and I asked him for some caps and he gave me about 25 caps. He died lately. I also stole 2 Martini Henry Rifles from the guard near Lakadipool Bridge in Poona. The guard consisted of 2 Hindu Sepoys and they slept in the Maruti's temple. I used to go to the temple to perform Puja and these men got accustomed to me. One morning about 4 A.M. I stole the 2 rifles and one bayonet which were in the temple, while the two men were asleep.

Q.—What did you do then ?

A.—Balkrishna, Bhuskute and myself for some days followed Mr. Rand and studied his movements. He used to go to the Municipal office, the Poona Club, the Gymkhana, St. Mary's church, Mr. Crowe's Bunglow and Ganesh Khind. We found no opportunity to kill him. We used to be armed with pistols. Then we heard about the Ball to be given at Ganesh Khind. Bhuskute was now dead and we determined to kill Mr. Rand on that night because it was the Jubilee day (which was a famous day), and as it would be night and the place was open it gave us the opportunity we wanted. We selected the Jubilee day because we were enemies of Queen Victoria. On the previous day to the Jubilee day about 2 p.m. Balkrishna and I went to the Ganesh Khind Road to inspect it and fixed upon the spot where the canal crosses the Road as the place where we should kill him. While there we saw some girls of a Missionary school playing in the canal water and I told them to go out of the water as it was clean and drinking water and not to bathe in it.

Q.—What happened the next day ?

A.—Balkrishna and I took about 6 small pictures of the Queen from school books and pasted them on shoes and then hung them on the railing of the Budhwar fountain. We prayed to God all day to favour us in our design and about 7½-8 p.m. we went to the Ganesh Khind Road by the Lakadipul Road. I saw a barbar on the road whom I knew. I don't know his name but he lives in Sadashiv Peth. I had the revolver and one sword and Balkrishna had one pistol, one sword and one axe. The pistols were loaded at home, and we put them in a bag hanging by one side. The swords were carried hanging by some bed tape from our shoulders. We covered some white cloth round the scabbards, and over all we tied our dhotees. Balkrishna carried the axe in his hand by the iron head : it was a small axe for cutting wood.

Q.—Having got these what did you do ?

A.—We had hardly got these when Mr. Rand's carriage passed, I knew his carriage and the coachman and recognised it. The hood was up and I was rather doubtful. We waited until about 11 p.m. when the carriages began to come out of Ganesh Khind on their way back. It was a dark night and I stood at the gate of Government House and by the light of the lamps on the gate I saw Mr. Rand drive out. The hood was up. Balkrishna was waiting at the yellow bungalow. It was arranged that I should call out "Govindia" when approaching Balkrishna so that he should be ready to help me. I followed running behind the carriage and on coming near Balkrishna I called out "Govindia". He came up and then I opened the 'parda' of the carriage behind and put my revolver close to his back and fired. There was a carriage following behind about 10 paces and I thought the person in it had seen me. Balkrishna also thought so for he was behind and he fired at the man in it. The hood was down and the man was lying with his back against the hood. I forgot to say that when the fireworks began to go off we found it inconvenient to have swords upon us. Therefore we took them off and we laid them under a little bridge near the yellow bungalow intending to take them away next day. The axe was also hid there. This was about 8-30 p.m.

After shooting the two men we went home by the Lakadipul Road. We met no one that we know.

Q.—Did you see any one you knew while you waited from 8 to 11 p.m. ?

A.—No, no one that I knew except the Barber, I have spoken of. I saw him near the gate of the Government House. He did not see me nor did I speak to him.

Q.—Did you return next day to take the swords and axe ?

A.—No, but about mid-day I heard that the police had found the swords. The scabbards were tied round with a piece of white turban so as not to show the black scabbards.

Q.—Were you in the habit of using firearms ?

A.—Yes—I used to fire guns. I had practice at Killdhar near Indore. I had also tried my pistols before.

Q.—How did you load them ?

A.—I put in some powder and then some shot which I had got from Kachre's house. They were large shot and I put in 5 or 6 shot. Ealkrishna's pistol was loaded with a Ball and a few shot. We had bought some lead and made it into a Ball. Balkrishna was also used to fire guns.

Q.—Did you remain at Poona after this ?

A.—We stayed there the next day and threw all the weapons we possessed into a well called Londhe's well near our house in Sadashiv Peth. We threw in the 2 Martinis and all the swords and also the powder and shot. We had very little powder and shot. We left Poona on the 24th June by 1 p.m. train and came to Bombay.

Q.—Where did you stay in Bombay ?

A.—At Kamat Company's chawl, Palwa Road near Thakurdwar. It was the time we always came to Bombay. Here we recited Kirtans until about 12 days ago when I was ordered by the Police to go to Poona with them for investigation. I was taken alone. Balkrishna was left behind.

Q.—Did you point out the place to the police where you had thrown the weapons ?

A.—I found that people had been harassed on account of this affair. The natives had been imprisoned and other persons had been troubled and so I determined to make a confession. I had done this deed for the benefit of the people and I did not want other people to be harassed.

Q.—Do you know English ?

A.—Only a little. I did not learn it in school but I learnt it at home to improve myself. I read a little and write a little.

Q.—Have you anything to add ?

A.—I do not want to say what has passed between Mr. Brewin and myself without his consent. I consider him my friend. I made a written statement of all I had done in this matter and gave it to Mr. Brewin.

Q.—Did you ever speak to Mr. Rand?

A.—No. My house was not entered and I was never disturbed.

Q.—Did you point out the well into which you had thrown the weapons?

A.—Yes; and the weapons have been recovered.”

(Sd.) W. R. HAMILTON,

8h October 1897.

Acting Chief Presidency Magistrate.

I believe that this confession was voluntarily made—It was taken in my presence and hearing and was read over to the person making it and admitted by him to be correct, and it contains a full and true account of the statement made by him.:

(Sd.) W. R. HAMILTON,

8th October 1897.

Acting Chief Presidency Magistrate.

D. H. CHAPEKAR SENTENCED TO BE HANGED.

(J. D. VOL. 60 OF 1898, CONFID. COMPIL. No. 1280.)

After the hearing of the case and verdict of the Jury the Sessions Judge, Poona, W. H. Crowe, delivered his Judgment on 3rd February 1898 as under :—

Finding

The Court finds that the accused Damodar Hari Chapekar is guilty of the offences specified in the 1st and 3rd heads of the charge, namely that he committed murder by causing the deaths of Mr. W. C. Rand and Lieut. Charles Egerton Ayerst and has thereby committed offences punishable under section 302 of the Indian Penal Code and the Court directs that the said Damodar Hari Chapekar be hanged by neck until he be dead.

This sentence is subject to the confirmation of the High Court of Judicature, Bombay.

The accused having been sentenced to death is informed that if he wishes to make an appeal to the High Court he should do so within seven days from this date.

HIGH COURT CONFIRMS THE SENTENCE

Chapekar appealed to the High Court. The appeal was heard by Hon. Mr. Justice Parsons and Hon. Mr. Justice Ranade on 2nd March 1898. Chapekar was defended by Mr. Branson instructed by Mr. Bakhle. The High Court confirmed the sentence of death passed by the Sessions Court.

DAMODAR CHAPEKAR'S PETITION

No. 569 OF 1898

ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR'S DEPARTMENT :

Bombay Castle, 11th March 1898.

Translation of a Petition from Damodar Hari Chapekar, inhabitant of Poona and at present a prisoner in the Yerrowda Central Prison, to his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, dated 8th and received for translation in this Department in the afternoon of 9th March 1898 :—

“The Sessions Judge (Poona) convicted me of the murders of Mr. Rand and (Lieutenant) Ayerst and sentenced me to death. Against that sentence I preferred a petition of appeal to the Bombay High Court stating that I had not committed the said heinous crime, describing how the Police officers had deceived me by suborning witnesses and by fabricating evidence against me and praying that justice might be done to me. I however, deeply regret to state that I failed to obtain justice (there). I now beg to submit this petition and pray that your Excellency in Council will be pleased to grant me justice. I was in the custody of the police for four months, and if I give a full account of their improper doings during that period, it would form a voluminous history. Had some educated person been in my place he would have placed before the Government and public such a graphic description of the treacherous proceedings of the Police as would have amazed the world. I have been reduced to my present plight because I am devoid of intelligence. Little would I have cared for the sentence of death if I had possessed sufficient intelligence to unmask the villainy of the wicked so as to put my poor country-men on their guard. Let that pass. I again beg to state for the information of Government that never before had I witnessed the proceedings inside a court (of justice). Being a mendicant by vocation, I used to spend all my time among ignorant, credulous and superstitiously religious people. I had no connection whatever with

any of revolutionary institutions started by prominent educated men for which they have incurred the displeasure of Government. I am physically weak and not versed in the use of a gun or of any other weapon. Government have never issued to me a licence to possess arms. At the suggestion of a friend I had only made an application for service in a regiment in the form recommended by him. If that circumstance be sufficient to prove me to be a murderer then it must be considered a great favour on the part of the Police that many persons similarly circumstanced as myself were not brought forward to be hanged along with me as my accomplices. All the articles found in my house are of household use. I challenge any one to show a single thing among them for the possession of which a licence is required to be taken from Government. Even if it be assumed that the small shot found in my house belonged to me I submit that small boys are constantly seen using such small shot for shooting birds with Pellet-bows (Sic.) Government, however, in view of the fact that small shot alone cannot cause the death of human beings, does not prosecute such boys as criminals. As I am a poor man, only household things of small value can be expected to be found with me. I used to live in a hired house. If, instead of searching my house, the police had searched that of a settled resident, property a hundred times more than that found in my house would have been found therein. Because such things as turbans, navar and broad tape for bedsteads, bamboos, trousers, coats, caps of various fashions, photographs, saws and adzes are sure to be found in any house. If any person possessing such things can properly be considered an offender under the Indian Penal Code, then it was very kind of the Police that they did not cause all the inhabitants of Poona to be hanged by proving them to be my accomplices in the same manner as they proved my guilt.

Though the Police suborned witnesses and fabricated evidence against me, that cannot establish my guilt. The barber, one of their tutored witnesses, who on the jubilee night saw me in the dark in a crowd of thousands of persons assembled near Government House for the purpose of seeing the fireworks, does not state that I had any weapon in my hand at that time or that I had gone there with the intention of killing Mr. Rand. The place where he saw me is at a distance of one-half or three-fourths of a mile from the spot where Mr. Rand was murdered. Though it be assumed for a moment that his statement is true that does not prove me to be the murderer. It must be considered an act of mercy that the Court did not issue orders for massacring the thousands of poor people who had gathered there at the time to witness the spectacle. Like myself lakhs of other people were at Poona on the Jubilee day.

As I left Poona for Eombay on the 24th, so thousands of people left Poona. But the Court did not sentence them to death by looking at their luggage receipts. The people committed a sin in staying at Poona on the Jubilee day. They committed a grave offence against Government in going to see the fire-work at Ganeshkhind. But the just British Government having made my brother and myself scape-goats for the crimes of thousands of these people, their goddess of Truth and Justice has been propitiated. Alas for the lot of poor men like us ! Assuming for a moment that the swords found near the place of Mr. Rand's murder belong to me, that circumstance does not of itself prove that I committed the murder. What ground is there for presuming that these swords belong to the murderer himself ? The murder was committed not with a sword but with a pistol. A pistol and small shot were included by the Police in the fabricated evidence produced.

But gun-powder and percussion caps (were not produced). In the absence of gun-powder and percussion caps it was not possible to commit the dead in question. How was it that only these two things were not among the articles alleged to be my own ? If the court assumes that I had only one percussion cap and powder just sufficient for a single charge and that I committed the said murder only with these things it is simply absurd reasoning. Should the Court be always administering justice by reasoning in this fashion, it will never have any need for evidence and proof. What ground is there (for supposing) that this is the identical pistol with which Mr. Rand was killed ? The police produced one pistol before the Court. But what about the pistol with which (Lieutenant) Ayerst was Killed ? I do not know what inference was drawn by the Court on this point. If all the things had (really) been kept concealed by us in the bundle or in the house, the other pistol also ought to have been found among them. If the Court thinks that we kept that pistol with ourselves, then was there any enmity between the other pistol and ourselves, or would it have been difficult (for us) to carry it ? What reasoning for a Court of Justice ! Government have generously erected large court buildings and given permission to all to go there while justice is being administered. Instead of such a place designed for openly taking down statements and administering justice being used, why was I taken into a room in Mr. Hamilton's bungalow and my statement secretly taken while he and I were there alone ? Also, why was the court afterwards held in a room in the upper story of Faraskhana, where I was surrounded by the police who had on a former occasion iniquitously kicked and fisted me in the same place ? Why was not the court held in an open place and why was not my statement taken in the presence of the public ? If the

Court was held in a place where I was unjustly beaten by the emissaries of death (Police), how was it possible for me to have faith in (the impartiality of) it. If the statement made by me at that time was true, why was it not as full as that made in Mr. Hamilton's Bunglow? Government will be pleased to take this point into consideration. In the court which was held at the Faraskhana I only stated in consequence of Mr. Brewin's threats that the statement made by me at Bombay was true, that is to say, I made a false statement which had been prepared by Mr. Brewin. I had an intention of openly declaring, that the said statement was false and that it had been forcibly extorted from me. When the court was held at the Faraskhana for the third time for the purpose of committing me to the Court of Sessions, Mr. Bonus again asked me whether I had killed Mr. Rand. I then distinctly said that I would state what I had to say in the High Court or in his court if it were held in a public place. This reply has been recorded in the papers of the case to which I pray that Government will be pleased to refer. I accordingly made a true statement before the court of Session. If the Court had to believe my statements (it should have considered the fact that) both the first and the second statements were made by myself and that I made the second statement with the very (Lit : mouth) tongue with which I had made the first statement and that at the time of making the second statement I had not a different tongue in my mouth. On the contrary, statement made by me in the court of Sessions was the true one. As only that act is trustworthy which is done openly before the public, even Government caused me to be tried and sentenced by a Court of Session. If Government deemed my former statement reliable why was I again questioned in the court of session? As my statement had been already taken, the authorities might have perused the papers containing the statements of witnesses and other evidence and sentenced me to be hanged.

As, however, such a procedure was not deemed by Government to be legal, my statement was again taken in open court. But it was not to their liking, it was considered to be false, while the statement which had been extorted from me by means of force, inducement and fraud was considered true, and the sentence passed upon me was confirmed. This is injustice and it will tarnish the brilliance of Her Majesty the Queen—Empress' glory. Government should not forget that it would be a source of danger to the Empire if the public lose confidence in the highest tribunals of justice and come to think that it is not the goddess of justice (who presides there) but only a hideous female fiend which, under the pretext of

dispensing justice, devours only Hindus and Muhammadans but lets off the white-skinned people of her race by conniving at their acts however horrible they might be, by closing her ears (against complaints) and by disregarding the evidence (of their guilt). Armies do not constitute the strength of an empire, but truth and justice are the pillars on which it rests. The British rule has lasted so long simply because of these two strong pillars. One is, however, compelled to say with deep regret that Government either does not see how hollow and rickety these pillars have become of late, or knowing the facts fails to comprehend (its significance) in accordance with the adage "Infatuation seizes one when one's destruction is impending". This year my (execution) will form the pinnacle of the edifice of infamy reared by means of (the treatment meted out) by Government to innocent editors of newspapers and to the two Natus brothers, and by means of the disgraceful manner in which prominent and respectable persons in Poona were treated by the Police for three months in the course of their investigations in connection with Mr. Rand's murder. The Police have acted in this treacherous manner not towards my common person but towards the paternal Government itself which is their employer. Government generously offered (a reward of) Rs. 20,000 for the detection of the real offender. I however, beg to state earnestly in my last hour that I am innocent. The true offenders, whoever they may be, are perhaps ready to give trouble to Government afresh. According to the proverb "one cannot be cured of one's evil habits except by death", so long as they live, hundreds of crimes like the one in question will be committed. You will not gain your object by hanging me. Government will have to admit this candidly when some other European is murdered. Then would the world applaud you for your justice! Why did Messrs. Kennedy and Brewin make me live in a princely style for four months? Was it because I was their son-in-law or because I did an excellent thing in killing Mr. Rand? If that be the case, that will be an encouragement to criminals. The treatment of prisoners in this jail is worse than that accorded to brutes, and yet one can see thousands of persons returning to it (even) for the fourth time. Who will then be unwilling to accept such a princely treatment (as was accorded to me)? One has only to kill a European and then one can come to the Faraskhana and recline upon cushions there. Government will therefore, be pleased to publicly declare the object in view and so deceive the people. The Police desired me to mention the names of (some) prominent and respectable persons in Poona. Say that these persons belong to your company. Say that you murdered Mr. Rand because you were exasperated by the strongly worded articles in the newspapers. Say that the Natus and Mr. Tilak are

your friends. But being a true and high born Hindu I told them plainly "Though I were to lose my life, I shall not falsely mention the names of other persons.

I am the master of my own person (alone). I mentioned my own brother's name because they told me to do so and because they subjected me to very harsh treatment. The third man named Ehuskute who is dead, was not at all known to me. The Police somehow got three persons ready (to give evidence against me). At first they intended to pounce upon me alone. That, however, did not appear expedient to them and then they began to look for others. They learnt that I had a brother who was (almost) my equal in age and who would probably make efforts to save by applying to the authorities. They, therefore, implicated him. The third man was the said Bhuskute, deceased. They thus got up this trio and threw dust into the eyes of Government. It would have been very well if Bhuskute's father had been examined as a witness by the Court. That, however, was not done and Dravid was made to state that he (Bhuskute) and myself were friends. If Government only bear in mind that Dravid's brothers have twice undergone sentence for fraudulent conduct, they will see how far Dravid is to be trusted. Besides, since my admission into this jail I have been told by many prisoners that Messrs. Brewin and Kennedy having paid visits to Dravid told him that they would restore him to his appointment and would also give him a special reward of Rs. 1,000 in connection with this matter. By means of these false promises they suborned his brother as witness. Ganpat Shankar Dravid himself told this to Muhammad Usman in the Yerrowda Prison. He is ready to give evidence (to the above effect). He also states that his two or three brothers always accompanied Mr. Brewin to the jail to see him.

From this Government will see what weight is to be attached to this witness's statement. I pray that at least a minor offence out of the numerous crimes with which I have been charged should be proved against me before permission is given to hang me. I was kept in the Faraskhana for four months. Had I been sent (earlier) to the Yerrowda Prison as required by law, I would not have so long kept Government and the Public in the dark, but would have long ago declared that I was innocent and that every thing had been got up by the police. But, for four months I was prohibited from writing anything and none of my friends or relatives could see me, and hence I was obliged to remain silent. At first some Europeans were brought to me but as I knew what authority they possessed only after their departure, their visits proved of no use to me. And even if I came to know any particular officer I dared not act

contrary to the wishes of the Police officers who seemed to me the incarnations of Death. A high officer by name Mr. Nugent was (once) brought to me by the Police. Before his arrival Mr. Brewin said to me, "Do not show respect to this Saheb by rising. Say that you had intended to kill him. Do not be afraid if you speak to him boldly. The Saheb will consider that you are very brave". I asked, "What should I say if I were questioned why I intended to kill him?" He said "(say) because the newspapers give out that the Governor follows your advice". Thus I came to know that the said officer's name was Mr. Nugent. But I did not utter before him any words to the above effect. Thereupon he (Brewin) himself told Mr. Nugent that I had intended to kill him but to my surprise that noble-minded gentleman was not at all offended.

Thus my case was similar to that of an actor who after being tricked out is brought upon the stage and made to speak as previously taught. The sentence of death, however, is not an incident in the drama but a reality which I will have to face. The haversacks slung round the necks of Police constables have got pieces of tape similar to that found in my house. These haversacks are originally white but are coloured black when they are given to the Police. From this it appears that the Police must have got many pieces of such tape in their possession, and there are many such weapons to be found in the Shanwar Wada. But to search the Police other Police officers must be appointed. No one would do that for a poor man like me. The present case is like that of a thief who fastens upon an innocent man a theft committed by himself. If any unalloyed justice be at all obtainable under the Government, it may be vouchsafed to me, otherwise I shall conclude that wisdom is powerless against power and that anarchy prevails in (this) city of darkness and shall very joyfully submit to the sentence of death so as to make an appeal to the Almighty. Every being is bound to appear before him to answer for his good and evil deeds. This fact must not be forgotten by the high officers who are invested with authority nor by the judicial functionaries, high or low on whom devolves the duty of administering justice, nor by juries. A perusal of the petition of appeal already made by me to the High Court will show how the police had fabricated the evidence. I do not wish to write more."

(Signed)

Oriental Translator to Government.

DAMODAR CHAPEKAR HANGED

(J. D. VOL. 60 OF 1898, CONF. COMP. NO. 1280, PART 2.)

Times of India dated 19th April 1898 gave a detailed report of the death by hanging of Damodar Hari Chapekar on the morning of 18th April 1898. The following extracts summarise the report :—

2. "When death warrant was being read Chapekar refused to hear it and began to repeat "Narayan, Narayan, Jai Govind Hari and Narayan, Narayan, Jai Gopal Hari." When asked if he had anything to say, he did not reply and kept on repeating the same Mantra."

3. "Although he was singing, every now and then his voice faltered, his lips twitched and he needed support from the man behind him. His eyes were glaring wildly and had a strange light in them. Then he was led forward. In his hand he held a sacred book, and this he carried with him to the last".

4. "Arrived at the foot of the scaffold he mounted without assistance apparently but he was led by two native warders and had a third behind him. At the last step he swayed back a little but recovered himself. His legs were fastened, the cap was drawn over his face, he all the while chanting his weird-sounding death song. When the rope was placed over his head and the hangman pulled it into its place, the song stopped and the criminal almost fell backwards. But it was only momentarily, for the hangman stepped back, the lever creaked, and the unhappy murderer, whose crime had gained for him such world wide notoriety, fell into the pit beneath, a drop of 7 ft. 6 inch. There was a violent convulsion, his chest heaved, and then there was stillness.

A minute or so later the crowd began to come out. After the medical officer had certified that Chapekar was dead, two of the relatives of Damodar—Narayan Chintaman Vidwans and Bhikaji Ballal Paranjape—then came forward and asked that the body might be given to them. Permission was accorded, with the proviso, that the body would have to be burned at the Bund burning ghat and a guard of police told off to see that the burning of the body was properly carried out."

5. "About ten minutes before the time for execution Mr. J. A. Guider visited the prisoner, who though much more dejected than on former occasions, assumed an air of braggadocio and attempted to chat unconcernedly, his lips quivering all the

time. In reply to the remark whether he knew that he was to die he said, "What does it matter about dying? Rand died from a pistol shot, others died from falling off horses, I am to die by being hanged." To the enquiry, whether he had any message for his brother, Damodar queried, "When will you see my brother?" to which Mr. Guider responded, "Oh, we might come across him some day". Damodar said he had no message for his Balkrishna. The conversation was ended by the warders leading Damodar away".

GOVERNMENT DISAPPROVES GUIDER'S CONDUCT

When the above report was seen published in the Times the Government asked for an explanation from Mr. Guider for his indiscretion in talking to a death sentenced criminal in such confidence in the presence of the public. Mr. Guider was the Asst. Superintendent of Police. His explanation did not satisfy Government who remarked "H.E. in Council while accepting the explanation given by Guider, is nevertheless of opinion that he was not as discreet as a police officer in his position should have been."

BALKRISHNA CHAPEKAR CAUGHT IN HYDERABAD STATE

[J. D. Vol. 220 OF 1899 (2).]

On the 25th June 1897 the Government of Bombay had issued a proclamation offering a reward of Rs. 20,000 for information leading to the detection of the perpetrators and instigators of the murder of Lieut. C. R. Ayerst and Mr. W. C. Rand. Of the two Chapekar brothers Damodar had been captured but Balkrishna was at large. Balkrishna was later caught in the Hyderabad State by the special efforts of Mr. Stephenson, Detective Officer, Hyderabad State, assisted by the police of the State. The Nizam's Minister applied to the Government of Bombay to give the Hyderabad State half the amount of the Reward i.e. Rs. 10,000 for distribution to persons who were responsible for effecting the arrest of Balkrishna Chapekar. The Government of Bombay by their Government Resolution No. 9066, Judicial Department, dated 27th December 1899 resolved :

RESOLUTION.—A sum of Rs. 10,000 should be placed at the disposal of the Resident, Hyderabad, for payment to the persons to whom was due the arrest of Balkrishna Hari Chapekar.

HOW BALKRISHNA WAS ARRESTED

(From the Report of the Detective Assistant to Inspector General of Police, Mr. Stephenson, attached to the service of the Hyderabad State).

"I beg to submit, that the detective police were on Balkrishna's track from middle of July 1898 to the 16th December 1898. During these five months, Detectives from the Detective Department as well as others specially employed by me were continually on the move throughout the length and breadth of the Anegundy Raja and Sir Salar Jung's estate and part of the Lingsurgur District. All my movements having to be carried on with the utmost caution and secrecy owing to the well known sympathy that on all sides existed with the fugitive, I had to do my travelling mostly by night and often to leave the country cart road and to go miles across fields and low jungle so as to avoid observation. Working on the information received, to which I shall allude when disposing of the question (B) raised, I at last came to learn that Balkrishna was in hiding with a desperate band of Yerkale Dacoits in the Satpura or Seven Hills in the jurisdiction of Sir Salar Jung's estate, all or most of whom were declared out laws and for a police officer so well known as I am in those districts, it required no small amount of tact and patient working to get myself put into communication with the leaders without rousing fears of their own safety.

Having got so far, my next step was to ascertain in exactly what part of these hills he had found shelter and this ascertained, to open communication with the Dacoit leaders with a view of getting them to deliver up Balkrishna. This being the one and only plan that presented itself to me affording any chances of success, as from the inaccessible nature and extent of those hills, surprising the fugitive or surrounding his retreat with even ever so large a body of police was hopelessly impossible. It would be impossible for any one not already acquainted with the geography of this part of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions to form any adequate idea of the almost insurmountable difficulties attending the capture of a fugitive amongst Satpura hills, which from their peculiar formation have from time immemorial afforded and still afford secure and inaccessible retreats for robber gangs. Interspersed as these hills are by large and extensive subterranean caves, the passages to which are secrets known only to robbers themselves and in some of which there are even springs of fresh water, Balkrishna unless betrayed by the dacoit leaders might there have safely defied all attempts at capture. Having at last located the exact place where he was in hiding, I had

myself put into communication with certain parties who are believed to be on friendly terms with the Yerkala dacoits and settled on the promise of a reward of Rs. 600 for them to arrange with the leader of the Yerkala dacoits to have Balkrishna betrayed into my hands which was done in this wise.

These informers having laid their plans, it was arranged that the leader of the band was to inform Balkrishna that as the Police were on his track it was not possible for them to harbour him any longer and he was advised to make his escape to Goa by taking the train at Goduk Railway Station on the Southern Maratha Railway. Agreeing to this and accompanied by three of the band of dacoits, Balkrishna left his hiding place and was conducted by night towards the Goduk Railway Station and on the way as pre-arranged at day break the party was met by my detectives who were supposed to be on their way to the village of Maudehgery to get passes at the plague camp, where I was already staying and where I was personating the Plague Doctor. Balkrishna accompanied the party and when near my camp, the dacoits made off and Balkrishna conducted into my Camp was arrested. I think I may say without self praise that this result was not obtained without the exercise of detective ability coupled with patience, the endurance of hardships to the greatest personal inconvenience, having to spend days concealed in a ruined temple and in native villages, always sleeping on the bare ground and partaking of the common coarse food procurable at villages, to add to which I and my party were exposed to great risk in having to pass through plague stricken districts. I think it will not be out of place for me here to add that the indefatigable exertion and hard work done by my people in the capture of Balkrishna was greatly stimulated by the prospective hope of sharing the promised reward.

Now as regards the other question (B) touched on above, I think you will concur with me that it is impossible and against all police procedure to divulge the source from which this information was received by the police. I can only say that the information on which I worked and which led to the capture of Balkrishna came to me as a private and confidential communication, those giving it running great risk owing to the strong Brahminical feeling at the time in favour of the Chapekar brothers and it was not until a guarantee was obtained by me on behalf of my informers from the Resident at Hyderabad promising immunity from prosecution etc. in connection with the case that I was finally put in possession of the information that led to his being tracked to his retreat in the Satpura hills. Beyond this, I regret I can afford no information as from whence

and how the information was obtained. With the tragic fate of the Dravids before us the danger attending such disclosures cannot be exaggerated. I have always attributed what success I may have attained in detective work to be greatly due to the fact that in the whole course of my official career now counting over a period of five and thirty years, I have kept strenuously to the rule of never divulging the source from which information has reached me".

DRAVID BROTHERS MURDERED

(J.D. VOL. 145 No. 719 PAGE 289)

Murders of two brothers Ganesh Shankar Dravid and Ramchandra Shankar Dravid at Poona on the 9th February 1899.

The following letter speaks for itself :—

Urgent

No. 1700 of 1899.

From

W. D. SHEPPARD, Esquire, I.C.S.,
District Magistrate, Poona ,

To,

THE HONOURABLE SIR C. OLLIVANT, K.C.I.E.,
Member of Council, Bombay.

Supa, 10th February 1899.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that on Wednesday night two brothers Ganesh Shankar Dravid and Ramchandra Shankar Dravid were decoyed from their house by men purporting to be orderlies of Mr. Brewin and were shot in the back and mortally wounded. One has since died and the case of the other is hopeless. The Dravids were notorious as having given the information which led to the discovery of the Jubilee murderers Damodar Hari and Balkrishna Hari Chaphekar.

2. The murderers of the Dravids have been arrested after attempting twice to shoot chief constable Rama Pandoo and prove to be Wasudeo Hari Chapekar the younger brother of the other two

and a friend of the Chapekar family named Ranade. Both these men one of whom was caught red handed have confessed their guilt and their confessions will be recorded today.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
(Sd.) W. D. SHEPPARD,
District Magistrate.

DR. GEORGE NUNDY'S ACCOUNT

(H. D. SPECIAL No. 13A, 1925.)

[Dr. George Nundy, a pensioner of the Hyderabad State, contributed a series of articles to the Sunday Edition of the "Bombay Chronicle" under the title "Experiences of a Detective Officer in India". A part of this series covered the story of the Chapekar brothers. It gave 20 articles published Sunday after Sunday in the "Bombay Chronicle, beginning from 15th March 1925.

Chapter XX of the above series gives us a report of the trial and sentence of the Chapekar brothers. The rest of the story being in a sort of novel form we cannot take all the happenings described therein as having actually happened. But the report of the trial being a summary of actual happenings, we can rely on it as an authentic account of the trial and conviction of the two brothers. The following is the account given in Chapter XX of the series.]

TRIAL FOR THE MURDER OF DRAVID BROTHERS

"According to the statement of Captain Easdon, the House Surgeon of the Sassoon Hospital, the Dravids were brought there at about 10-30 p.m. in a state of collapse though conscious and in their senses. The condition of Ganesh was more critical and after examination by the magistrate he sank rapidly and died at 8 a.m. the next morning. Ramchandra was likewise examined and complaining of great pain in the stomach he lingered on till 2-30 p.m. The deceased in his statement before the magistrate said why they had gone out in the road and how opposite Modak's house two men dressed in white clothes, with their faces covered, had fired on them and run away.

The information given by Londe that he recognised Sathe as one of the three men whom he had seen standing opposite Dravid's house, enabled the police to conclude, when the capture of Wasudeo and Ranade was effected, that they were of the conspiracy. If there was any doubt, it was removed when Wasudeo and Ranade were placed before Mr. Carvalho, the investigating Magistrate, on 10th February 1899, and they made a full confession of their share in the crime. They made their confession boldly, giving in detail each step they took towards the consummation of the deed, which they think was justified.

On 11th February 1899, Sathe was placed before the Magistrate, and he also, without any hesitation or prevarication admitted his share in the crime, besides giving a history of his connection with the Chapekar brothers. In all important points his confession corresponded with the statements made by Wasudeo and Ranade. On the 14th he was again examined by Mr. Carvalho the magistrate and the Statement made by him did not differ from the previous one. The three culprits were duly brought up for trial before the first class magistrate of Poona, and on 22nd February, Wasudeo and Ranade were committed to the Court of Sessions. The charge framed against Wasudeo and Ranade was murder for causing death of Dravid brothers and against Sathe, abetment amounting to murder. When called upon to plead to the charge and in reply to questions put by the Court, Wasudeo and Ranade confirmed their former statements, and left no doubt of their guilt in the mind of the jury.

Sathe's Counsel, however, tried to raise a doubt as to the statements having been made voluntarily and that he should not be charged with abetment when he was not present when the crime was committed. The judge went through the evidence at some length and pointed out that three high officers of Police, Messrs. Brewin and Kennedy, Superintendents, and Mr. Guider Assistant Superintendent, were engaged in the case, and that within the short time between the Commission of the crime and the first confession before the magistrate, it was not possible for Sathe to be so tutored as to give in such detail a deliberate, connected and logical statement. Apart from this, Mr. Carvalho, the Magistrate questioned Sathe whether he made the statement voluntarily and the reply was in the affirmative. With regard to the abetment of murder, the judge pointed out that Sathe was but a short distance from the scene of the crime and that his presence there was not accidental but a part of a deliberate plan made with his cognisance and with his assistance carried out. That though he did not actually fix one of the shots he helped in the Commission of the offence and thereby was guilty of the offence of abetment.

The jury were unanimous in their verdict and announced through their foreman that they found Wasudeo Chapekar and Mahadeo Ranade guilty of murder on each charge, and Khando Vishnu Sathe guilty of the offence of abetment of murder on each charge. The jury, however, strongly recommended him mercy on account of his youth and foolishness. The Sessions Judge accordingly passed the sentence of death in the case of Wasudeo Chapekar and Mahadeo Ranade for the murder of each of the victims. In the case of Khando Vishnu Sathe, taking into consideration the recommendation of the jury, he was awarded five years' Rigorous Imprisonment for the abetment of murder in the case of each victim, the second term of five years to begin on the expiry of the first term.

Wasudeo Chapekar and Mahadeo Ranade had to stand their trial together with Balkrishna Chapekar for the murder of Mr. Rand and Mr. Ayerst. In their confession on 10th February after the murder of the Dravid brothers, they had stated in detail the conspiracy from the beginning and the part taken by them in the cruel tragedy. They took the onus of the crime on themselves, but admitted that Balkrishna was aware throughout of their intention. This confession they confirmed on 27th February, and when the case was committed to the Sessions Court, their replies to the questions put to them did not differ in any point from the confessions made by them. They pleaded guilty to the charges of murder and abetment to murder of the two European officials.

Balkrishna Chapekar was, in accordance with the Extradition Act, handed over to the Poona Police on 20th January, 1899. He was taken to Bombay on 28th January. He made a voluntary confession before Mr. Sanders Staled, the Presidency magistrate, in which, after giving a history of the conspiracy he admitted that he had shot Lieut. Ayerst. This confession he confirmed on 27th February before Mr. Carvalho, who made the preliminary investigation, adding that what Wasudeo and Ranade had said was not true and that he had killed Lieut. Ayerst. In the Sessions Court, however, he retracted and said that his confession before Mr. Sanders Staled and Mr. Carvalho were false, as they had been made when he was in great grief. As it was proved that both magistrates had taken down the confessions with their own hands and had several times questioned Balkrishna whether he was making the statements voluntarily and had received his reply in the affirmative and as he could not allege any illtreatment or any promises or inducements being held out to him, the judge quoted a ruling of the Bombay High Court, that "a retracted confession, if proved to be voluntarily made, can be acted upon along with other evidence in the Case."

The jury, therefore, on 8th March 1899, taking into consideration the whole evidence, gave their unanimous verdict that the three accused were guilty of murder by causing the death of Mr. Walter Charles Rand and Lieutenant Charles Egerton Ayerst. Thereupon the guiding of the Court followed that Wasudeo Hari Chapekar, Mahadeo Vinayak Ranade and Balkrishna Hari Chapekar being guilty of the offence specified in the charges, should be hanged by the neck till they be dead."

JUDGMENT (WASUDEO CHAPEKAR)

(J. D. VOL. No. 57 OF 1899, PAGE 67.)

Judgment recorded by the High Court in Confirmation Case No. 6 of 1899 and Appeals Nos. 118 to 120 of 1899 in the case of Imperative versus Wasudev Hari Chapekar and 2 others.

4th April, 1899.

By Parsons, ag. C. J. :

The case against the accused Nos. 1 and 2, Wasudev Hari Chapekar and Mahadev Vinayak Ranade is clear, and needs no comment. They made full and unequivocal confessions and pleaded guilty in the Court of Session. We confirm the sentence of death passed upon each of them for the double murder. The case of the accused No. 3, Balkrishna Hari Chapekar requires careful examination. In his charge to the jury the Sessions Judge says "the case for the prosecution is that each and all of the accused had conspired to take the life of Mr. Rand for some weeks before the outrage was committed; that they were all actively aiding and abetting on the night of the murders, and that they were all present; that, therefore, under the provisions of Sections 302 and 114 of the Penal Code they are all by law to be deemed to have committed the murders". What, therefore, the prosecution has to prove is the presence of this accused at the murders, and what I have to see is whether this is proved. The only evidence in the case is the statements of the three accused persons themselves. Outside of these statements there is not a scrap of evidence to connect this accused with the murders. This accused in his statement to the Chief Presidency Magistrate frankly admitted his knowledge of and complicity in the conspiracy to murder Rand but he said that he was not present at the murder, that he waited at the culvert on the road till 8-30 p.m. and then went home. This, of course, may be untrue, and many other parts of his statement undoubtedly are untrue, but there is no evidence in the case to show that it is. There are no eyewitnesses who say how many persons committed the

murders. The accused No. 1 says that he gave the signal when Ayerst drove up, that the murders were committed by Damodar Chapekar and Mahadev Vinayak Ranade, and the accused No. 2 (Mahadev Vinayak Ranade) says the same, Both are agreed that Balkrishna Hari Chapekar was not present but had gone home before.

These statements may be false, made only in order to exculpate Balkrishna, but here again there is no evidence to show that they are, and, therefore, it seems to me to be impossible to reject them and to substitute for them a theory for which there is no warrant whatsoever. The statement that Londe says Wasudev made to him on the 29th January is no evidence against Balkrishna and ought not to have been recorded or used against him. There remains only his own statement made after he had heard the confession of the accused Nos. 1 and 2 read out in Court that he killed both Rand and Ayerst. This is so palpably false that no reliance whatever can be placed upon it.

So far then as the accused No. 3 is concerned, I consider that the prosecution has failed to prove his presence at the murders, and therefore, he must be acquitted on the first head of the charge. He must also be acquitted on the third and fourth heads of the charge which relate to the murder of Ayerst; for that murder was not premeditated and formed no part of the plot or conspiracy to which the accused No. 3 was privy, but was due to a pure accident, namely the fact that his carriage followed so closely on that of Rand that the murderers in order to kill the latter and make their escape had to kill the former also. It was not premeditated or pre-designed. I find the accused however, guilty on the second head of the charge, namely abetting the murder of Rand, and as the murder was committed in consequence of the abetment he is liable to be punished with the punishment provided for the offence of murder. We therefore, confirm the sentence of death passed on him.

I have carefully set out the facts of the case as they appear to me proved in order that Government may be in a position to determine whether they should not exercise their prerogative of mercy in his case on the grounds that he did not actually commit the murder, while his keeping silence about the conspiracy may be attributed to the influence exercised over him by his elder brother Damodar. In conclusion, I wish to draw attention to the improper conduct of the investigating Magistrate in refusing to allow the pleaders, engaged by his wife, to defend this accused to have an interview with him or to

appear and sit in Court. It was the duty of the Magistrate to have afforded the accused and his friends every opportunity of making his defence, and he should not personally have interposed in any way between them.

By the Court,

(Signed)

Registrar.

II

Judgment recorded by the High Court in Confirmation Case No. 6 of 1899 and Appeals Nos. 118 to 129 of 1899 in the case of Imperative versus Wasudev Hari Chapekar and 2 others.

4th April 1899.

By Ranade J. :]

In this case, the Sessions Judge of Poona, concurring with the jury, convicted the three accused of two charges under Section 302, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced them to be hanged. The two first accused had pleaded guilty to both the charges of murder in the Court of Sessions before the inquiry commenced. At its conclusion accused No. 1, in his final examination by the Court, denied that he had conspired to murder Mr. Rand, and accused No. 2, denied having entered into a conspiracy to murder Mr. Rand and Mr. Ayerst. In their petitions of appeal to this Court, both these accused urged that they were not conscious of what they said in the Court of Session and in the Magistrate's Court. It is on record, however, that they pleaded guilty in the Court of Session, and in the Magistrate's Court they made long and full statements in which accused No. 1 admitted that he took an active and prominent part in the murder of Mr. Rand by his brother Damodar and of Mr. Ayerst by accused No. 2. Accused No. 2 made a similar admission before the Magistrate of his part in the conspiracy, and in the murder by him of Mr. Ayerst. These Admissions made on the 10th February last were confirmed on 27th February 1899. Though accused No. 2 took on himself the direct responsibility of having shot Mr. Ayerst, there is no doubt on the evidence that his real part was, like that of accused No. 1, of actively helping the murderers by their presence and assistance. Witness No. 37, Londe's evidence, though it professes to repeat what the 1st

accused told him, brings out clearly the fact that the three accused and Damodar went out on the Jubilee night to kill Mr. Rand, and that, though the murders were not actually committed by accused Nos. 1 and 2, they were actively helping those who committed the murders.

Mr. Ayerst's murder formed no part of the conspirator's common design, but was the result of a mishap by which his carriage was driven immediately behind Mr. Rand's. It is further borne out by the statement made by accused No. 3 on 27th February 1899. Though he had at first pleaded not guilty to the charge, and, in his lengthy statement made before Mr. Slater, had thrown the actual responsibility for the murders on two fictitious persons (Nana and Sakham), Accused No. 3 stated on the 27th February that he was responsible for the two murders, and that Damodar alone was present with them. According to accused No. 3, accused Nos. 1 and 2 needlessly took the responsibility of these murders on themselves when they were only responsible for the murder of the Dravids. The evidence of the coachman Bhau, of Mr. Stenson, of the two convent school girls, of Govind Londe, of the postman, and the gardner of Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Brewin shows clearly enough that though, as admitted by them, both accused Nos. 1 and 2 might have been active assistants and abettors in the conspiracy, and present at the place and time, the principals in the conspiracy were Damodar and accused No. 3. The responsibility of accused Nos. 1 and 2 is not thereby any way reduced, and in the eye of the law they were properly charged and convicted of murder. I have deemed it necessary to state these reasons for confirming the sentence passed on these two accused as they were not represented by counsel in this court. It is a peculiar feature of this case that the first two accused sought to assume greater responsibility on themselves in order to save accused No. 3, and accused No. 2 showed a similar anxiety to save accused Nos. 1 and 3. As these two accused had pleaded guilty, and nothing was said in support of their appeal before us, it was not strictly necessary, but for this circumstance to consider the evidence in detail. The case of the third accused stands on a different footing. He did not plead guilty in the Sessions Court as the other two accused did. In his first statement made before Mr. Slater, while he admitted that he was an active member of the conspiracy formed to murder Mr. Rand, he stated that the design originated with another person, and was actually executed by two other persons, and that he and Damodar left the Ganeshkhind Road just before the murders occurred. He made no mention whatsoever of the other two accused. It was only when these two accused admitted their presence, and one of them took the burden of the crime on himself

that accused No. 3 on the 27th February admitted in a somewhat excited and confused statement that he killed both Mr. Rand and Ayerst, and that Damodar alone was present with him at the time. In his final statement before the Sessions Judge, he denied the truth of what he had stated before Mr. Slater, as also before the City Magistrate, and denied his presence at the time and place of murder. It is these denials that distinguish the case of accused No. 3 from that of the two co-accused.

Mr. Bodas, who appeared on behalf of this accused argued at great length upon certain irregularities of the Magisterial proceedings, which, according to him, prejudiced the defence. In so far as they were confined to the proceedings before committal—namely, the alleged detention in police custody, the refusal to allow facilities to engage a pleader, the statement taken down before the Chief Presidency Magistrate in Bombay—it is obvious that these circumstances could have no influence on the trial in the Sessions Court, where accused No. 3 was defended by counsel. It is not necessary, therefore, to discuss these alleged irregularities. In so far as the inquiry in the Sessions Court was concerned, Mr. Bodas's chief point was that the charge to the jury was not as full and fair as it should have been in a case of murder. Section 423 directs that the Appellate Court has no authority to alter or reverse the verdict of jury unless it is of opinion that such verdict is erroneous owing to a misdirection by the Judge, or a misunderstanding of the law as laid down by him on the part of the jury. This same limitation applies to confirmation cases when Judge and jury agree. When the Judge and Jury differ, and the Judge makes a reference to this Court under Section 307, the whole case is opened up, and this Court has to exercise the functions of both Judge and jury. It is otherwise in a case like the present. All that part of the pleader's argument which concerned itself with questions of fact on which the jury formed their own opinion was therefore of no particular consequence, and the only thing we have to consider is whether there were any misdirections by the Judge, or misunderstanding of the law on the part of the jury as laid down by the Judge which prejudicially affected the verdict. Mr. Bodas contended first that the Judge's reference to the previous conviction of Damodar might have prejudiced the jury. The reference merely stated the fact that there had been such a conviction. The statements made by the accused and the evidence given by the witnesses were full of such reference, and as the evidence related to the same incidents the reference could not be avoided. The same remark holds good in respect of the references to the Dravid case to which also objection was taken. It was next urged that the Sessions Judge ought to have told the jury

that accused No. 1 in his statement had stated that Balkrishna accused No. 3 stayed at home on the Jubilee night. Seeing that accused No. 3 himself admitted that he had gone out, and did not return home till after he heard the shots on the way it is obvious that no great value could be attached to this statement of accused No. 1, and the omission to refer to it was immaterial. Exception, was next taken to the use of the word confession in respect of the statement made by accused no. 3 before Mr. Slatér. It was contended that statement was not a confession of murder, as accused No. 3 tried to make out that he left the Ganeshkhind Road just before the murder took place. It was, however, a confession of the complicity of the accused in the plot up to that stage, and when it was joined to his subsequent statement before the City Magistrate, the two together made a complete confession, and there was thus no misdescription in giving it that name. It was further urged that Londe's statement of what accused No. 1 had told him about the part taken by the accused No. 3 was inadmissible in evidence.

It may be doubted whether Section 10 of the Evidence Act strictly covers such a statement of an accomplished fact, but it was certainly not likely to have misled the jury, seeing that Londe's statement is in full keeping with the admission of accused No. 3 before the City Magistrate. Accused No. 3 according to his own showing, was not merely cognizant of the fact of the conspiracy, but he also took an active and principal part in it. This is clear when his two statements are read together. It was next contended that the judge was bound to have told the jury which of the conflicting statements made by accused Nos. 1 and 2 and by accused No. 3 was more likely to be true. The judge in the concluding part of his charge has done this in clear terms, when he told the jury that accused No. 3 could have no possible motive in making a false statement to his own prejudice before the City Magistrate on the 27th February. Moreover, apart from the desire to screen himself and the two co-accused (who were, however, more anxious to save accused No. 3 than themselves), there is no real conflict between the several statements except in the suggestion that the plot originated in the mind of a since deceased high Government official long before Mr. Rand came to Poona, and that it was actually carried out by two strangers, said to be dacoits, whose names had not been heard of till long after. The Judge very properly characterized both these additions as entitled to no credit in as much as they were in the face of them obviously false inventions, and on that account were not in the least corroborated. Lastly, it was urged that the Sessions Judge did not in his charge, warn the jury that Londe was not a creditable witness as he was under Police protection. There

does not appear to have been any occasion in this case to give such a warning. I have thus examined all the points of alleged misdirections and misunderstanding of the law to which our attention was drawn in the course of the arguments.

Taking the case against accused No. 3 as a whole, it is clear that he with his brother Damodar was dogging after Mr. Rand for weeks together from place to place, and that he was actively concerned in the preparations made for the crime, the collection of arms and ammunition, and the prospecting of the place on the day before the crime. This portion of the evidence against him is quite independent of his own admissions before Mr. Slater. His admissions before that officer, though they stop short of the actual offences charged, show that he with others was out on Jubilee night with arms and intent on mischief on the Ganeshkhind Road, and did not return home till after the murders. His final statement before the city Magistrate completes the chain when he admitted that he committed the murder, and his subsequent absconding and travelling in disguise for a year or so cannot be explained by motives of fear only. The chain is thus complete, and I feel satisfied that the jury rightly brought in a verdict of guilty in his case notwithstanding his plea of not guilty. We confirm the sentences on all three accused.

By the Court,

(Signed).....,
Registrar

WASUDEO CHAPEKAR AND MAHADEO RANADE
CONVICTED FOR MURDER OF DRAVID
BROTHERS

(J. D. Vol. 57 of 1899).

(From Notes by Members of the Governor in Council.)

I

Wasudeo Hari Chapekar and Mahadeo Vinayak Ranade were convicted of the murder of the Dravid Brothers and were sentenced by the Sessions Judge, Poona, on the 4th March 1899 to death. The sentence has been confirmed by the High Court.

Wasudeo Hari Chapekar, Mahadeo Vinayak Ranade and Balkrishna Hari Chapekar were convicted of the murder of Mr. Rand and Lieut. Ayerst and were sentenced by the Sessions Judge, Poona, on the 8th March 1899 to death ; and the sentence has been confirmed by the High Court.

Wasudeo Hari Chapekar and Balkrishna Hari Chapekar have appealed to Government (on 5th and 7th April respectively) while no petition has been received from Mahadeo Vinayak Ranade. In the case of the last mentioned convict, however, a petition has been received from his father (dated 6th April).

The execution of Wasudeo Hari Chapekar has been fixed for 17th April 1899 and that of Balkrishna Hari Chapekar for 24th April. The executions will be stayed by the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison pending the receipt of the order of the Government on their petitions.

In case of Mahadeo Vinayak Ranade the execution will be carried out on the date fixed by the Sessions Judge, which is not known.

High Court has confirmed the sentence of death on Balkrishna Hari Chapekar, but has at the same time suggested that Government might consider the propriety of exercising the prerogative of mercy on the grounds that the evidence does not show that he actually took part in the murders of Messrs. Rand and Ayerst (he is not concerned in the murder of the Dravids) but only that he abetted the same and that offence was committed in consequence of such abetment.

(b) The convict Ranade who has been convicted in both cases has not appealed to Government. His father has submitted a petition on his behalf : the execution has not been stayed (presumably it is fixed for the 17th April as in the case of the co-accused Wasudeo Chapekar).

(c) Balkrishna Hari Chapekar asks that if the sentence of death be confirmed he may be hung (hanged ?) on the same day as his brother Wasudeo.

(d) The ages of the convicts are (at the date of the trial)---

Balkrishna Hari Chapekar—24.

Wasudeo Hari Chapekar—19.

Mahadeo Ranade—20.

1. The petitions for clemency before us relate to two cases. First, the murder of Messrs. Rand and Ayerst. Secondly, the murder of the Dravid Brothers.

2. In the first case the two Chapekars and Mahadeo Ranade have on the unanimous verdict of the Jury been convicted of murder and sentenced to death. Wasudeo Chapekar and Ranade pleaded guilty. Balkrishna pleaded not guilty. In the case of all three the death sentences were confirmed by the High Court. But as regards Balkrishna one of the learned judges so far differed from the verdict that he did not find it proved that Balkrishna actually took part in, or even was present at the murder, but merely that he abetted the murder and that as the murder was committed in consequence of the abetment he was liable to the same punishment as if he himself had committed it. That learned judge drew the attention of Government to the distinction, in case Government should feel disposed to exercise their prerogative of mercy. It will be observed, however, that the other learned judge in confirming the sentence drew no such distinction.

3. In the second case the following persons have on the unanimous verdict of the jury been convicted—

1. Wasudeo Chapekar, age 19.

2. Mahadeo Ranade, age 20,

of murder and sentenced to death and

3. K. V. Sathe, age 17,

of abetment of murder and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 10 years.

4. In the opinion of those most competent to judge, the determined vindictiveness of these young men, with their perverted ideas of right, and reckless disregard of consequences to themselves, would render their enlargement, even years hence, a real menace to the safety of persons engaged in these prosecutions. The Inspector General of Police informs me that the convicts make no disguise of the fact that if they were set at liberty now their first act would be to make another attempt on the life of Chief Constable Ramji Pande. On the whole, therefore, while I cannot but feel strongly influenced by the youth of these two convicts, the responsibility imposed on

me does not in my opinion justify the exercise of the prerogative of the Crown in their favour.

5. I am content to accept in its entirety and with all its consequences the exceedingly careful, fair and manly judgment of Mr. Justice Ranade.....

We know that Damodar persistently said that his active accomplice in his crime was his brother Balkrishna : We know also that Wasudeo who voluntarily returned home (whereas Balkrishna did not) when interrogated by the Police, made a statement to the same effect, and this statement he subsequently confirmed on Oath before a Magistrate. It was not until afterwards, when he found himself in the predicament of having to go in to give evidence which could not but be fatal to his brother Balkrishna, that he took upon himself the responsibility for the crime, and then partly out of vengeance on account of his elder brother Damodar, he set the seal on his doom by his murder of one of the Dravids and his attempt on the life of the Chief Constable, 15th April 1899."

PETITIONS FOR RECONSIDERATION OF CASE

A second petition was sent by convict Mahadeo Vinayak Ranade on 10th April requesting for reconsideration of his case. If, however, the death sentence was to remain he should be hanged on the same day as the other two.

A similar petition was sent by Wassudeo Chapekar dated 10th April asking for justice or being hanged on the same day as the other two.

All these petitions were rejected by Government Resolution No. 2768, Judicial Department, dated 17th April 1899.

DATES FOR EXECUTION

These persons then sent petitions to the Government of India requesting that all three of them should be hanged on the same day.

Extract from letter by the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison to the Government, Judicial Department, dated 22nd April 1899.

"I propose carrying out the execution of convicts Wasudeo Hari and Mahadeo Vinayak on May 4th and that of Balkrishna Hari

Chapekar on May 6th. If each convict is to be executed separately, the dates will be Wassudeo on the 4th, Ranade on the 6th and Balkrishna on the 8th May.

“With regard to paragraph II, I presume that the usual number of the public can be allowed into the execution yard, that is to say about 50 to 60 adults. I would request information as to whether members of the press are to be allowed to be present at the execution (as they have been heretofore).

“The cremation (if their friends bear the expense) or burial will take place in the prison cemetery about a mile and a half from the prison on the banks of the river about 3/4 of a mile below Fitzgerald Eridge.

J. JACKSON, M.B.,
Capt., I.M.S.,
Superintendent, Central Prison, Yeravda”.

Government of India declined to interfere on behalf of the petitioners.

Executions were finally fixed as under :

Wasudeo Hari—8th May 1899.

Mahadeo Vinayak—10th May 1899.

Balkrishna Hari—12th May 1899.

BALKRISHNA CHAPEKAR'S PETITION

(J. D. VOL. NO. 57 OF 1899, PAGE 181.)

No. 49 of 1899.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR'S DEPARTMENT :

Bombay Castle, 10th April, 1899.

Translation of a petition from Balkrishna Hari Chapekar, a convict in the Yerrowda Central Prison, to His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, dated 7th and received for translation in this Department on 9th April, 1899.

“On 8th March last, the Sessions Judge, Poona, sentenced me to death for the offence of murder, and that sentence was confirmed by the High Court on 4th April (1899). But the Honourable Judges of the

High Court, who confirmed the sentence, observed in their judgment that the evidence adduced against me in the Court of Session was not sufficient to prove either that I was present at the place of the murder or that I took any part whatever in committing it. The Honourable Judges remarked that I was aware of the conspiracy for the murder but observed silence (in the matter) in consequence of the pressure exercised by my (elder) brother on me. The reason why the Honourable Judges set out these facts in detail was that Government might have an opportunity of exercising, in the present case, their prerogative of remitting the sentence passed on a criminal.

For these reasons, I pray that Your Excellency in Council will be pleased to call for the judgment of the High Court in the case and show mercy to me in accordance with the power vested in your Excellency in Council by law.

I did not directly commit the murders (in question) nor did I commit the (other) offences with which I was charged before the Court of Session. The Honourable Judges of the High Court dealt with the evidence in a spirit of impartiality, but I regret that they had not the courage to decide the case finally in accordance with (their) usual practice, and I confidently hope that Your Excellency in Council will be pleased to grant justice to me.

In case our Excellency in Council be disinclined to grant my prayer for mercy, I pray that I may be hanged on 17th April, 1899, on which day my younger brother, Wasudev Hari Chapekar, is to be executed, so that I may at least have the poor consolation of dying with him."

(Signed)

Oriental Translator to Government.

PETITION OF MAHADEO RANADE

(J. D. Vol No. 57 OF 1899, PAGES 225 TO 230.)

Translation of a petition from Mahadev Vinayak Ranade, a prisoner in the Yerrowda Central Prison to His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, dated 10th and received for translation in this Department on 12th April, 1899.

The Sessions Judge, Poona, sentenced me to death in two cases, on 4th and 8th March, 1899, respectively. At eight O'clock in the

morning of 9th February, 1899, I was called to the Faraskhana, and asked where I was the previous night. I replied that I was at my house. At about 12 O'clock, I was given *basundi* (Milk boiled to a slight consistence and mixed with sugar and spices) and *puri* (A raised wheaten cake fried in butter or oil) to eat, (and) I do not remember at all where I was kept or what I was asked after that time. On Wednesday, I only learnt that I had been sentenced to death. I was in my senses on that day. I came to know of everything by reading the newspapers. The conduct of the Police towards me will show that they exercised great pressure over me, as will appear from the following :—After the arrest of Damodar Hari Chapekar, I too was arrested, made to give false evidence, and compelled by means of beating, to reduce it to writing (Sic). On my telling the Police that I would not give false evidence they made me give (false) evidence by beating me and giving me, as an inducement, eight annas a day for three days to buy eatables, and then set me at liberty. I then made petitions to the Collector (of Poona), the Sessions Judge (Poona), and the High Court, whereupon Mr. Brewin called me to the Faraskhana and said "Did you make a petition? All right. It is well that we have come to know this beforehand, otherwise we would have been disgraced in (open) court. Now if I fail to put you into prison within one year, I shall pluck out one of my mustaches." In this manner I was (caused to be) sentenced to death. About five or six months ago Rama Pandu, having called me to the Faraskhana, showed me a sword, a five or seven chambered revolver, and a red-coloured box, and said "You threw these articles into the river near the temple of OmKareshwar, and were seen (doing so) by our sepoy". I was then ordered to be searched and kept in a lockup. Nothing was found in my possession during the search. I then said "I did not throw these weapons (into the river) if your sepoy saw me (throwing them), why was I not arrested at the time?" Thereupon, Jamadar Kamarthe said "Let him go today; we shall call him to account some other time". I was then allowed to go. In this manner the Police got up the whole case against me, and I was sentenced to death. By employing such deadly means (lit. experiments) for the purpose of getting me into their power (lit. subduing me), the Police accomplished their desired object and took revenge upon me. As every thing appears to be red to a person using red-coloured spectacles, so every statement made by the Police appears true to those (authorities) who simply rely upon the Police (lit. use the Police as their spectacles). Government will, therefore, be pleased to make a minute inquiry (into the matter) and grant me proper justice. If all three (i.e. the two Chapekars and myself) be sentenced to death, one and the same day may be fixed (for our execution), as that will give consolation

to us and satisfaction to the Police. It will not be necessary to prepare a new (Let. separate) place of execution, as (already) three hooks are ready.

(Signed) MOTILAL GANGADAS DALAL,
for Oriental Translator to Government.

PRESS REPORTS

Bombay Gazette.

Poona, May 8.

"Wassudeo Chapekar was hanged at Yeravda this morning : The execution passed off quietly, hardly anyone being about. The public were not allowed to be present, only officials, and Press being on the spot. The police kept the space, in front of the prison clear, and a native infantry guard was also drawn up. The death sentence was read in the jail yard and the condemned man was led out of prison to the gallows yard at a minute before seven O'clock. His face was drawn, but did not show the slightest signs of fear. He mounted the scaffold readily, reciting prayers the whole time. At the first stroke of seven the drop fell, prisoner died almost immediately. Being a light person he had a drop of eight feet. Some relatives came to ask for the body which was handed over to them for cremation and taken to the river side under the police escort. It is said that the prisoner died with a copy of the "Bhagwat Gita" in his hand.

It is said that when passing his brother's cell, he called out "Brother, I am going", Balkrishna is reported to have shouted 'good bye'.

When the death sentence was read to the prisoner, the latter is reported to have made no reply, when the result of the appeal to the Government of India was made known to the prisoner and the date of the execution was fixed. He remained cheerful until yesterday, when he took but little food. He slept but little on Sunday night, arousing about 1 O'clock and remained reciting prayers to the end."

EXTRACT FROM NEWSPAPER "GURAKHI"

(J. D. VOL. 217 OF 1900.)

(An article entitled "The Chapekars, the Dravids and Mr. Brewin" published in the *Gurakhi* Newspaper throws some light on the murder of the Dravid Brothers. The authenticity of the information given in the article is not established. Still it is worthwhile noting what the article says in the matter. Here are pertinent portions in the articles :)

From article dated 30th March 1899 :

"Some may surmise that with a view to appropriate (the reward of) ten thousand rupees, the police may simply put forward Dravid nominally, by holding out to him the inducement of release from imprisonment. But this is altogether false. It was Dravid himself who gave correct information about Chapekar to the police and pocketed in hard cash Rs. 9,738 out of Rs. 10,000 after deducting Rs. 262 on account of income-tax. Though the Police had a little clue as to Chapekar, as that was dry, the police could get nothing out of it by chewing it ; therefore by means of the moisture of the information (furnished) by Dravid, the arrant and corrupt blackguard of Poona, they cooled the former clue and then chewing it the Police extracted an essence in the form of the Chapekar case and began to get newspapers like the Times of India to make assertions such as these that there existed a secret conspiracy amongst the Poona Brahmans. The following account of the dry clue which the Police had found has reached our ears in a very curious manner :—

POLICE GET THE FIRST CLUE

There lived at Poona near the Badami Haud a boy of Chapekar's club. As he was getting insolent in the house towards his parents, and had taken to rambling and roving, his father had many a time chastised him severely. But as he could not be cured of that evil habit of his, one day his father asked him to go out of his house. The only object his father had in asking his own son to do so was to ascertain where his son went and what he did after leaving his house ; so that he would be able to discover the cause which had spoiled his son. The boy being so ordered by his father left his house with his packet and dafter and went straight to the Budhwar Peth Corner intending to hire a carriage there and go by rail to some place.

While the boy was hiring a conveyance in Budhwar Peth his brother who at the direction of his father, had closely followed him unobserved to watch what he was doing and where he was going, having observed that he had hired a conveyance gave information about it to the Police, who immediately took him to the Faraskhana and made him understand matters well, that is to say, beat him severely and examined the packet in his possession. They found in the packet two good daggers, two indented large knives, an old rusty broken swordblade, a sling, some books and a list in manuscript. The list contained the names of a few individuals, such as Nilu Dravid, Chapekar &c. written in a line, while the name of Chapekar was written therein in his capacity as Guruji. After this the police made him understand matters well and having taken possession of the said list and all other articles asked him where his club was located. He thereupon told the police that the club existed formerly, but was not then in existence and that they used to practice Dandpatta, gymnastic feats &c. in the Club.

After that the Police further intimidated him and let him go. But as he died in a few days after this incident and as Rand was murdered a few days after his death, the police had to remain content only with the list found before. But as the list contained the name of a certain notorious blackguard, the Police ran to the thief and cut throat Dravid for help and threw before him the bait of the reward offered for the detection of murderers. Directly the thief Dravid, with the help of his younger brother named Nilu added fully to the merit of the slander as well to that of theft. The moment Ganu Dravid mentioned Damodar's name the police arrested him (Damodar) and made him understand matters well, but without avail. Thereupon the police again went to Ganesh who then told them that their beating him would be of no use whatever without their cajoling him. The Police were just on the point of releasing Damodar, but immediately upon their receiving from the scoundrel Dravid the above advice, which as it were added fuel to the flame, Mr. Brewin began regularly coaxing him (Damodar). What sort of cajoling that was is indeed well known. While the Police were entertaining Damodar in that fashion like the brother-in-law of a King, he, about a fortnight after, got up at three O'clock one day in the morning and asked the watchman at his door to fetch Mr. Brewin. He immediately brought Mr. Brewin there. The moment (Mr. Brewin was brought there) Chapekar attacked as it were with a fit of delirium consisting of a vain display of a sort of self-importance, conceit and love of show, began to blurt out all sorts of things, in Mr. Brewin's presence, just as a delirious man raves about what he has done and what he is going to do.

In that very fit he distinctly confessed that he himself was the perpetrator of all the things asked of him by the Police authorities, including the pouring of Damar on the Queen's statue. Immediately the Police, otherwise called the messengers of Yama, strengthened the case to all outward appearance and having brought Damodar before the Court of Yama in the form of Sessions Court, caused him to be hanged : and having earned the approval of Government they fulfilled the promise given to Dravid about his release from jail and the payment to him of the reward."

2

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES.

- 1. JACKSON MURDER CASE**
- 2. NASIK CONSPIRACY CASE**
- 3. VINAYAK D. SAWARKAR**
- 4. TERRORISM IN BOMBAY**

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES.

[The revolutionary activities have followed the beginning of the democratic agitation in the country. Like the peaceful mass agitation revolutionary activities also were first visible in this presidency—Maharashtra—(Constitutional Development—Proof G. N. Singh—Vol. 1, p. 232) Chapekar brothers' activities (1895) are supposed to be their starting point (Sedition Committee report). The Shivaji club of Kolhapur (1893) was also started, it appears, with objects similar to those of Chapekars. (Life of Shahu Chatrapati by A. B. Lathe, p. 291). This club deserves attention as it appears that it was apparently the first of its kind in the Bombay Presidency and was started prior to Chapekar's. This was started by Hanamantrao Kulkarni Murki-Bhavikar. His colleagues in this adventure were Nanasahab Gaikwad, Zunjarrao Ghatge, etc. The club was working in the Kolhapur State and its near about areas and remained unnoticed by the police in the Presidency till it came in the lime light first at the time of the Beed dacoities (1899). It was then declared illegal. It was heard of again at the time of Khadilkar's Nepal activities (Nepal-1902-1904) and again in 1908 when an attempt was made on the life of Col. Ferris the resident of Kolhapur. The club was raided by the state authorities (1879) after which it became more popular. Thus it appears, there were two groups functioning (1) Kolhapur (1893) and (2) Chapekar (1895) in Maharashtra. The author of the "Liberator" a book which gives an account of Arvind Babu's early activities, states that there was an organisation in Western India (1896) of which Shri Arvind was the president, though he has not given any evidence in support of his statement. The information in the "Liberator" also shows that the organisational activity of this group was controlled by the Thakur Saheb, who hailed, it is said, from Udepur and was mainly working in the army. The extracts given in this section include-Kolhapur Group, Chapekar Brothers' Cases (1897), Abhinava Bharat organisation (Nasik), Savarkar-case (Ganesh Damodar-1909), Jackson Murder case (1910), the famous case of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1910), and the activities of Poona-Aundh (Satara)-Pen-Pandharpur groups. Of the above, the reports regarding the revolutionary activities in the Kolhapur State are not fully traceable in Bombay Police Records, evidently because Kolhapur was a Native State.

A lot of literature has been published on this subject and some of the publications have brought out their internal differences, organisational and otherwise. These were traced by the police also at that time. The story of how and wherefrom they collected the literature and explosives is fully disclosed in these extracts. The bombs, it

appears, were first used for such activities after 1908 in Maharashtra and Bengal. The literature and also knowledge of its preparation was first secured by Bapat (Senapati P. M.) in Paris (1907). The same literature was sent by Savarkar to Maharashtra and by Hemchandra to Bengal. But about the same time it is said that Govind P. Bapat of Poona had prepared some such explosives and bomb shells. The empty shells were shown by Tilak to Arvind (January 1908) which was reported by Arvind to C. C. Dutt, I.C.S. (The latter's article in the Maratha August, 1952) who was then one of his trusted lieutenants. Manufacture of Bombs on an appreciable scale was first done, it appears by the Bombay group—Karve (Krishnaji Gopal—Jackson murder case), Khare (Krishnaji Gopal M.A., LL.B.—Nasik case, pleader-practising at Poona), Potdar (Govindrao) and V. P. Nagpurkar. Karve had gone to Bengal and had brought from there some pamphlets and books (on bomb making). They started manufacture of bombs on a small factory scale. "Reliable members were called from different districts to learn the preparation of Picric and fulminate, and the teaching was mainly done in specially hired rooms in mill area by Karve and Nagpurkar" (K. G. Khare's statement). This they had started, "the very next day" of Tilak's arrest (1908). This group manufactured bombs and distributed them to their workers. After the Jackson murder, the bombs and the factory were removed or destroyed before they were arrested". Browning pistols were sent to India in an appreciable number in 1909 by V. D. Savarkar. Jackson murder was planned and executed by Karve group (Krishnaji Gopal—Nasik) which was distinct from the Savarkar group. The Karve group, it appears from Police Reports was formed in 1908 but originally it might have belonged to the same fraternity and perhaps parted company about 1908 due to temperamental differences. But it was this Karve group to which Kanhere, the youngest of them who had pressed for some action and offered to do it himself, belonged. The Nasik murder shocked Government and practically all the underground activities were traced and suppressed. Savarkar's bid to escape from the ship at Marseilles was an astounding event. It was not the distance which was about fifteen feet only, but the plan of escape which was very important. The police reports also suggest that the plan might be a premeditated one and the Scotland Yard had a scent of it. Their intimation of caution and a request for help to the French police in case there was any attempts for his escape indicate the same. Inspector Parkar who was deputed by the Commissioner of Police (London) on the request of the Government of India to assist Savarkar's safe transfer to India, it seems reasonable to infer, must be aware of it. At 6-10 a.m. Parkar had enquired of Savarkar about the time and the latter had told it to him. About 7-30 a.m. Savarkar was taken to

the water closet and escaped through the port hole. Savarkar was chased and rearrested and brought back to his cabin when Power (and perhaps Parkar also) was found sleeping and the doors were closed. This is a suspicious situation. The same Parkar in his evidence has told that the Browning pistols were secured in Paris not by Savarkar but by somebody else. The extracts on Savarkar's case show how the Governments of Bombay and India were anxious to punish him as early as possible without coming in conflict with their International obligations. However, the Hague Tribunal was in favour of the British Government. The Judgment stated "H. M. Britanica is not required to restore the said V. D. Savarkar to the Government of French Republic". The French evidence shows that Savarkar was arrested by the French gendarme while our police reports claim that Savarkar was first caught by the Indian police Constable. Bombay Government had also misgivings that there was "a chance of acquittal on charge of abetment". The fact that there were sharp differences among the different groups on the point that no isolated action like murders or any such other activity, should be done, is not found in the police reports. After the Jackson murder almost all the prominent revolutionaries were found out and sentenced and the police with relief state in their reports "that the movement was effectively checked." A few life sketches of the revolutionaries connected with this presidency and prepared by the intelligence department are given here. They include, Madam Cama, Sardar Sing Rana, W. V. Phadke, Chanjeri Rao and others. The extracts are not exhaustive. The other important events are the attempts to organise armed resistance with the help of the German Government, (1915-16) at the time of 1st World War. The group which made these attempts included some students from this presidency. That case was not, it seems, strenuously pursued by the police. Some of those who were traced included N. S. Marathe, Dr. Sukathankar, Dr. K. K. Joshi, Prof. G. R. Paranjape, all of them from Poona. They were interrogated by the Police but no action was taken. Of the material on the above topics, the extracts taken from Government records have been included in this section.

THE JACKSON MURDER CASE OF NASIK

[FROM J. D. VOL. 174, COMPILATION 1674 OF 1910.]

The following persons were arrested in connection with the murder of Mr. Jackson, Collector of Nasik, on the night of the 21st December, 1909 :—

	Name	Arrested on	Made statement on
1.	Anant Laxman Kanhere ...	21st December 1909	21st December 1909
2.	Krishna Gopal Karve ...	24th December 1909	6th January 1910
3.	Vinayak Narayan Deshpande.	23rd December 1909	6th January 1910
4.	Shankar Ramchandra Soman.	23rd December 1909	6th January 1910
5.	Waman <i>alias</i> Daji Narayan Joshi.	30th December 1909	4th January 1910
6.	Ganesh B. Vaidya ...	22nd December 1909	2nd January 1910
7.	Dattatraya Pandurang Joshi.	22nd December 1909	5th January 1910

WHO THEY WERE ?

1. *Anant Laxman Kanhere*.—Born in 1891. Elder brother Ganpatrao, younger brother Shankarrao. Two sisters. Started life at Indore. Went to Aurangabad to his uncle Barve in 1903 for further study. His brother Ganpatrao was at Barsi. Anant stayed with this brother for some time. In 1908 he returned to Aurangabad and stayed in a hired room in one Gangaram Rupchand Shroff's house. Gangaram had a friend at Yevla named Tonpe. He was a member of the secret society of Nasik. One Ganu Vaidya of Nasik used to visit Yevla to meet his relative. Ganu became acquainted with Gangaram at Yevla. He went with Gangaram to Aurangabad to purchase cheap weapons for the Nasik Secret Society. Anant became acquainted with this Vaidya at Aurangabad.

2. *Krishnaji Gopal Karve*.—He was a B.A. (Hon.), and was studying law at Bombay. He was then 23 years old. He was the moving spirit of one of the secret organizations in Maharashtra. He initiated Shankar Ramchandra Soman in the secret organization. He knew

the preparation of bombs and taught the process to Soman and Chandratre. He purchased seven Browning pistols, one revolver, and one Countrymade pistol from one Gopalrao Patankar, who had received the parcel of Browning Pistols sent by V. D. Savarkar through his cook Chaturbhuj. This was in May or June 1909.

3. *Vinayak Narayan Deshpande*.—He was 21 years old. He was a member of the Secret organization. He was the First Assistant teacher in the Panchavati School at Nasik. He was married. He conducted a handloom as an additional vocation. On the third floor of the building where this handloom was working there was an old darkroom, where Deshpande and others of the Secret Society held their secret meetings. Deshpande had collected some explosives, which were kept in a box.

4. *Shankar Ramchandra Soman*.—He was a student aged 18 years.

5. *Waman alias Daji Narayan Joshi*.—He was 20 years old. He was a teacher in the Panchavati school.

6. *Ganesh B. Vaidya*.—He was the person who collected and stored explosives and weapons for the secret society. It was to him that Anant expressed his willingness to do something by way of retaliation against the barbarous conviction of Savarkar.

7. *Dattatraya Pandurang Joshi*.—He was a student at Aurangabad and a friend of Anant.

STORY OF THE PLOT

The following is the summary of the happenings on the night of 21st December, as given in the Judgment delivered by the High Court :—

“A number of young men in Nasik were affected by the political influence of the time, and as early as 1908 formed a secret society or association, membership of which involved the taking of an oath. The objects of this society are variously described, but it appears that arms were collected, explosives were made or attempted to be made and the oath was administered to a considerable number of young men, both in Nasik and elsewhere. Whether this society was a branch of some larger organisation cannot be exactly said.

The original members were Karve, Deshpande and Soman (accused 2, 3, 4). Subsequently they were joined by accused No. 6 Vaidya, who became the keeper of the weapons of the society.

Some time in June last or later Vaidya visited Aurangabad, where he formed the acquaintance of Anant, accused No. 1, i.e., the youth who afterwards shot Mr. Jackson. Anant learnt from Vaidya of the Secret Society, reproached him for doing so little and suggested that someone should be killed. Vaidya undertook to place this suggestion before the society. On his return to Nasik, he did so, with the result that Anant was invited there. Anant went and became acquainted with Deshpande, Soman and Joshi (Nos. 3, 4, 5). This was about the middle of September or a little later. At an early period of this visit Anant was taken to a darkened room in Vaidya's house where Deshpande, Soman and Vaidya were present. There Anant's willingness to commit murder was ascertained and the proposal to murder Mr. Jackson was discussed. Thereafter Anant was at least twice taken to the Collector's Katchery to be shown Mr. Jackson, so that he should be in no doubt as to his identity. Waman Joshi (No. 5) was with him on one of these occasions and on one of his visits to the Katchery Anant saw Mr. Jackson. On two occasions in the early morning he was taken to a lonely spot by Deshpande, Soman and Waman Joshi (Nos. 3, 4, 5) and there taught the use of a pistol supplied by Vaidya (No. 6). During this visit to Nasik, Anant was taken to a photographer, on one occasion by Waman Joshi (No. 5) and on another by Deshpande (No. 3) for the purpose of having his photograph taken. For some reason Anant was unable to prolong his visit to Nasik and had to return to Aurangabad. But he was anxious to have an excuse for again coming to Nasik without encountering opposition from those in his own town who were interested in him. For this purpose, it was arranged that Deshpande (No. 3) should go to Barsi Road and thence send a telegram purporting to come from Anant's brother informing him that the former was ill. Deshpande went to Barsi Road and sent a telegram on the strength of which Anant left Aurangabad again and made his way by Barsi Road to Manmad, where he was met by Vaidya (No. 6) and thence to Nasik. Here he again came into close association with accused Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 (Deshpande, Soman, Waman and Vaidya). Upto this time Karve (No. 2), who was the recognised head of the society, had not been informed of the project to murder Mr. Jackson and it was felt to be necessary to consult him and obtain his consent. Vaidya (No. 6) and Waman (No. 5) went to Bombay where he was living to fetch him to Nasik. He promised to come. They returned, and shortly afterwards Karve came to the station where he had a consultation with Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6 (Anant, Soman, Waman and Vaidya). The murder of Mr. Jackson was discussed but nothing definite was decided on apparently because Anant demanded

a helper, a matter in which it was felt to be difficult to meet his wishes. After spending a night at a house near the station, Karve returned to Bombay and Anant, after obtaining his photographs, to Aurangabad and there the matter rested for a time. A little later Anant wrote to Waman Joshi stating that he alone was ready to commit a murder, though not that of Mr. Jackson. Waman wrote a reply to this letter which was despatched from Nasik on the 16th October.

Nothing further was done at the time and afterwards Anant was informed that the Nasik conspirators were not ready for the project. Thereafter, Waman Joshi went to Dhulia and had nothing further to do with the affair. Vaidya was absent in Bombay when the letter was sent, but returned to Nasik and was there when the last steps preliminary to the murder were arranged.

In December it became known that Mr. Jackson was to leave Nasik and that he was to attend a performance in the Vijayanand theatre there. This news had the effect of stimulating the conspirators to activity. It was determined to use the occasion of the theatrical performance, which had been fixed for the 21st. Deshpande (No. 3) went to Aurangabad on the 19th to fetch Anant. He returned to Nasik on the morning of the 21st and reported that Anant was coming. The latter arrived by the afternoon train. They travelled by the same train as the two boys from Aurangabad, Dattu (No. 7) and one Kashinath who had arranged apparently in connection with some affair to come to Nasik, on the afternoon of the 21st. On the way it was arranged that Vaidya (No. 6) must not see Anant at the Nasik Station, so from Manmad, Anant travelled Second Class in one part of the train and the two boys went in Third in a different portion. On arrival the two boys were met by and went off to Nasik with Vaidya (No. 6) and Anant escaped notice.

A comparison of the statements of the accused enables us to give the following detailed account of the events of the 21st December so far as they affect these accused. Deshpande (No. 3) returned from Anant in the morning and went to see Karve (No. 2), whether to the place where the looms were, that being the residence at the time of himself (No. 3) and Soman (No. 4), or at some other place, does not clearly appear. He informed both Karve (No. 2) and Soman (No. 4) that Anant was coming that day to kill the Collector. Karve (No. 2) said that in that case they must provide arms and sent Deshpande (No. 3) to Ganu Vaidya (No. 6). The latter brought to loom place 2 Browning Pistols, one large and one small. Karve

(No. 2) asked him to bring the nickel plated revolver also. He said he had not got it then, but would obtain it. Later in the day Karve (No. 2) went home taking the small pistol with him and leaving the big one at the loom place. He told Soman (No. 4) to go to Vaidya (No. 6) at 7 o'clock and bring what he would give. Meantime, Ganu (No. 6) had obtained the revolver from Dandekar. He (No. 6) loaded it and gave it to Soman (No. 4), when he came. The latter (No. 4) took it to Deshpande (No. 3) or to Anant (No. 1) himself, it is not certain which. Anant had arrived in Nasik and gone to the loom place. At that same place Soman (No. 4) gave him a packet of poison, which Karve (No. 2) had provided and a paper written by Karve (No. 2) and headed "murder for murder" of which Anant (No. 1) made a copy. Thereafter Soman (No. 4) went home, Karve (No. 2) went to the theatre from his own house taking with him the small pistol and Deshpande (No. 3) took Anant (No. 1) to the Theatre from the loom place. He (No. 3) left Anant near the door and joined Karve (No. 2) at another part of the Theatre. On Mr. Jackson's arrival, Anant (No. 1) shot him. Anant's part in the affair needs no corroboration for he has not denied it."

Judgment in the above case was given by the Chief Justice of Bombay on Tuesday 29th March 1910. The accused were sentenced as under :—

1. Anant Laxman Kanhere ... To be hanged by neck.
2. Krishnaji Gopal Karve ... To be hanged by neck.
3. Vinayak Narayan Deshpande. To be hanged by neck.
4. Shankar Ramchandra Soman. Transportation for life.
5. Waman *alias* Daji Narayan Joshi. Transportation for life.
6. Ganesh Balaji Vaidya ... Transportation for life.
7. Dattatrya Pandurang Joshi. Two years' rigorous imprisonment.

STORY OF THE NASIK CONSPIRACY

(EXTRACT FROM SPECIAL BENCH JUDGEMENT GIVEN ON PAGES 153 TO 182
OF SECRET ABSTRACT, 1911, C. I. D., BOMBAY.)

THE MITRA MELA

The evidence in this case establishes that prior to the year 1906, an association of young men, mostly Brahmans, existed in Nasik under leadership of Ganesh and Vinayak Savarkar which was known as the Mitra Mela. In it were reproduced the features of other similar associations in the Deccan to which reference has already been made. Exciting songs were prepared for the Ganpati and Shivaji festivals and the members of the Mitra Mela used to join in singing these songs either in procession or in the precincts of some temple or other place of assembly.

Physical instruction was given to members by one of the witnesses in this case and by a Mahomedan brought for the purpose from Baroda. The activities of the association did not however cease there, for we have evidence, which we accept as true, that meetings were held at the house of Ganesh Savarkar and of Aba Darekar, one of the song writers of the association, at which the biographies of patriotic revolutionists were read and re-read, the particular favourites being Mazzini, Shivaji and Ramdas and where discussions were carried on with regard to the means for attaining independence for India. At these meetings the methods advocated were the education of the public by means of lectures, books and songs, and the preparation for rising against the British Government by collection of arms and ammunition.

We have examples of inflammatory speeches delivered by Vinayak and Narayan Savarkar and by Mahadev Bhat, and a photograph of a number of members of the Mitra Mela, several of whom are among the accused, grouped round Vinayak Savarkar in which four or five pictures of Shivaji, a board bearing the words "Bande Mataram" and a book bearing the name of Mazzini on the outer cover are prominently displayed, which corroborate the general description of the aims and methods of the association given by the witnesses.

The photograph exhibit A271, to which reference has been made, marks an important stage in the history of the association. Its occasion was the impending departure of Vinayak Savarkar for

England in the middle of June 1906, a step which he was enabled to take owing to his being the recipient of a scholarship given by Shamji Krishna Varma, the founder of the India House at Highgate. Up to the time of his departure Vinayak Savarkar had been one of the most active and probably the most stimulating of the members of the Mitra Mela. In the early part of 1906 speeches were delivered by him in Poona and in Nasik the object of which was to arouse the passion for independence and hatred of the foreign rulers of the country and to suggest how by means of mental training and physical exercises, preparation might be made for successful revolt.

THE ABHINAV BHARAT

Before the departure of Vinayak Savarkar the Mitra Mela had developed into or given birth to the Abhinav Bharat or Young India Society a title which the prosecution suggests was borrowed from the "Young Italy" of Mazzini. Its objects were unquestionably revolutionary.

The aim of its members was to be prepared for war. The list of objects enumerated in Exhibit 9B found in the possession of Kashikar in 1909 affords ample corroboration of the evidence of the witnesses upon this point.

REVOLUTIONARY SONGS.

The books of verse composed by members of the society known as the "Laghu Abhinav Bharat Mala" were printed and published in Bombay and Sholapur and were for a long time openly sold though of a most inflammatory character. The publisher of four of the earlier issues of the above series deposes that the copyright was sold to him by Vinayak before his departure for England in 1906 and an edition of 5,000 copies was published in September of that year.

GANESH SAVARKAR SENTENCED

This series of publications culminated in 1908 with the issue by Ganesh Savarkar of Flowers 8 and 9 containing a clear incitement to war against the British. They resulted in the arrest of Ganesh Savarkar on the 28th February 1909 and his subsequent conviction and transportation but not before he had made arrangements for the reception in Bombay of a consignment of Browning pistols which were originally destined for Nasik.

STRICT SECRECY

All the witnesses who have described the inner working of the Abhinav Bharat Society in Nasik speak of the administration of oaths to its members. Its existence appears to have been suspected by the police, but its proceedings were kept secret so successfully that no action was taken in regard to the association till the murder of Mr. Jackson on the 21st of December 1909. There is evidence in the shape of certain documents found in the possession of the accused Kashikar shortly after the arrest of Ganesh Savarkar in 1909 which indicates that the association aimed at some sort of organisation founded upon the model of revolutionary societies in Russia.

In a search of the house of Ganesh Savarkar about the same time a much scored copy of "Forst's Secret Societies of the European Revolution, 1776-1876" was found, in which is described the secret organisation of the Russian Nihilists consisting of small circles of groups affiliated into sections, each member knowing only the members of the circle to which he belonged. This may explain the existence of various small groups of young men who are found in this case to have been working for the same objects and drawing weapons from the same source without acquaintance with the members of other groups.

LIFE OF MAZZINI

It appears that Vinayak not content with the lives of Mazzini available in English for the instruction of his associates was, at or soon after the time of his departure for England, engaged on the preparation of a Marathi version of the autobiography of Mazzini with an introduction summarising the political teaching of the Italian. After his arrival in England, Vinayak did not take long to complete this work. It was sent out by him to India for the purpose of publication and was issued from a Poona Press through the agency of Ganesh Savarkar. The order for the printing was given at the end of December 1906 and an edition of 2,000 copies was ready in April, 1907.

The introduction emphasizes the importance of elevating politics to the rank of religion and argues that Ramdas, the saint of the Maharashtra in the time of Shivaji, possessed the same spiritual essence as Mazzini under a different name. It points out how Mazzini relied upon the youth of the country to attain independence, and then proceeds to dilate upon his twofold programme of instruction and war.

The suggested methods of preparation for war are the purchase and storing of weapons in neighbouring countries to be used when opportunity should occur ; the opening of many very small but secret factories at some distance from one another, for the manufacture of weapons clandestinely in the country ; seeking independence and the purchase by secret societies of weapons in other countries to be secretly imported in merchant ships.

MEANING OF BOYCOTT

The introduction also contains a significant passage upon "Swadeshi" agitation, by which says Vinayak, is meant "the imposition of restraint upon the plundering propensities of another and the protection of one's own rights. Ordinary men do not know all at once what their rights are. Therefore all that they can comprehend at the outset is that the trade carried on by Foreigners is inflicting loss upon themselves. They therefore become ready to adopt oppressive measures for the protection of their trade. When this oppression commences, the persons who at first boycotted only the trade, quite easily have recourse to the true way. They begin to perceive that it is of no use to boycott foreign cloth or tobacco or tea which are inanimate. What meaning is there in their venting their anger on these lifeless things ? They must vent their real anger only on these animate things which give support to those inanimate things. Not foreign goods but foreigners themselves must be boycotted." Much of the evidence suggested that this view of Swadeshi has been generally accepted amongst the followers of the Savarkars in the Deccan during the last few years.

Vinayak's Mazzini had a great success. All the copies of the first edition had been taken from the publisher within three months of its publication and it appears from a letter of the accused Patankar dated the 30th of December 1908 addressed to Ganesh Savarkar, that the latter was at that time contemplating the issue of a new edition of 3000 copies. That the book was used in support of inflammatory political harangues appears from the reports of the speeches of the accused Barve delivered in June 1907. Those speeches were delivered in advocacy of secret societies, such as those established by Mazzini in order to obtain independence, and Barve recommends the audience to read the life of Mazzini in Marathi written by his friend Savarkar.

According to the confession of Barve his speeches synchronized with the establishment of a regular constitution for the Abhinav Bharat Society, for he says that in April or May 1907, the First

General Half Yearly Meeting of the Society was held at Kothura near Nasik and that it was followed by another meeting after six months at Sion on the outskirts of Bombay and by a third meeting in April or May 1908 at Nasik.

ACTIVITIES OF SAVARKAR IN EUROPE

We will now refer to the evidence regarding the activities of Vinayak Savarkar in Europe. That evidence consists of the depositions of a person who was from May 1908 until February 1909 cook at the India House in High Gate, of a student of Engineering whose acquaintance with Vinayak in London commenced in October 1906 and another person who made the acquaintance of Vinayak in London towards the end of 1909, of certain letters written by Vinayak to his friends in India and of publications coming from the pen of Vinayak or found in his possession or that of his associates or tools.

INDIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

We see no reason to disbelieve the evidence of any of the London witnesses abovementioned. They testify that Vinayak was the leader of a group of ardent revolutionists at the India House. He completed while he was there, a history of the Indian Mutiny or as he calls it "The Indian War of Independence" in Marathi, which was translated into English by other residents at the India House. He organized at suitable houses in London in May 1907 and 1908 meetings in which the anniversary of the outbreak of the Mutiny was celebrated. He despatched to India inflammatory pamphlets styled "Oh Martyrs" in praise of those Indians who fell on the rebel side during the Mutiny and metal buttons which have been referred to in this case as Mutiny buttons. He did not, however, confine his activities to writings and speeches. In August and September 1908 he was occupied with other associates at the India House in manifolding a number of typed copies of a work dealing with the preparation of bombs and dangerous explosives suitable for anarchical outrages. Many of these were despatched by post to various places in India. Vinayak also administered oaths of the Young India Society, which he stated had branches all over the world, to two of the London witnesses.

TWENTY BROWNING PISTOLS

When the cook left London for India in 1908 Vinayak forced him to pack in his trunk a parcel containing 20 Browning automatic pistols and a number of cartridges for the same, to be delivered together with a letter to one or other of two addresses in Bombay, and when another

witness left Paris for India in 1910 Vinayak tried to induce him to take a similar parcel of 25 Browning pistols and on his refusal prevailed upon him to take one pistol concealed in his trunk. It has been strenuously contended that there is no sufficient proof that Vinayak was the person who entrusted the 20 Browning pistols to the cook Chaturbhuj : on the one hand we have the statement of the latter that the pistols were entrusted to him by Vinayak in London at the India House for delivery in Bombay to one or other of two men who are proved to have been old college friends of his. It is, we think, established that they were intended to reach the hands of Ganesh Savarkar at Nasik as he knew they were coming by Chaturbhuj and probably would be delivered to Bhat on arrival. Thus we have it that the pistols were placed in the hands of a servant of the India House, the manager of which was Vinayak, to be delivered to Vinayak's old friend and connection Bhat for the use of Vinayak's Brother Ganesh. On the other hand the Scotland Yard Sergeant Parker who had been keeping watch on the India House admitted in cross-examination that he knew where the pistols were bought, that they were bought in Paris and that the person who bought them was not Vinayak Savarkar. His statement was based upon inquiries instituted by the Commissioner of Police in London. It does not appear to us that the original purchase of the pistols in Paris is inconsistent with their subsequent despatch from the India House by Vinayak Savarkar, and since all the established facts point to Vinayak as the source from which the pistols came we accept the story of Chaturbhuj as substantially true.

THE BOMB MANUAL AND 'BANDE MATARAM'

The pistols entrusted to Chaturbhuj reached their destination safely, as did the typed copies of the bomb manual despatched in the latter half of 1908. One of these manuals was found in the search of Ganesh Savarkar's house in the beginning of 1909. It is identical in all respects with a typed bomb manual which Chanjerirao says was given to him by Vinayak and which was found secreted upon his person on his arrest in Bombay in 1910.

Vinayak Savarkar was in close touch with a small though well known group of violent Indian anarchists living in Paris. One of the documents found in the possession of Chanjerirao at the time of his arrest, several copies of which had been entrusted to him when leaving Paris by Vinayak, is styled "Bande Mataram". It is a pamphlet in praise of Dhingra a resident of the India House, who assassinated Sir Curzon Wylie with a Browning pistol at a party in London in June 1909. The pamphlet strongly advocates political assassination in India and whether or not it is from the pen of

Vinayak Savarkar, it, at all events, represents doctrines which he was anxious to disseminate in India. The following passages may be quoted as indicating its aim; "Terrorise the officials, English and Indian, and the collapse of the whole machinery of oppression is not very far. The persistent execution of the policy that has been so gloriously inaugurated by Khoudiram Eose, Kanailal Dutt and other Martyrs will soon cripple the British Government in India. This campaign of separate assassinations is the best conceivable method of paralysing the bureaucracy and of arousing the people. The initial stage of the revolution is marked by the policy of separate assassination."

These extracts show sufficiently clearly the objects which Vinayak had in view in sending Browning pistols and instructions, for the preparation of bombs to India.

The rest of the evidence in the case is largely concerned with the history of those pistols and the manner in which persons who obtained possession of some of them tried also to achieve the preparation of other lethal weapons in the shape of bombs for carrying out the policy of assassination and the terrorisation of Indian officials or others connected with the Government.

TWO MORE DOCUMENTS

Before turning to this part of the case we will refer to two more documents: one is a printed document seven copies of which were found in Vinayak's trunk when he was arrested at Victoria Station in London on the 13th of March 1910. It is styled "Choose Oh Indian Princes" and professes to be addressed in a spirit of reasoned protest to the Maharajas of Kolhapur and Gwalior and other princes who had not appreciated the spirit of and had oppressed the members of the Abhinava Bharat. The Abhinava Bharat is here referred to as if it were an extensive organisation having definite aims for the regeneration of India.

The other document was found in the possession of Chanjerirao among the printed literature given to him by Vinayak. It purports to be a publisher's circular about the History of the Indian Mutiny written by Vinayak under the title of the Indian War of Independence. It is so worded as to be fully intelligible only to those who knew more than the ordinary casual reader and seems to point to the existence of some widespread secret society of young men. One passage may be quoted as an illustration. "Send an international postal order to any trustworthy young friend of yours residing in or going to England

or France. We are known to all young men in both countries." A footnote referring to this passage adds, "Do not by any means send the money to any old friend."

FURTHER HISTORY OF THE PISTOLS

Turning now to the further history of the pistols, the parcel after it had been brought to Bombay by Chaturbhuj was actually received by the accused Patankar, although the accompanying letter was addressed to the accused persons Bhat and Thatte, for Patankar was in Bhat's room at the time when Chaturbhuj called there to make final arrangement for the delivery of the parcel and, at the request of Bhat, Patankar went and took delivery of 19 of the pistols and the cartridges after Chaturbhuj had taken out one pistol and some cartridges for his own use. According to the confession of Patankar, he had been informed early in February by Ganesh Savarkar, who had come to Bombay from Nasik and was putting up with Bhat, that in a few days some pistols would arrive with Chaturbhuj and that Patankar should prevent them from being taken to Nasik. He said that it was too late to prevent the arrival of the pistols in Bombay and that Chaturbhuj would come and see Bhat about them.

Patankar's first action was to remove the pistols to a convenient place near Bombay and he selected Vithoba Marathe of Pen as the depository. According to his statement he had transferred the pistols to Pen by April 1909. He says that shortly before the arrival of the pistols this man Vithoba Marathe had brought from Pen and shown to him a book containing a formula for the preparation of picric acid. This was destroyed after the arrest of Ganesh Savarkar in February on account of the searches by the police which were then being made. The arrest of Savarkar was also the cause of the transfer of the pistols to Pen.

The events just detailed indicate a guilty association between Patankar in Bombay, belonging to the group which included Ganesh and Vinayak Savarkar and Bhat, and Vithoba Marathe, residing at Pen, in relation both to picric acid and to Browning pistols.

Notwithstanding the removal of the pistols to Pen, the request of Ganesh Savarkar that they should not be allowed to go to Nasik, was not complied with, for Patankar says that Anna Kurwe (one of the murderers of Mr. Jackson in December 1909) with whom he had been acquainted since about the middle of 1908, promised to arrange about the pistols if he got them. Patankar then went to Pen and brought back five of the pistols and 200 cartridges, which

he handed over to Kurwe without any payment. About the middle of June Patankar again went to Pen and obtained from Vithoba Marathe, a muzzle loading pistol and revolver which he also handed over to Kurwe. Again in September, he brought from Pen two more of the Browning pistols and handed them over to Kurwe.

At this stage it is convenient to discuss the question why Kurwe should want these pistols.

THE NASIK GROUP LED BY KURWE

It is proved that Kurwe was at this time the leader of a group of young men most of whom were residents in Nasik, who had taken oaths administered either by Soman, one of the murderers of Mr. Jackson, or by Dharap, who had received the oath from Soman, and were bound together as members of a secret society for preparing for independence and compassing the murder of oppressive Government officers. In the early part of 1909, Kurwe, who was then a law student in Bombay, had approached, Khare (a student at Gajjar's Technical Institute) with reference to the preparation of picric acid and had induced Khare to make some picric acid and fulminate of mercury in conjunction with the accused Nagpurkar (a student at the Victoria Technical Institute). Kurwe had then brought down from Nasik two members of the secret society above referred to for the purpose of learning the art of preparing picric acid. These men Deshpande and Chandratre had then in company with other members of the Nasik society, prepared picric acid in Nasik.

Upon receiving from Patankar the offer of pistols, Kurwe readily agreed to take them and sent to Nasik to his associates there the Browning pistols, the revolver and the muzzle-loading pistol above referred to.

According to the confession of Patankar, Kurwe had by August 1909 arrived at the point of experimenting in the preparation of shells for picric acid bombs, and asked Patankar's assistance in teaching a friend to learn casting work for making shells. Patankar replied that he would enquire of the Penkar Company at Dhulia and let him know.

The above facts establish that there were men in Pen, Bombay and Nasik in 1909 who were concerting together in the preparation of picric acid bombs and in the collection and distribution of pistols suitable for the purpose of political assassination.

POONA ACCOMPLICES

We will now consider the question whether any Poona men were implicated in this criminal association. The accused Khare, who has already been referred to as one of the first preparers of picric acid in Bombay, was a resident of Poona, when not engaged in study in Bombay. According to his confession, he spent the hot weather vacation of 1909 in Poona and then became acquainted with the accused Chandwadker, commonly referred to as "the Boa", who was a clerk in a Government office in Poona. As a result of that acquaintance. Khare, who had taken up to Poona two bottles of picric acid and some fulminate of mercury, left them with "the Boa" on his return to Bombay. During the ensuing monsoon the Boa procured the introduction to Khare of a man named Kulkarni (who appears to have been mixed up with political conspiracy in Kolhapur), in order that Kulkarni might learn in Bombay the process of preparing bombs. When Kulkarni returned to Poona, after he had, according to his own statement, made certain experiments under Khare's auspices in the preparation of picric acid and fulminate of mercury in Bombay, Khare gave him a Browning pistol and cartridges for the Boa. This Browning pistol was one of a lot of three out of the consignment imported by Chaturbhuj, which Patanker had withdrawn from the custody of the accused Marathe at Pen, who had succeeded on the death of Vithal Marathe in October 1909 to the position of custodian of the pistols.

Patanker subsequently handed over to Khare two more pistols and Khare early in December sent up one of them to the Boa at Poona by the hands of Kulkarni. According to the confession of the Boa, he and certain associates at Poona were at that time contemplating the murder of Mr. Gokhale and a certain high official. The Browning pistol first received was examined by them and experiments were made in firing it. The Boa also promised his friends that bombs would be forthcoming for the murder of the official in question. According to the story told by Kulkarni, as well as according to the confession of the Boa, supplemented by his statement to the Committing Magistrate, the Boa was also a party to a scheme for preparing bombs to be used against the Viceroy at the time of his visit to Bombay about the 15th November 1909, but owing to Khare being much engaged in preparation for his University Examination, he was unable to get the bombs ready in time. On the 21st of December 1909 the murder of Mr. Jackson occurred in Nasik at the hands of Kurwe's group. This was at once a signal to the Boa to dispose of the pistols in his possession.

How far other accused belonging to the Poona group were cognizant of any general plan favouring assassination, will be considered in

dealing with their individual cases. The facts already recited indicate that Ganesh Savarkar's associates in Bombay, namely Bhat and Patanker, were by no means averse to receiving and distributing Browning pistols more suitable for political assassination than actual warfare, and there is evidence that members of the Abhinav Bharat Society such as Gorhe and Kelkar resident in Nasik were very ready to aid in the disposal and secreting of pistols after the murder of Mr. Jackson. There is, therefore, no reason for supposing that assassination was a method to attack upon the British Government which was foreign to the aims and methods of the Abhinav Bharat Society. It was in fact a method of attack devised and rendered possible by Vinayak Savarkar. It was a method which appealed particularly to Anna Kurwe who, the evidence shows, had a disagreement with Ganesh Savarkar because the latter in Kurwe's opinion was more disposed for talking than for action. It is, we think, indisputable that the immediate object aimed at both by Ganesh Savarkar and by Kurwe, was the same, namely, to overawe the Government by force or by show of force. The infirmity in action of which Kurwe complained with regard to Ganesh Savarkar, manifested itself also amongst Kurwe's followers, and they therefore had recourse to one of a group of plotters at Aurangabad in order to accomplish the murder of Mr. Jackson. This leads us to a consideration of the activities of the Aurangabad and Yeola accused.

ANANT KANHERE OF AURANGABAD

The actual murderer of Mr. Jackson was a young Brahmin of Aurangabad named Ananta Kanhere. He and the accused Gangaram and the two of the Aurangabad witnesses, had taken secret oaths similar to those taken by many others of the accused and witnesses in the case, and had conceived the idea of preparing for rebellion by acquiring funds through dacoities, and by collecting arms.

Ganu Vaidya and Dharap, who were associated with the immediate followers of Kurwe, were in close touch with the Aurangabad group. Ganu also had paid two visits to the accused Tonpe, a sowcar of Yeola, who had business dealings with the Aurangabad firm of which the accused Gangaram was a member. Oaths were administered by Tonpe to certain persons in Yeola in the presence of Gangaram and there is reason to believe that Anant Kanhere himself had been sworn in by Tonpe. Tonpe appears to have been much interested in the idea of preparing bombs. He at one time proposed that a person should be sent to Paris to learn how to make bombs and had promised to provide funds to enable some one to be sent to Pen to learn how to make bombs from the accused Bapat, who, according to Ganu's information, was able to teach the process.

TIKHE OF HYDERABAD

Another ramification of the conspiracy has been traced to Hyderabad, where one of the Aurangabad plotters came into touch with the accused Tikhe and obtained from him a bomb formula and had talk concerning dacoities and the procuring of arms. There is more than one piece of documentary evidence in the case connecting this man Tikhe with Ganesh Savarkar and it appears that Ganesh had administered to him the oath of the Abhinav Eharat Society.

COMMON CONSPIRACY BETWEEN ALL THE GROUPS

It has been very properly argued by Counsel on behalf of the accused that the conspiracy charged must be one and the same against all the accused and that there cannot be a conspiracy without agreement between each and every one of the conspirators for the attainment of a particular object. It is argued that the conditions necessary for the establishment of one conspiracy between the various accused are not satisfied by the facts proved in the case. It is contended that the evidence does not go further than to establish the existence of certain local and isolated groups of plotters, ignorant of the designs of any group but their own. To establish a conspiracy, however, it is not necessary to establish conscious concert between each individual conspirator and all the rest. This is apparent from the terms of the Indian Penal Code, section 108, explanation V, which runs as follows "It is not necessary to the commission of the offence of abetment by conspiracy that the abettor should concert the offence with the person who commits it. It is sufficient if he engage in the conspiracy of which the offence is committed".

The facts above indicate active co-operation between the leaders of various local groups in the gratuitous distribution of Browning pistols and the preparation and distribution of picric acid, chiefly through the instrumentality of Khare, Patankar and Marathe.

The pistols could be used for only one purpose which, the literature disseminated by Vinayak Savarkar shows, was in his opinion calculated to conduce to the attainment of one ultimate object of the conspirators the overthrow of the British Government in India. There may have been no formal organisation among the conspirators. There was, however, a sympathy and a rapport which enabled them, as occasion arose, to get into touch with and assist each other. This conclusion results not only from the evidence of the preparations of and communications between the various accused prior to the murder of Mr. Jackson, but also from the instantaneous effects

produced on one occasion by the arrest of Ganesh Savarkar and on another by the news of the murder of Mr. Jackson. When Ganesh Savarkar was arrested the paper about explosives, sent to Patankar by Vithoba Marathe of Pen, was destroyed, the materials for picric acid in the hands of Ganu Vaidya and Deshpande two of Karve's followers—were removed from Nasik and concealed, and the pistols brought to Bombay by Chaturbhuj, were on arrival sent to a quiet asylum at Pen. Similarly, the news of the murder of Mr. Jackson was the signal for instant activity on the part of the Trimbak Marathe at Pen and the Boa at Poona in the disposal and secreting all their weapons and acids or chemicals capable of use in the preparation of explosives.

FOUR CHARGES

We now come to the cases of the individual accused. In order to justify conviction for the offence of conspiring to overawe the Government by criminal force or show of criminal force, we hold it to be necessary to prove the following matters.

First—that the particular accused conspired ;

Second—That he did so for a political purpose such as gaining independence or for ending the supposed oppression by Government or by Government officers ;

Third—that the means contemplated were violent, as by the use of pistols or explosives ;

and *Fourth*—that the conspiring was in direct concert with others engaged in the general conspiracy already described ; or that it was a branch or offshoot of the general conspiracy.

In considering these matters we hold (i) that the taking of an oath by men and youths of the intelligence which most of these accused possess is itself strong evidence of conspiracy and indicates agreement to carry out the purpose of the oath ; (ii) that private consultation for and discussions of unlawful political designs are also evidence of conspiracy ; (iii) that the secret and unlawful possession of weapons such as Browning pistols and the secret making of violent explosives such as picric acid or their secret possession is strong evidence of conspiring and of conspiring for unlawful purposes and with the intention of making use of methods of violence.

The organic connection of the local plots with the general conspiracy has already been fully demonstrated. It is, however, necessary

again to point out in connection with certain of the accused individually, that the Abhinav Bharat was an association for seditious purposes : and that it is so clear that its leading members did conspire to overawe the Government that the mere fact of belonging to that association is evidence which goes a considerable way towards making out the conspiracy charged.

PART PLAYED BY THE ACCUSED INDIVIDUALLY

V. D. Savarkar.—In dealing generally with the question of conspiracy, so much has been said about the activities of Vinayak Savarkar, that it is unnecessary to deal separately with his case at any length. We will however refer to a document disseminated by him in India when he was the manager at the India House. From internal evidence it would seem that it was written on the occasion of one of the anniversaries of the Indian Mutiny celebrated in London to which reference has already been made. The copy put in this case was found in the search of Kashikar's house early in 1909. It was originally received by Barve from Vinayak and given by him to Kashikar. It amounts to a vigorous declaration of war against the British Government. One sentence may be referred to as an illustration. "The war began on the 10th of May 1857, is not over on the 10th of May 1908 nor can it ever cease till a 10th of May to come sees the destiny accomplished." We find the accused guilty of the abetment of waging war by instigation by the circulation of printed matter inciting to war, the providing of arms and the distribution of instructions for the manufacture of explosives. He is, therefore, guilty of an offence punishable under section 121 of the Indian Penal Code. We also find him guilty of conspiring with others of the accused to overawe by criminal force or show of criminal force, the Government of India and the Local Government and he is therefore guilty of an offence punishable under section 121A of the Indian Penal Code.

Gopal Krishna Patankar.—In dealing with the general case of conspiracy, we have already indicated our conclusion that Patankar was the willing distributor of the pistols brought from England by Chaturbhuj and prior to the arrest of Ganesh Savarkar had been in communication with Vithoba Marathe of Pen, regarding a formula for the preparation of picric acid. In the statement which he has made in this court, he does not attempt to dispute that he received a parcel of 19 pistols from Chaturbhuj at the request of Ganesh Savarkar nor does he dispute that knowing they were pistols, he placed them in the custody of Vithoba Marathe for purposes of concealment in consequence of the arrest of Ganesh Savarkar. But he says that at the time he was asked by Ganesh to receive a parcel about to be

imported, he was not told and did not know its contents and that it was only his promise to Ganesh which induced him to take and conceal the pistols after he had learnt from Chaturbhuj what the parcel contained, and it is argued on his behalf that he is guilty of nothing more than an offence under the Arms Act. We are, however, unable to accept this view of the facts, and we see no reason to doubt that his original confession made before Mr. Khopkar on the 11th January 1910, is substantially correct. It was adhered to before Mr. Montgomery, the Committing Magistrate, and supplemented by further details on the 9th of May 1910. It explains satisfactorily how it was that five or more Browning pistols came into the possession of Anna Kurwe and his associates at Nasik and how Khare was able to send up to the Boa two more pistols of the same kind. If we were to accept the statement in this court, there would be no explanation of how Chaturbhuj, arriving in Bombay more than a week after the arrest of Ganesh Savarkar, knew that Patankar was the person who would take over the pistols and where he was to be found. On the other hand, the story of Chaturbhuj that he was told by Vinayak Savarkar to take the pistols either to Bhat or Thatte, whose names and addresses were inscribed upon the cover of a letter entrusted to him, agrees entirely with the proved facts of the case, namely, that Chaturbhuj sought out Bhat and not Patankar and first came in contact with Patankar in the room of Bhat in the Madhavashram at Girgaum. This conclusion is supported by the statement of Bhat made to the Magistrate in the proceedings taken under the Fugitive Offenders Act. We think that Patankar's confession was carefully framed to exculpate Bhat as far as possible, but we have no reason to doubt the other facts confessed to by him. His confession incriminates him completely not only with regard to the pistols but also with regard to the attempts which were being made in 1909 to prepare bombs. The statements in his confession regarding his friendship with Ganesh Savarkar in 1908 and his dealings with the firm in which Gorhe was a partner are confirmed by indisputable documentary evidence and one of his letters to Ganesh to which reference has already been made shows that he was trying to make arrangements to publish a new edition of Vinayak Savarkar's Mazzini at the end of 1908. We have no hesitation in holding that he was one of the most active and dangerous members of the conspiracy, and is therefore guilty of an offence under section 121A of the Penal Code.

Vishnu Mahadev Bhat.—The home of this accused was in Nasik and he has for years been in intimate connection with the Savarkars. He was, according to his own statement in this Court, a student at Fergusson College, Poona, from 1903 to 1906 and was therefore a contemporary there of Vinayak Savarkar. He is mentioned by

the witnesses who have spoken from personal experience of the meetings of the Mitra Mela and the Abhinav Bharat at Nasik, as having been an original member of the first mentioned association. He appears as one of the supporters of Vinayak Savarkar in the centre of the photographic group to which reference has already been made. On the 14th of May 1907 he was the principal speaker at the Shivaji festival celebrated in a Nasik Theatre, the burden of his speech being that the festival was held in honour of Shivaji because he had established Swarajya, that the love of independence aroused by him had been lost, but that if it was recovered the 30 crores of people in India could accomplish anything they please. At the close of the proceedings the boys of the Mitra Mela sang the ballad on Afzul Khan, which formed one of the Flowers of the Abhinav Bharat Mela.

In the year 1907 Bhat had joined the Grant Medical College in Bombay as well as the Government Law School. On the 14th of July, having heard that the accused Barve was likely to fall into trouble over his inflammatory speeches at Ehiwandi and Thana, he wrote to warn him and advised him not to delay in making a partition of his estate in order presumably to save part of it from forfeiture in case the speeches led to criminal proceedings. In the year 1908 when attention had been directed to the publications of Ganesh Savarkar in the Abhinav Bharat Mela series, he wrote to Ganesh telling him how an account of a search at the Hind Agency office had been published in the Rashtamat in order to acquaint him (Ganesh) with the facts, and warning him that he and the proprietor of the Dattaprasad Printing Press would be asked to explain a payment of money in connection with the above mentioned publication and that therefore, Ganesh and the proprietor should see that they gave identical and suitable answers.

The facts above referred to point to the conclusion that the accused was an active and prominent member of the Abhinava Bharat Society. The same inference arises from a document found in the possession of Vinayak Savarkar at the time of his arrest. This document consists of a photograph of B. G. Tilak around which are written Sanskrit verses from the Mahabharat regarding war with the enemies of the country, and stating how good men of their own accord devote themselves to the welfare of others. Then is written in English a list of 5 names consisting of the Savarkar brothers, Vaman Keshav Datar and the accused Bhat, all of whom appear in the photographic groups which have been put in evidence. According to the account of Chaturbhuj, the accused Bhat was actively concerned in the receipt of the parcel of

Browning pistols. He says that the accused and Hari Anant Thatte were the addressees of a letter given to him by Vinayak Savarkar and the persons to one or other of whom he was told to deliver the pistols. That on the third day after his arrival in Bombay, which would be on the 9th or 10th of March, having failed to find Thatte, that he had found and spoken to Bhat about the pistols and had delivered Vinayak's letter and had been told by the accused to come again the same evening and that in the evening he had gone again and been introduced to Patankar whom Bhat sent with him to take delivery of the parcel.

This evidence has been much criticized on behalf of the accused. It is said that the story of Chaturbhuj is entirely false and that Bhat was, at the time assigned for the first interview, pursuing his studies at the Grant Medical College. No evidence has, however, been adduced in support of this suggestion. It is quite certain that Chaturbhuj was arrested on the 30th of December 1909 on being identified by Patankar at the Victoria Terminus in the presence of the police. He was at once taken up to Nasik and, though seriously ill from bronchitis verging on pneumonia, made a statement before the Magistrate on the following day in which he mentioned the letter addressed to Bhat and Thatte and told substantially the same story with regard to his interviews with Bhat that he had told in this Court. Again, Bhat on the 19th of January, when giving evidence in proceedings under the Fugitive Offenders Act, stated that Chaturbhuj had come to his room in the Madhavashram in the middle of March 1909 when Patankar was present, and had first talked with him (Bhat) and subsequently with Patankar and had then left with the latter.

Under these circumstances we feel obliged to accept the statement of Chaturbhuj. We think it is clear in Patankar's account in his confession of this interview with Chaturbhuj in Bhat's room, he has tried to screen Bhat. We entertain no doubt that Bhat was a prominent member of the Abhinav Bharat Society, in the confidence both of Ganesh and Vinayak Savarkar and a willing participator in the taking over of the pistols from Chaturbhuj, and is therefore guilty of an offence under section 121A of the Penal Code

Hari Anant Thatte.—The evidence against this accused No. 21, is first that of Chaturbhuj and of Koregaumkar. The former states that when he left London in February 1909 with the pistols and cartridges entrusted to him by Vinayak Savarkar, the latter gave him a letter

addressed to the accused Thatte and asked him to hand over to him both the pistols and cartridges ; but that when he (Chaturbhuj) arrived at Bombay in March 1909 he could not find Thatte and so the articles were delivered to Patankar. Chaturbhuj also says that when some time afterwards he met Thatte, he admitted receipt of the pistols and cartridges. Chaturbhuj must be regarded as an accomplice and it would not be safe to convict Thatte on his testimony unless it is corroborated in material particulars by independent evidence. Koregaumkar also testifies that he brought a letter and also a message from Vinayak Savarkar requesting Thatte to send certain addresses to a seditious paper called "India" at Pondicherry. Koregaumkar further states that he gave the letter and the message to Thatte and that the latter replied "all right". This evidence of Koregaumkar would have been valuable if he had been able to identify Thatte in the dock ; but Koregaumkar failed to identify him. In their confessions both Barve and Kashikar implicate Thatte. Barve says that Thatte was one of the managers of the secret society in Bombay, a member of the central group of those who conspired to overthrow Government. Barve also speaks in his confession to the presence of Thatte at two seditious meetings, one at Kothure and the other at Sion. Kashikar states in his confession that Thatte presided at a meeting of the different branches of secret societies held at Nasik in April or May 1908. Both these confessions must be accepted with caution when they implicate others than the persons confessing. Barve, it is clear, was anxious in any case to save his Jaghir, and Mr. Guider has deposed that Kashikar wanted to be turned into an approver. Their confessions, so far as they incriminate others, can only be taken into consideration under section 30 of the Evidence Act. There is evidence no doubt to show that Thatte lived in Madhavashram with Patankar and Ehat in July and August 1908 ; that Dhanappa saw him at the house of Ganesh Damodar Savarkar ; and that this Savarkar's book of addresses contains his name and address. But all this evidence falls short of the definite proof required to warrant his conviction of the offence of conspiracy to wage war against Government. The case is one of great suspicion against Thatte ; but on the materials before us we are constrained to give him the benefit of the reasonable doubt that arises upon those materials. We therefore find him not guilty of the offences charged.

Krishnaji Gopal Khare.—Suspicion fell upon this accused owing to information received from Anna Kurwe, who was under arrest at Nasik. On the 3rd of January the accused Nagpurkar pointed out to the police a house at Girgaum known as Soman's Chawl, and a room on the third floor in the occupation of Khare was then searched in his absence. In the course of the day, having learnt

of the search he surrendered himself to the police, and on the 4th of January was examined in the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Criminal Investigation Department, in Bombay. He then made certain statements, in consequence of which on the same evening or next day he went in company with Mr. Vincent of Poona and on the 5th of January the house of Shidhaye was searched and two Browning pistols were found. On the same night the house of the witness Kavdikar at Poona was searched and a Browning pistol concealed under a pillow on a cot was found. The Boa states in his confession that he got the three pistols from Khare. Shidhaye says that he got the two pistols from the Boa tied up in a bundle which the Boa said contained silver. Kavdikar tells a similar story with regard to the pistol found in his house. It is proved to our satisfaction that this last mentioned pistol was received by Khare from Karandikar, a teacher in the school at Talegaon, on the suggestion of Marathe and was taken to Poona and handed by Khare to the Boa presumably for the purpose of concealment at the end of December after the murder of Mr. Jackson. According to Patankar's confession, he had handed to Khare three Browning pistols of which Khare at a subsequent date returned one. The witness Kulkarni says that Khare on different occasions during 1909 handed two Browning pistols to him in Bombay for delivery to the Boa in Poona. This Kulkarni also deposes that the Boa (who was an old friend), in the middle of 1909, procured his introduction to Khare in Bombay as a person who could make bombs. He says that he visited Khare and was by him taken in about July 1909 to a room in Macba's building where Nagpurkar showed him how to make picric acid and that Khare came to experiment in the preparation of the fulminate of mercury. Kulkarni is a witness whose evidence must be regarded with suspicion as he has evidently been mixed up in criminal conspiracy regarding affairs at Kolhapur and is not telling all he knows, but his visit to Khare in Bombay and his taking two pistols at Khare's instance to the Boa in Poona, and his introduction to Khare by the Boa, is, we think, sufficiently corroborated. It is possible that his story of the making of the picric acid in Macba's building with Nagpurkar is true, for it is not satisfactorily proved where Nagpurkar was living in July, 1909 and it is proved to our satisfaction that Kulkarni was in Bombay in that month. We do not, however, for the purpose of this case, regard this episode as proved.

We will now turn to the confession of Khare which he says was concocted by the police and extracted from him by torture. It is to be observed that to Mr. Montgomery as deposed to in this Court, his only complaint was that his moustache had been pulled. Before this, however, it is alleged that he was so maltreated by the police

on the 13th of January that he fainted. It appears to be true that he was seized with faintness on that day and a Hospital Assistant was at once called in to administer to him. The Hospital Assistant has been examined in this Court. He says that he saw no sign of ill-treatment and attributed the faintness to want of food from which the accused had abstained all day.

The Magistrate who recorded the confession has noted that he believed it to be voluntarily made. He was cross-examined in this Court and he adhered to that statement. Under these circumstances we think that the confession must be accepted and taken into consideration against the accused. That confession admits the receipt of two pistols, from Patankar, which were sent to the Boa by the hands of Kulkarni, and the receipt of another pistol from Karandikar at Talegaon which was handed by the accused personally to the Boa. It also states that the accused at the instance of Anna Karve, an old college friend, prepared picric acid in Bombay with Nagpurkar who brought chemicals and utensils. A little fulminate of mercury was also made. These were subsequently taken by the accused to Poona, where his home was, in the May vacation of 1909, and on his departure for Bombay at the close of the vacation were handed over to the Boa at Poona. This story accounts satisfactorily for the making of the picric acid and the fulminate of mercury found in the searches at Shidhye's house and for the knowledge which the Boa possessed of the skill of Khare in the preparation of these explosives. The accused has been most strenuously and ingeniously defended by Mr. Baptista, but the defence is based upon inconsistencies in the statements of Boa, Shidhye and Khare and the witness, Kulkarni, in reference to dates which are obviously only roughly approximate and form no satisfactory basis for destructive criticism. In our opinion the circumstances established are such that we must hold the accused guilty of being one of the most prominent members in the conspiracy charged, and therefore, guilty of an offence under section 121A of the Penal Code.

Venkatesh Parashram Nagpurkar (25).—The accused joined the Victoria Technical Institute as a student in the Mechanical Department in 1909 and was still a student at the date of his arrest at the commencement of this year.

It is proved that he was acquainted with Anna Karve who visited him at the Institute when he was living with the witness Dugal there in 1908. He was also living in a room in Lalji Morarji's Chawl at a later date and was visited there too by Karve. In the year 1908 the witness Kelkar says he had seen the accused with Karve and

Moghe both in a room in Macba's building near the Institute and in the eating house at Tapidas Chawl in the same locality and concluded they were living together. The Metha of the Macba estate lends corroboration to this by proving that Moghe was on the books as a tenant of a room in the Macba's building from January to April 1909. There is some evidence that at the latter end of 1909 Nagpurkar was living in the Institute quarters, but we have no independent and unimpeachable evidence as to his place of residence in the monsoon of 1909.

Nagpurkar was visited by the police on the 1st of January in consequence of information given by Anna Karve. He was arrested either on the 1st or the 3rd of January. On the 3rd of January the police searched the room of the accused Khare in Soman's Chawl which has been pointed out by Nagpurkar. On the 10th of January in consequence of a statement made by the accused certain soldering tools and pieces of tin plate and resin were discovered in a room, in which the accused had been living, in a box which the accused admits was his.

The accused also made a statement in the presence of Mr. Guider, who has deposed to it, that he had bought a flask and beaker at Kemp & Co.'s shop in the Fort for making picric acid with Khare. A search was in consequence made at this shop, and in the file of counterfoils, a cash memo for the 13th February 1909 of the sale of a flask, "etc." was found. It is proved by the Chemical Analyser, Captain Higham, that resin and hydrochloric acid also found in the possession of the accused would be of use in the making of bombs and the bomb manual of Vinayak Savarkar shows that soldering tools would be necessary for the same purpose.

Nagpurkar explains the possession of soldering tools by saying that an electrical student Gadgil with whom he once lived required them for his electrical course at the Institute. There is, however, no satisfactory confirmation of this. On the other hand, the companionship of Gadgil does not explain the pieces of tin plate which were found among the accused's effects. The confession of Khare states very definitely that Nagpurkar was concerned with Khare in the preparation of picric acid at the instance of Karve, and the confession of Patankar states that experiments had been made under Karve's auspices in making tin shells for Bomb and that owing to their failure Nagpurkar was sent to Patankar to ask where casting work could be done. Patankar says he mentioned the Penkar company at Dhulia as a place where possibly the work could be done. This it may be noted is the Company where the accused Gokhale was employed as fitter.

Accepting as we do the confessions of Patankar and Khare as being substantially true we are forced to the conclusion that Nagpurkar made picric acid with both Khare and Karve and tried to make shells for bombs.

Under these circumstances we hold him guilty as a conspirator in the conspiracy charged, and therefore guilty of an offence under section 121A of the Penal Code.

Mukund Pandurang Moghe.—As against this accused No. 34, the evidence is insufficient for conviction. Some witnesses depose to his having lived for some time in Macba's building at Byculla with Karve and Nagpurkar : and Moghe admits the fact. In his confession recorded by Mr. Palsikar he says he was living at Byculla in 1908 with Karve and Nagpurkar and on two occasions he saw them preparing picric acid that on his questioning Karve, the latter replied "It will be very useful for the purpose of blowing up bridges and railways when a war begins in our country" and that he was satisfied with the answer. It was silly reply, of which it is suggested by the defence, and we think reasonably that it was not taken seriously by Moghe. Mr. Cooke, the Superintendent of Police, Nasik, deposes that in consequence of a statement made by Moghe that he had purchased about the middle of January 1909 carbolic and nitric acid from the shop of Teacher & Co., at Byculla he took Moghe to that shop and there discovered a cash memo. (exhibit 322) as to the purchase of carbolic acid, but no cash memo as to the purchase of nitric acid is forthcoming. When he was arrested there were found in his trunk some powders, such as borax, sulphate of arsenic and French chalk. These are very inconclusive circumstances. Barve mentions Moghe in his confession as one of Savarkar's group, but he says that Moghe was considered to be a spy and therefore turned out of the society. This is all the evidence against Moghe. We do not think it is sufficient proof of his complicity in the conspiracy charged. We therefore find him not guilty.

THE POONA GROUP

Under this head we deal with the cases of *Brahmagiri Boa*, *Shidhaye*, *Palande*, *Paranjpe* and *Bhave*. Many of the incriminating facts regarding the Boa have been referred to in the discussion of the general case of conspiracy and of that of Khare. Except for those facts, and the conclusions to be drawn from the finding of

pistols and explosives in Shidhaye's and Kawdikar's houses, the evidence against these five accused persons consists chiefly of what each has said about himself and the others. Their statements are confessional and so may be used to confirm each other. They afford ample mutual corroboration, and upon analysis it seems impossible to ascribe them to police concoction. We have no hesitation in accepting them as statements, though not full and complete accounts of what was happening in the circle of which the Boa was the centre. Shidhaye, Palande, Paranjpe and Bhave were the Boa's constant associates, and, considering the subject of their conversations, must have been a good deal in his confidence. They took part in the secretion of the Browning pistols and learnt their use and we are unable to believe that they were ignorant of the source from which they were derived. Shidhaye was so intimately in the Boa's confidence that the latter handed over to him for safe keeping two pistols received from Khare at different times, together with the explosives received from Khare, all of which things were found in Shidhaye's house after the murder of Mr. Jackson. Shidhaye and Palande took active steps to see whether a plan for committing a political murder in a train could be successfully carried out. Bhave proposed the murder of a certain high official which was discussed by all these accused with the exception of Shidhaye. The Boa, who was the most prominent member of this Poona group and was looked upon as the leader, was in intimate connection with the distributors of pistols in Bombay.

There can be no doubt that community of political ideas was the bond of union between these accused. It is urged in their defence that murder and outrage were contemplated for revenge and not in pursuance of the conspiracy charged, but we think that there can be no doubt that the accused were prompted by political and not private motives. No doubt, in a conspiracy for overawing the agents of the Government by assassinations, some process of selection must take place, which will often be influenced by particular acts of some officer which arouse more than ordinary disapproval, but the fact, that such motives exist, does not alter the general character of the conspiracy. For these reasons we hold each of the accused to be guilty of the conspiracy charged and guilty of an offence under section 121A of the Penal Code.

Anant Vishnu Konkar.—Although it is stated in his confession that he was a member of a secret society it is not established that this accused conspired with the group of which the Boa was the centre.

He was the purchaser of two Browning pistols which, there is reason to suspect, formed part of the parcel imported by Chaturbhuj. They were, however, not procured gratuitously from either Patankar Khare or Marathe, but were purchased from one Ketkar upon whom the police have been unable to lay their hands. During the police investigation in this case one of these pistols was produced by Konkar from a place of concealment in his house.

We have come to the conclusion that he must be convicted of an offence under section 20 of the Arms Act XI of 1878.

Vishwas Balvant Davre.—According to his confession the purchase of two pistols from Ketkar, referred to in the case of Konkar, was negotiated on behalf of this accused. He paid Rs. 82 for one of them and took delivery of it together with two boxes of cartridges. The other pistol which he had contracted to purchase was not delivered and was found in the possession of Konkar. He states that some time after the murder of Mr. Jackson, Konkar wanted him to keep the pistol safe, as houses were being searched. He then tied up the pistol and cartridges in a piece of cloth and threw them into a well. That well was searched by the police and a Browning pistol and full box of 25 cartridges were found. An attempt has been made in his defence to divert guilt from him to a Marwari Gamnaji Pitaji in whose compound some chemicals were found buried, which Davre in his confession says he buried for the purpose of concealment. It is suggested that Davre purchased the pistol merely as the agent of Gamnaji. The evidence does not support this conclusion. Moreover the theory does not tally with other incriminating circumstances regarding ownership of an airgun stated by the accused to have been acquired for the purpose of learning to take aim and the purchase of chemicals from a dealer in Poona, the independent evidence regarding which corroborates portions of Davre's confession. According to his confession, Davre was acquiring pistols and explosives for political purposes, but there is nothing to show that he was acting as a member of any conspiracy, and we therefore, hold that his offence is one falling under section 20 of the Arms Act.

Shankar Pandurang Mahajan.—It is, we think, fully established that this accused was the intermediary between Ketkar and Konkar in the purchase by the latter of two Browning pistols for Davre. It is not, however, proved that he received any commission or reward for what he did in the transaction. We are not prepared to hold that he has committed any offence under the Arms Act of which we could on the evidence convict him on virtues of section 233 of the

Criminal Procedure Code. There is no evidence of his having been concerned in any branch of the conspiracy with which we are dealing in this case, and we therefore, find him not guilty.

Damodar Mahadev Chandratre.—Accused No. 2 was arrested on the 24th of December on the information of Ganu Vaidya and Karve who had been already arrested for complicity in the murder of Mr. Jackson and who have since been convicted. On 7th of January 1910 accused Chandratre made a confession before Mr. Palshikar, First Class Magistrate, in which he admitted that he had joined a society the object of which was to offer resistance to oppression by collecting money, weapons and people; that at a meeting held at his house and attended by four members of the society, viz., Karve, Deshpande, Soman and Kelkar, the oath of the society had been administered to him; that he had gone to Bombay from Nasik and learnt from Karve how to prepare picric acid; that he had received a Browning pistol from Deshpande; and that Anant Kanhere, the murderer of Mr. Jackson, had put up with him on the day of the murder and also on a previous occasion when he had visited Nasik. Chandratre retracted this confession before the Committing Magistrate and he has retracted it in this Court also, alleging that he had made the confession in consequence of ill treatment by the police; but no complaint on that score had been made by him when the District Magistrate visited the Sirkar Wada where he was lodged in custody; nor did he complain of any ill treatment by the police to Mr. Montgomery, the special Magistrate, when he visited the Wada. The confession is corroborated in some particulars by the evidence of the pardoned approver, Ganu Vaidya. Gosavi says that Chandratre was a member of the Mitra Mela and the Abhinava Bharata. The Magistrate who recorded the confession has deposed that it was made voluntarily. There is this important fact in addition against the accused that it was in consequence of information given by him soon after his arrest that one of the 19 pistols which Chaturbhuj had brought from Europe and handed over to Patankar was discovered. It is Exhibit A-10 in the case. Ganu Vaidya states that he gave it to Soman to be delivered to Chandratre. It was a loaded pistol. Chandratre is implicated by accused Kelkar in his confession. On this evidence we are satisfied he is guilty of the offence under section 121A.

Purshotam Lakshman Dandekar, accused No. 3, is a student of Nasik, aged 18 or 19. He was arrested there on the 25th of December 1909 on information given by Ganu Vaidya. He is implicated by the accused Dharap in his confession. Dharap says that he gave the

oath of his and Ganu Vaidya's secret society to Dandekar. His association with Ganu Vaidya for the purposes of the society is spoken to by Ganu. Ankushkar states that he (Dandekar) came one day to Ganu Vaidya with something like a pistol in his hands and gave it to Ganu. Dattu Joshi corroborates Ankushkar. Bhaskar Sadashiv Oke, a relation of Ganu Vaidya, saw Dandekar at Ganu's house once or twice. There is also evidence to show that Dandekar visited the house ostensibly used as a handloom factory by Deshpande but where on the 3rd floor picric acid was prepared. All this evidence, which we see no reason to disbelieve, is confirmed first by Dandekar's own confession and secondly by the incriminating character of the articles either found in his house or pointed out by him. On the 4th of January 1910 he made a confession before Mr. Palshikar, admitting that he had taken the oath of Ganu Vaidya's secret society, and joined it; that for the purpose of financing it he had stolen a sari belonging to the wife of Anant Dinkar Joshi, who lived in his house as his tenant; that he had learnt to prepare picric acid; that he had obtained two pistols from Ganu Vaidya which on the arrest of Anant Kanhere for the murder of Mr. Jackson he had thrown into a bush of prickly pear near the public road. This confession was confirmed by him before the Committing Magistrate as having been voluntarily made and as being true. In this Court, however, he has retracted it on the ground of alleged ill treatment by the police. But the confession is corroborated by two unimpeachable circumstances. One is that on the very day of his arrest he took the police and the Pancha to the banks of the Godavri river and there pointed out a loaded Browning pistol hidden under a bush of prickly pear (Exhibit A-6) as the one which he had thrown on the arrest of Mr. Jackson's murder. At a search of his house on the same day was found a book of aiming drill (Exhibit A-14) which plainly suggests his connection with the secret society, one of the rules of which was as is proved by a paper (Exhibit 98) found in a search of the house of accused Kashikar (No. 37) that the members should learn to take aim with a musket so far as one can. Ganu Vaidya deposes that he once sent Dandekar to Bombay to bring a flask to prepare picric acid. In a confession made before Mr. Aston, Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, Dandekar admitted the purchase of a flask by him in Bombay and he pointed out to Mr. Fahey, Mr. Aston's clerk, the shop at Grant Road where the flask had been purchased. He also pointed out the kind of flask bought. A specimen as pointed out by the accused has been exhibited in the case and Captain Higham, Chemical Analyser, says that such a flask can be used only for laboratory purposes. The second circumstance relates to the theft by the accused of the sari belonging to his tenant Joshi's wife. He now

denies the theft and his Counsel has strongly relied in support of the denial of the fact that Joshi admittedly never made any complaint of the theft to the police. The stolen ornament belonged to a Brahmin woman and Brahmin women are in the mofussil generally speaking loath to take any action that must necessarily compel them to appear in Court. The theft occurred, according to the evidence of Joshi and Ganu Vaidya, in May 1909. Both of them depose that the accused Dandekar was suspected because soon after the disappearance of the ornament he had left Nasik for Poona and that two men were sent to enquire after him and the theft; one of these was his own maternal uncle, Sadashiv Ganesh Joshi, sent by Dandekar's mother and the other Gangadhar Trimbak Bhagwant sent by Karve's father. Both of these have been examined for the prosecution Dandekar's maternal uncle Sadashiv Ganesh Joshi states that his sister sent him to Poona to enquire after him and about the theft. In his statement made in this Court Dandekar admits that he had gone to Poona in May 1909 and that his maternal uncle had been sent there by his mother; but he cannot explain why his maternal uncle had been sent. Under these circumstances we must accept the evidence of Ganu Vaidya corroborated as it is by the independent and credible and uncontradicted evidence of the three witnesses abovementioned. Then there is the evidence as to his visit to Vengau in November 1909 with Ganu Vaidya for the purpose of proceeding to Bhimashankar to incite the Kolis and Katkaris there to commit dacoities. Dandekar has admitted before us his visit to Vengau with Ganu and also the fact that he, Ganu, and the accused Manohar intended proceeding to Bhimashankar. But he denies that their object was to incite the Kolis and Katkaris to commit dacoity. On these materials it is amply proved that Dandekar is guilty of an offence under section 121A of the Penal Code.

Ramchandra Babaji Kathe, accused No. 8, was arrested on the 1st of January in consequence of information given by Ganu Vaidya. The latter in his evidence and Dharap in his confession as also Dandekar in his, state that an oath of independence was administered to Kathe; Kathe in his own confession states that it was no more than an oath to use Swadeshi articles. So far he cannot be presumed to have joined any conspiracy to overawe Government. Ganu Vaidya states that as his own preliminary examination at his school was approaching he distributed the materials he had for preparing picnic among some of his friends and that he gave to Kathe three bottles of carbolic acid to keep until he called for them. Ganu however states that he did not tell Kathe what the bottles contained.

Kathe in his confession admits that he received the bottles; but he says he did not know their contents, because they were in a sackcloth bag with a lock put to it, the key of which Ganu kept with himself. He further states in the confession that one or two months afterwards he offered to return the bag to Ganu, but that the latter replied "Let it remain with you"; that some time after that, the people of his house having asked him to clear the window where the bag was kept, he threw the bag into the river, because suspicion entered his mind regarding the bottles. We must accept this version in the absence of any evidence to implicate Kathe in the conspiracy charged. As to the evidence of the search of his house at Rangangaum, where a sword and a book relating to the Paisa Fund were found, we do not think we should draw any inference adverse to him, since it is proved that Kathe lived at Nasik and attended the school, visiting Rangangaum during the holidays; whereas his father and brother lived the latter place and the Sword (Exhibit A-18) is an old one found in a lumber room. Kathe found not guilty.

Vinayak Kashinath Gayadhani, accused No. 4, was arrested on the 25th of December 1910 in consequence of statement made to the police by Vinayak Narayan Deshpande, who has been tried, found guilty, and hanged for the murder of Mr. Jackson. There is no direct evidence against this accused that he took the oath of any secret society or that he took part in any conspiracy of the kind charged at this trial. His own confession admits no more than that Deshpande had given him two days before his arrest a bundle wrapped up in a handkerchief and asked him to keep it or throw it away. He says he did not examine to see what was in the bundle; but that he threw it on the roof of the house of his neighbour. When discovered, the bundle was found to contain a loaded pistol. These statements do not amount to a confession of the offence of conspiracy charged. The accused Chandratre does indeed say in his confession that he tried to teach Gayadhani how to prepare picric acid in Deshpande's factory; and Kelkar, accused No. 5, states in his confession that Gayadhani was present at the factory on one occasion when picric acid was being prepared. Ambadas Gangadas Gurge deposes that Gayadhani was seen by him visiting the factory with Ganu Vaidya, Dandekar and Gorhe. Ganu Vaidya, who has given a more or less full account of the conspiracy and the parties to it in Nasik and other places, makes no mention of Gayadhani; and from the mere fact that he joined others on one or two occasions at what may have been only an experiment in preparing picric acid

it would not be safe to infer his guilt. We, therefore, find accused No. 4 Vinayak Kashinath Gayadhani not guilty of that offence.

Vishnu Ganesh Kelkar, accused No. 5, must be found guilty as a conspirator. Gosavi proves that he was a member of the Mitra Mela and the Abhinava Bharata and that his speciality was physical culture. He was arrested on the 25th of December 1909 on the information of Ganu Vaidya and Mr. Palshikar recorded his confession on the 7th of January 1910. In that he admitted having taken the oath of the secret society, prepared picric acid, and obtained a loaded pistol from Chandratre and given it to the accused Gorhe. That confession he retracted before the committing Magistrate, on the ground that he had made none of the statements contained in it but that he had merely affixed his signature to what had already been written. Before us he alleges that he had been illtreated and tortured by the police and that what he stated before Mr. Palshikar was different from what that Magistrate had recorded in writing as his confession. Mr. Palshikar's evidence disproves all these allegations and we are satisfied that the confession was voluntarily made and is true. Kelkar is implicated by Chandratre in his confession and the loaded pistol (Exhibit A-10) was discovered in consequence of information given by Kelkar after Chandratre had first put the police on the tract for its discovery. There is also direct evidence that Kelkar was seen visiting with Dandekar and Gorhe Deshpande's factory and going to the 3rd floor there. We convict Vishnu Ganesh Kelkar of an offence under section 121A of the Penal Code.

Sakharam Dadaji Gorhe, accused No. 12, arrested by Mr. Guider on the 28th of December is mentioned by Gosavi as one of the members of the Abhinava Bharat belonging to the top class. Dhanappa saw him once or twice in that association. Limaye saw him at some of its meetings. Gosavi deposes that it was Gorhe who started a discussion about the collection and use of arms for the purposes of the Society. The oral evidence of Gorhe's association with the conspiracy initiated by Ganesh Damodar Sarvarkar finds ample support from the documents in the possession of the accused himself and elsewhere. Mazzini was the idol and ideal of the conspirators of the Abhinava Bharat; Vinayak Savarkar had translated and his brother Ganesh had published in Marathi Mazzini's autobiography. The Abhinav Bharat Mala and the Laghu Abhinav Bharat Mala were series of highly inflammatory and seditious poems preaching murders, assassinations for the obtaining of Swarajya and independence. Copies of these books were found at searches of the shop and the house of Gorhe. A paper written in Balbodh was

among the papers discovered at the search in his shop and the writing in it is a most scurrilous abuse of the English with a prayer for revenge on them "With the heels of my shoes", says the writer of this paper, "I must throw him down" (meaning the English)" on his back, on his face. I must crush his neck like that of a snake, and must make their blood flow in streams". It is also proved that Gorhe was present at a meeting where Vinayak Damodar Savarkar on the eve of his departure for England delivered on the 28th of May 1906 a lecture on the Swarajya Bhakti, praised Shyamji Krishna Varma, and counselled his audience to cultivate the spirit of Shivaji to free themselves from foreign servitude, Gorhe thanked Vinayak at the invocation to "the Goddess of Independence"; and the only explanation he can offer is that the invocation did not express any opinion he held but was merely adopted with a view to attract customers. Some witnesses speak of Gorhe's association with Soman, one of the prisoners convicted of complicity in the murder of Mr. Jackson. He had dealings with the hand-loom factory of Deshpande and Soman. That is admitted by Gorhe in his statement before the Committing Magistrate. Ganesh Savarkar's letter (Exhibit 346) proves that Gorhe had a hand in the publication of the literature of the Abhinav Bharata. Then there is the fact of the discovery of the Browning pistol Exhibit A-10 to which we have referred in dealing with the case of accused No. 2 Chandratre and accused No. 5 Kelkar. That pistol, according to information obtained by the police from Kelkar, passed on from Kelkar to Gorhe. Gorhe in his statement to the Magistrate does not deny the fact of his having come into possession of a bundle from Kelkar. His version is that when one evening he and Kelkar happened to go to a temple, the latter placed his clothes and bundle he had in his hands on the Ghaut of the temple and asked Gorhe to take care of them until his return from prayers; that as Kelkar did not return soon and it was getting late, he (Gorhe) asked Trimbak Deshpande to take care of the bundle till Kelkar's return. But Trimbak gives a different version. According to him Gorhe gave him the bundle to keep for 3 or 4 days after Mr. Jackson's murder, and that latter version is more in accordance with probabilities than Gorhe's version.

It is impossible to doubt that Gohre was in complete sympathy with the purpose of Abhinava Bharat Society and was an advocate of, or in agreement with, methods of violence. He undoubtedly conspired with others and his membership of the Abhinava Bharat and proved association with men like Soman, Deshpande and Kelkar leave no doubt on our minds that he conspired with those others for purpose of overawing the Government. He is therefore guilty of an offence under section 121-A of the Penal Code.

Vinayak Vasudev Manohar, accused No. 13, a student, aged 16 or 17, was arrested on the 30th of December on information from Ganu Vaidya and Dharap. Both of them have implicated him the former in his evidence before this Court and the latter in his confession. Ganu Vaidya states that Dharap gave the oath of the secret society to Manohar; that Manohar proposed the instigation of the Kolis and Katkaris at Bhimashankar to the commission of a dacoity for the purposes of the secret society and that it was in consequence of his proposal that he, Ganu Vaidya, and Dandekar left Vengau for Bhimashankar, but returned without going there because the journey was wearisome. Dandekar in his confession admits that visit to Vengau. Dharap in his confession admits having administered the oath of independence to Manohar. Manohar made a confession before Mr. Palshikar on the 4th January in which he admitted having joined Dharap's secret society, having received on two occasions pistols for safe custody from Ganu. That confession he retracted before the Committing Magistrate and he has also retracted it before us on the ground that he had made it through fear of the police and ignorance. But before the Committing Magistrate in retracting the confession as recorded by Mr. Palshikar, he admitted that Dharap had administered an oath to him without his knowing what it was about; and that during the Ganpati festival Dharap had introduced him to Ganu and that Ganu had made enquiries of him concerning Swadeshi movements, dacoities and bombs. He also admitted before the Committing Magistrate that Ganu Vaidya and Dandekar had visited him at Vengau for the purpose of proceeding to Bhimashankar. These admissions and his confession with the rest of the evidence against him are sufficient proof of his complicity in the conspiracy to overawe Government. At the same time we think he is a boy of smaller intelligence and understanding than most of the accused; (see the evidence of Ramkrishna Kane, a witness examined by the prosecution) and that circumstance will be taken into account in passing sentence upon him. We find him guilty of an offence under section 121A of the Penal Code.

Raghunath Chintaman Ambdekar, accused No. 32, a student, aged 18, was arrested at Tangaum on the 18th of January. Ganu Vaidya speaks to his having been a member of the secret society of Dharap as well as that of Soman and to his having stolen a wristlet for the purposes of Dharap's society. There is evidence that when he visited Tandur he tried to give the oath of the society to others and induced them to join him and his conspirators for the purpose of obtaining Swarajya. The accused made a confession before Mr. Palshikar in which he admitted having taken oath of Swarajya

and joined the secret society for the purpose of subverting the Government. In that confession he made a full disclosure of the cipher language employed by the secret society of which he had been a member. That confession was acknowledged by him as true before the Committing Magistrate. He is implicated in their confessions by Dharap and Dandekar. He must therefore be found guilty of the offence of conspiring to overthrow the Government under section 121-A of the Penal Code.

Gopal Govind Dharap, accused No. 11, was arrested on information given by Ganu Vaidya on the 26th of December 1909. He is a young Brahmin, aged 18; and was a student residing in the Nasik Vritta Printing Press at the time of his arrest. He is implicated by Ganu Vaidya in the conspiracy and both Dandekar and Manohar incriminate him in their confessions. His own confessions recorded by Mr. Khopkar and deposed to by the latter as having been made voluntarily established his guilt. He substantially adhered to that confession in his statement made to Mr. Montgomery, the Committing Magistrate, and begged for mercy, though in this Court he has retracted it. It is satisfactorily proved that Dharap was a member of what is called Soman's society, Soman being one of the prisoners convicted of complicity in the murder of Mr. Jackson by Anant Kanhere and sentenced to transportation for life. Dharap in conjunction with Ganu Vaidya established another secret society, which is spoken to by some of the witnesses for the prosecution as either Ganu's or Dharap's secret society. The members of both societies worked together under the leadership of Anna Kurve. Dharap was the man who administered the oath of Swarajya or independence to several of the accused persons in this case and to others; and it was he who put into Ganu Vaidya's head the idea of visiting Aurangabad and procuring arms from there for the purpose of the secret society. It was Dharap who introduced by a letter Ganu Vaidya to his friend Gangaram Rupchand (accused 26) and through him to Anant Kanhere, the actual murderer of Mr. Jackson. Dharap was one of the most active spirits of the conspiracy. We find him guilty of the offence charged under section 121-A of the Penal Code.

Keshav Ganesh Paranjpe, accused No. 35, was arrested on the 24th of December on information given by Ganu Vaidya, liberated on the 8th of January and re-arrested on the 21st of February 1910. The only evidence against him is that of Ganu Vaidya and of Dattu Joshi. Ganu deposes that he entrusted to Paranjpe for safe custody three bottles of potash and one bottle containing alcohol, because as

his (Ganu's) examination was approaching he was distributing the materials and articles he had for preparing picric acid. But Ganu Vaidya admits that he did not inform Paranjpe of the contents of the bottles and that Paranjpe did not know what the potash was for; that neither he nor any one else, so far as he is aware, gave the oath of the secret society to him; and that he only talked for one year with Paranjpe about Swadeshi. Both Ganu and Dattu Joshi say that shortly after Mr. Jackson's murder Paranjpe came to Ganu's house, informed him of the murder and asked him whether he (Ganu) had anything to do with it; and that he enquired of Ganu what he should do with the bottles he had given to him for safe custody. Ankushkar gives substantially the same account. Dattu Joshi states that Paranjpe appeared at the time sorry for Mr. Jackson's murder. At a search in the house where Paranjpe lived a book on drill and a copy of the poems Abhinava Bharat and Lagu Abhinava Bharat were found, but it is proved that Paranjpe lived there with his elder brother and these books were among 200 books in the house. All this evidence is not sufficiently conclusive to connect Paranjpe with any conspiracy to overawe the Government. He is therefore found not guilty.

Tonpe, Gangaram and Tikhe.—We take together the cases of the three accused *Tonpe* of Yeola, *Gangaram* of Aurangabad and *Tikhe* of uncertain residence but a frequenter of Secunderabad and Hyderabad. The sworn testimony proves conclusively that there was a political association at Yeola in which both *Tonpe* and *Gangaram* were interested and another association in Aurangabad of which *Gangaram*, two of the witnesses and the murderer *Anant* were members. Apart from the confessions and from G. B. Vaidya's evidence it is not conclusively proved that the Yeola association was for more than Swadeshi oath only. But these witnesses do not appear to be telling the whole truth and the confessions, confirmed as they are by G. B. Vaidya's testimony and that of Ankushkar and Dattu Joshi, establish beyond doubt that the Yeola association had a seditious purpose. There is no doubt of the really seditious nature of the intentions of the Aurangabad group. *Tonpe* was one of the two accused who said to Mr. Montgomery that he had been ill-treated by the Police. *Gangaram* has not asserted that his confession was improperly advised. His story is that he told it willingly even cheerfully in order that he might be tried with his friend *Anant*. He says, however, that his own inventive faculty was aided by that of the Police. On consideration of everything relating to these confessions we are of opinion that neither offends against the provisions of section 24 of the Indian Evidence Act. *Tonpe's* confession is less, *Gangaram's* it may be

a good deal more, than the truth. G. B. Vaidya's testimony where it relates to Yeola and Aurangabad affairs is corroborated in important particulars by the testimony of the two witnesses Ankushkar and Dattu Joshi and is confirmed by the confessions. There is nothing like invariable correspondence in details but there is a general consistency which makes it easy to ascertain the broad facts. Tonpe's defence is a denial of the facts and the assertion that his political interests were confined to Swadeshi movement. The facts are proved. There is no room for doubt that Tonpe's political activities were not confined to the Swadeshi movement. He was a member of a secret society and had accepted and encouraged the idea of independence. Undoubtedly also he encouraged discussion and enquiry regarding explosives and bombs. He was certainly aware of a conspiracy extending beyond Yeola and Aurangabad and was in agreement with its purpose which he knew comprised the use of violent measures. He had intimate discussions with G. B. Vaidya, the emissary of Karve's society in Nasik, and that brings him into direct connection with the general conspiracy with which we are concerned. These facts do not, in the general circumstances of this case, admit of any rational explanation but that Tonpe conspired with others to overawe the Government by force or show of force. He therefore is guilty of an offence under section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code.

Gangaram's case is equally clear in so far as it is proved that he was aware of the wider conspiracy and was in intimate relation with Anant, the murderer, and Vaidya the emissary from Nasik. There is clear evidence that up to a certain point he was conspiring with Tonpe in Yeola and with the two witnesses and Anant in Aurangabad for seditious purposes. He denies this and asserts that throughout he was opposed to methods of violence and used all his powers of persuasion against them. There is a good deal in the case which suggests that though he theoretically agreed to the use of violence he became opposed to that idea when he suspected that Anant was pledged to a murderous venture. He certainly seems to have been infirm of purpose at that time. Upon the proved facts a distinction must, therefore, be made between him and the other members of the group. He a Marwadi, came in contact in the school which he attended with some Brahmin boys of superior intelligence and astuteness, who had been caught in the new wave of sedition and Swarajya. One of these Brahmin boys was Anant Kanhere the murderer of Mr. Jackson. He exercised a fascinating influence over Gangaram who was given to the use of the intoxicating drug known as ganja. Anant lived as a tenant in one of Gangaram's houses and that house became more or less the rendezvous of the

young conspirators. Gangaram, falling into such company, was naturally led to share their views and join in their wild talk. But when he saw that his companions were about to translate their words into deeds and were endeavouring to use his friend Ananta for the purpose of political murders he seems to have realised the risks they were running. He protested and tried to prevent his companions from using Ananta as their instrument for murder. Ananta and the other Brahmin boys, however, avoided him on that account as far as they could and plotted without taking him into their confidence. Gangaram was against Ananta going to Nasik to murder Mr. Jackson. So a telegram from Ananta's brother at Barsi was manufactured, requesting Anant to leave Aurangabad for Barsi immediately, because the brother was seriously ill. And by that false telegram Gangaram's suspicions and fears were allayed. Under these circumstance, while holding Gangaram guilty of the offence of conspiracy to overawe the Government under section 121-A Indian Penal Code, we think we are warranted in taking a lenient view of his case for the purposes of sentence.

Tikhe's case considered with these two because the evidence establishes that he came into direct relation with Ankushkar, a witness in the case, who was a member of the Secret society at Aurangabad. Tikhe was something of a wanderer like Dharap, Manohar and Ambdekar and like them discussed politics with those with whom he became acquainted. It was in this way that he came to be in seditious intimacy with Ankushkar. Tikhe tells us in his confession that he received the oath from G. D. Savarkar. There is corroboration of this statement in the facts that his name and address are found in Savarkar's address book and that a written copy of the oath was found amongst his papers signed Ganesh Damodar Savarkar. There was also found there a copy of a bomb formula a seriously defective one but none the less an indication of a dangerous spirit and criminal purpose. Ankushkar was allowed to take or was supplied with copies of this formula. These facts are established beyond doubt. The defence, which is a denial of them fails, and no innocent explanation of them is supplied. It is plain that Tikhe conspired or he would not have taken the oath from Savarkar and have kept and have been a party to disseminating copies of the bomb formula. The incident of that formula shows that he conspired for a violent and criminal purpose and his relations with Savarkar and his discussions with Ankushkar leave no room for doubt that the purpose was to intimidate and overawe the Government. His connection with Savarkar and with Ankushkar shows that he was aware of a widespread conspiracy and was in agreement with its object. It follows

that he also is guilty of the same offence as Tonpe and Gangaram, punishable under section 121-A Indian Penal Code.

THE PEN GROUP

What is called the *Pen group* comprises four persons *Bapat*, T. G. *Marathe*, *Gokhale* and *Jog*. *Bapat* and T. G. *Marathe* are school masters, the former about 20, the latter about 26 years of age. The other two are boys of 19 or 20. They were all inhabitants of Pen and undoubtedly they were known to each other. Some of them had been the pupils of *Karandikar* a former school master at Pen and the person to whom through the instrumentality of a witness a pistol was sent by T. G. *Marathe*, *Gokhale* and *Jog* were friends and corresponded with one another. There is no definite evidence that any one of these four persons took an oath, nor are facts established which clearly justify the inference that they collectively belonged to any political association though there is evidence that there were what is known as *Akhadas* in Pen and that *Gokhale* and *Jog* belonged to one of those associations. The facts established by the evidence in *Bapat's* case are that he was a teacher who gave instruction, amongst other things, in elementary chemistry; that at one time he had in his possession a paper containing information about explosives; that he was intimate with the two youthful conspirators, *Manohar* and *Dharap*, and spoke to them with very indiscreet frankness on the subject of bombs. On the other hand *Manohar* in his confession bears out, so far as he is concerned, the explanation *Bapat* offered in the earliest statement he made to Magistrate. This explanation is that he reproved both *Manohar* and *Bapat* for mixing themselves up in matters which might lead to violence and warned them both to have nothing to do with such affairs. His intimacy with these two boys is naturally explained. *Manohar* had been his pupil and *Dharap's* brother was his friend. *Bapat* did not make a confession; he made an exculpatory statement, and the facts admitted by him, though they indicate disloyal sentiments and almost if not absolutely criminal indiscretion do not justify the inference that he conspired with others to overawe the Government, nor do his admissions, taken with the facts otherwise proved, establish it. He therefore is found not guilty.

Gokhale was found to be in secret possession of two *Browning* pistols, a book of instructions regarding them and some turned pieces of brass partially hollowed out as if for cartridge cases. He admitted, and we do not doubt, truthfully, for he is a mechanic, that he had pistols to repair and that he was making the pieces of brass into cartridge cases. It is somewhat uncertain whether he obtained the

pistols from Vithoba or from the accused T. G. Marathe ; but he had them from one or the other and it does not really matter from which of the two. Besides these circumstances there is the fact that V. and T. G. Marathe were both conspirators. But, taking that and the other proved circumstance into account, it is doubtful whether they justify the inference that he conspired with others to overawe the Government. He is therefore found not guilty on that charge. But it is certain he is guilty of a grave offence under the Arms Act, section 20. The accused Jog is a young boy against whom the inference that he conspired to overawe the Government is still less justified by the facts proved. He had some old arms entrusted to him by Gokhale when very young and threw them into a well, and a broken bottle of dilute acid was found thrown away in a compound where he had once lived. Others, however, had lived there also. There is no certain evidence of close association with a proved conspirator, for it is not conclusively shown that Jog's friend Gokhale was a conspirator.

Considering the nature of the arms which Jog had and the long confinement he has undergone we do not think it necessary to record against him a conviction for offence under the Arms Act.

The case against T. G. Marathe is very different. Something has already been said about this man. He was so closely associated with Vithoba Marathe who undoubtedly was a conspirator that when the former became dangerously ill the Browning pistols in Vithoba's keeping were entrusted to T. G. Marathe. It is clear that he acted in concert with Patankar, for he afterwards sent one of the pistols to him. It is also clear that he had secret unlawful relations with others, for he sent another pistol to Karandikar. His name was disclosed to the police by Patankar and this led to a police raid on him on 31st December 1909. At that time Marathe had four Browning pistols in his keeping and becoming aware of the police visitation of their impending arrival he persuaded his friends Godbole and Kolhatkar to put away two each. They were found by the police. The occurrences of the 31st December are amply proved by the sworn testimony. There is also credible sworn testimony that T. G. Marathe lent the pistol to Karandikar. The rest of his doings are disclosed by his own confession and Patankar's. He confirmed his confession except as to one detail when questioned by the Committing Magistrate on the 10th May. We hold that it does not offend against the provisions of section 24 of the Indian Evidence Act.

No explanation of the facts is forthcoming. It is clear that T. G. Marathe conspired with Vithal Marathe and with Patankar, for at

their instigation he hid and kept the pistols. It is equally clear that he was prepared to do what in him lay to enable others to use them for he sent two away one to Patankar, the other to Karandikar. It is plain he did not act in the furtherance of any lawful purpose. Taking into account Marathe's conduct, the deadly character of the weapons he concealed and distributed and the circumstances of the time and place, we can only infer that he did conspire to overawe the Government by criminal force or show of criminal force, and is guilty of an offence punishable under section 121-A of the Indian Penal Code.

Barve, Kashikar and N. D. Sawarkar.—Then there is the case of three accused persons *Barve, Kashikar, and Narayan Damodar Sawarkar*, who were not directly connected with either arms or explosives but who were members of the Abhinava Bharat Society. Of these three the two first alone made confession. As we shall have occasion to point out, those confessions are of little force against any individuals except Barve and Kashikar themselves; but they do give us considerable knowledge of the nature and constitution of the political organisation of which the Abhinava Bharat of Nasik is the Centre. This knowledge confirms what is to be gathered from the sworn testimony and has enabled us to describe with confidence the object and purpose of the Abhinava Bharat society in the terms we have used in an earlier part of the judgment. Those who were in the confidence of the leaders undoubtedly knew that the purpose was to obtain independence and that this was to be done, first, by preparing the minds of the young; especially by teaching them to hate the existing Government, secondly by training to fight for independence those of the young whose minds were prepared; and thirdly, by collecting money and materials for the purpose. These things were to be done secretly, when to do them openly was dangerous. Barve as one of his speeches shows was a strong advocate of secrecy. Undoubtedly there were many who personally stopped short of the third stage, but they were aware that this stage was contemplated, and so long as they adhered to the general scheme it must inevitably be inferred that they were in agreement even with the use of violence as a means of their end. It follows that those who were whole heartedly in favour of the object of the Abhinava Bharat were in favour of overawing the Government by force or show of force. If they worked for the general purpose, they were actively in agreement with that object; and if they conspired with others for that purpose, they are guilty of the offence with which they are charged; for, as has been shown, the

conspiracy of the members of the Abhinava Bharat was organically part of the general conspiracy.

Barve and Kashikar were undoubtedly members of the Abhinava Bharat Association or of a branch. This is established by the sworn testimony, confirmed by their confessions,

It is proved that in June 1907 Barve made decidedly anti-British speeches at Thana and Bhiwandi. In one of them he advised his hearers to read his friend Savarkar's book on Mazzini. It is also proved by independent evidence that he established a political association at Igatpuri by inducing a number of people there to take an oath which though largely Swadeshi oath is proved to have contained something about Swatantrata and to have been administered to persons in the presence of a picture of Shivaji. The accused Kashikar became a leading member of this Igatpuri Association. In his confession Kashikar says the object of the oath he took was that people were to be collected and educated in different branches". He further says Barve told him that in order to obtain independence they wanted men to be collected and it was only for that his assistance was required and that Barve also told him he would come to know other members and that "when we would be introduced to members a new oath would again be administered". His statement shows that his interest in the association which was beyond doubt a branch of the Abhinava Bharat continued for a considerable time. He attended meetings in connection with the association, and at the search of his house there were found a copy of some rules connected with and memoranda relating to it and indicating some intimation of European revolutionary societies. He sold books; amongst them, he tells us undoubtedly truly, Savarkar's Life of Mazzini. His confession is very long and detailed and decidedly verbose. It was given in all probability in the hope that he would be pardoned and made a witness. Mr. Guider tells us that this was Kashikar's wish. He confirmed his confession before the Committing Magistrate, but it does not inspire confidence where he refers to other persons and has very little weight so far as it implicates them individually. In it he repeated from the written memoranda found in his house a list of about 30 towns and villages where he said were branches of the Abhinava Bharat. In this Court it has been explained that the list was of places where there were possible purchasers for his books. It is also said that after arrest he added to those memoranda incriminating particulars at the instigation of the police. This we do not believe.

It is quite clear from his own and Barve's statements and from the important part he is proved to have taken in the affairs of the Igarpuri branch that not only was he a member of the Abhinava Bharat Society but that this society was to his knowledge a seditious association. Kashikar has not himself made any admission which carries the case further against him; but his memoranda contain the words "Russian revolution constitution" and "Revolutionary Party", "plunderer of treasury" and "must not take the oath of any secret society other than the Abhinava Bharat". The copy of the rules found in his house was undoubtedly a copy of the Abhinava Bharat Society's rules and provides for "awakening the mind," scouting sword exercise and "taking aim with a musket". There was found in his possession a copy of the pamphlet "Oh martyrs" in praise of those who fell fighting against the British in 1857. It is the same pamphlet which was distributed at a Mutiny meeting in London in 1908. There was also found in his house a highly seditious picture which amongst others holds up to admiration Khudiram Bose, the bomb thrower at Muzafferpur and Chapekar the murderer of Mr. Rand.

The defence is a denial, not an intelligible explanation of the facts and that defence fails. Kashikar was certainly an active conspirator so far as propaganda work went, and though it does not appear that he in any way concerned himself with firearms or bombs he was assuredly aware in a general way of designs to overawe the Government, by force and was in agreement with those designs whether he had or had not any intention of personally taking part in acts of violence. There is no rational explanation of the facts compatible with innocence. Him we find guilty of conspiring to overawe the Government, an offence punishable under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code.

This brings us back to Barve, the father of the branch of the Abhinava Bharat to which Kashikar belonged. His case is in essentially the same as Kashikar's. His confession is no more convincing as regards others but shows clearly enough his own sentiment and his adherence to the cause of independence. He displayed activity in various ways: at first by his disloyal speeches and by despatching to others seditious pamphlets sent to him by V. D. Savarkar. It was he who sent to Kashikar the pamphlet "Oh martyrs". The reasoning which brings the charge home to him is precisely the same as in Kashikar's case; the defence is similar and no more convincing. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that he conspired and that he was aware of, and in agreement with

signs for violence, whose purpose was to overawe, probably to overthrow, the Government. Like Kashikar he is not shown to have concerned himself with firearms or bombs and after the search of his house in 1908 he seems to have become quiescent. These are matters which may properly be taken into account in imposing punishment but he is guilty of the same offence as Kashikar.

Narayan Savarkar's case is of the same type, though the evidence incriminating him is more largely circumstantial. It is satisfactorily proved from a speech he made in May 1908 that he was a pronounced advocate of independence and in certain cases regarded political assassination as justifiable. Prior to Vinayak's departure for England, whilst the Abhinava Bharat association was taking shape he lived with his brothers in Nasik. After that for some time he continued to live with Ganesh Savarkar. His speech shows that he had come under their influence, and it is difficult to believe otherwise, especially as one of Vinayak's principles was to impress one young. Gosavi deposes that Narayan was a member of the Mitra Mela. Hanappa mentions him and giving Swadeshi advice to boys and Maye states that he attended meetings at his brother's house. We do not doubt that these statements are true; they are very probable and certainly are not prompted by and not display animus against Narayan or police tutoring. Had either influence been operating, more directly incriminating facts would have been described.

Narayan was evidently in the confidence of his brother Ganesh, for it is proved that after his arrest, whilst in the lockup, Ganesh sent for Narayan and gave him certain cryptic instructions. The conduct of the latter shows that he understood them but the authorities were on the alert. The Savarkar's house was at once searched and Narayan's accidental moving of a loose brick disclosed a hiding place. It was there that were found a number of private papers and the copy of the bomb manual.

A letter written by Narayan to his brother Vinayak in England was intercepted in the post and has been put in evidence. It is headed with an invocation to the Goddess of independence, displays his desire for the liberation of their motherland and his entire readiness to do the bidding of his brother.

There is no direct evidence that Narayan took an oath or even handled or was concerned with arms or explosives. The case against him is that no rational treatment of the facts justifies any conclusion but that Narayan was a member of the Abhinava Bharat, aware of its object, wholly in sympathy with its purpose and prepared to do

all in his power to follow in the footsteps of his brothers. It is to be inferred that he conspired as did the leading members of the Abhinava Bharat, because his intimate connection with them and warm interest in their objects make it impossible to draw any other inference. But no doubt he was dominated and misled by his elder brothers : he is still very young, not more than 20 and 21 years of age, and it may be hoped that it is possible for him to eradicate the impression made on his mind by pernicious teaching. He also is guilty under section 121-A but it would be cruel and unreasonable to inflict on him a severe sentence, and possibly the best thing for him as for some others is that the sentence should be light.

VINAYAK DAMODAR SAVARKAR

(FROM H. D. SPECIAL VOLUME 60 OF 1908-1909.)

The following letter gives us an idea about the arrest of Ganesh Damodar Savarkar and subsequent search of his house at Nasik :—

Confidential.

No. S. B./461 of 1908.

POLICE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE :

Bombay, 21st October 1908.

My dear Bowen,

Your confidential D. O. dated 16th instant. Ganesh Damodar Savarkar was arrested on the 12th June last near the Esplanade Police Court for being a member of an unlawful assembly, during Tilak's trial in Aston's Court. Before this I was having enquiries made regarding an alleged seditious publication by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, brother of Ganesh Damodar Savarkar. On his arrest Ganesh was searched and on his person among other papers, one copy of "How the Russians Organise a revolution" was found. Inspector Favel was sent the same day to Nasik with a note from me to the Collector, asking that the house might be searched. It was searched by the police and the books under reference were taken charge of on 13th idem, an application was made to Aston to authorise the police to investigate in the matter of the alleged seditious publication, which was granted. The books under reference were not however taken charge of under any warrant or process of any court.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) H. G. GELL.

J. C. P. Bowen, Esq.

The District Superintendent of Police, Nasik, wrote the following letter to the District Magistrate, Nasik :—

No. $\frac{C}{26}$ of 1909.

From

I. G. FOARD, Esq., District Superintendent of Police, Nasik ;

To

A. M. T. JACKSON, Esquire, District Magistrate, Nasik.

Nasik, 31st March, 1909.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward copies of translations of eight letters from Vinayak Damodar Savarkar now in England studying for a barrister to his brother Ganesh Damodar Savarkar of Nasik, in whose house the original letters and some seditious correspondence were found on the 2nd instant. Among the correspondence is a copy of the Manicktolla Bomb Formula.

2. It will be seen from these letters that Vinayak has repeatedly asked his brother Ganesh to send him the Bande Mataram Essay. The manuscript of this essay was also found among the correspondence in Ganesh's house. It is written with pencil in the Balbodh Character. It has been shown to an expert in handwriting in Bombay who says it is identical with that of Ganesh, other specimens of whose handwriting were shown to him.

3. A translation of the essay, Exhibit No. 11, accompanies from which it will be seen that the language is most violent.

4. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar is a well known rank extremist and it will be observed from one of his letters to Ganesh, that he advocated a defiant stand being made by the extremists, should Government prevent the holding of the Congress at Nagpur in December last.

5. Ganesh Damodar Savarkar is now on trial under sections 121, 121A and 124A, Indian Penal Code. But apart from the offences he

is at present charged with, the correspondence seized in his house after his arrest, fairly indicates that he has been conspiring with others to subvert British rule in India.

6. I would, therefore, beg to suggest that Government may be moved to ask the Home Authorities to have the belongings of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, whose address is Indian House, London, thoroughly searched for incriminating documents in English and Marathi."

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S LETTER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
Home Department.

Sir,

I am directed to forward for the information of Government of India copies of translations of eight letters from Vinayak Damodar Sawarkar of India House, London, to his brother Ganesh Damodar Sawarkar of Nasik. The original letters were found by the police in Ganesh's house together with some seditious literature. Among the latter was a copy of the Manicktolla Bomb Formula and the manuscript of the Bande Mataram Essay. A translation of the essay also accompanies, from which it will be seen that it is couched in most violent language.

2. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar sailed for England in June 1906, having accepted one of the lectureships of Rs. 1,000 offered by Shyamji Krishna Varma. Since his arrival in England he has translated into Marathi the autobiography and political views of Joseph Mazzini, which he sent to his brother Ganesh to have printed and published at one of the local presses at Poona, and is said to be now engaged in writing a book on the Indian Mutiny, and it is probable that the book will be of such a nature that it will be advisable immediately to suppress it.

3. It is a well known fact that a considerable amount of seditious literature finds its way into India from the India House, and I am to suggest that copies of this correspondence may be

forwarded to the Indian Office for information and such action as may be found fit.

4. I am to add that Ganesh Damodar Savarkar is being prosecuted by the Bombay Government under sections 121, 121A and 124A of the Indian Penal Code and he has been committed to the Sessions by the District Magistrate, Nasik, on the following charges :—

(1) That on the 18th March 1908 he attempted to excite disaffection against the King and Government by publishing poems called "Laghu Abhinava Bharat Mala."

(2) That he abetted the waging of war against the King.

(3) and that in December 1908 at Nasik he was concerned in a conspiracy with Luxman Vasudeo and others to wage war against the King.

I have etc.....

Ag. Secy. to Government."

The case was heard by Mr. C. B. Kennedy, Sessions Judge, Nasik. The whole case was directed against the poems published by G. D. Savarkar under the name "Laghu Abhinav Bharat Mala". 3,000 copies of the book were published. The accused was not the author of the poems but the owner of the copy right. His name appeared as publisher. The accused accepted responsibility for the contents of the documents. The poems were hymns intended to be sung at the festivals of Ganpati and Shivaji.

The Judge thought that publishing of the poems was a crime under sections 124A and 121A of the Indian Penal Code and sentenced Savarkar to undergo transportation for life and to forfeit all property to the Crown. Under section 124A he was sentenced to undergo two years' R. I., the sentence to run concurrently with that passed under section 121A. The sentence was passed on 8th June 1909.

Ganesh D. Savarkar appealed to the High Court against this sentence. The Judges were Justice Chandavarkar and Justice Heaton. Both of them concurred with the Sessions Judge and confirmed the sentence on 18th November 1909.

V. D. SAWARKAR ARRESTED IN ENGLAND

(FROM H. D. SPECIAL FILE No. 60-A, 1909 to 1922.)

The letters written by V. D. Savarkar to his brother G. D. Savarkar were produced as evidence against the latter during his prosecution. Government then considered how far it would be possible to prosecute V. D. Savarkar, who was then studying for the Bar in England.

The question was how to get Savarkar arrested in England. It could only be done under the Fugitive offenders' Act of 1881. The matter was referred by Government to the Advocate General for his opinion and he expressed the view that the Act could not be applied to V. D. Savarkar. The matter was then referred to the Legal Remembrancer who suggested the following :—

“The practical course on the Advocate General's opinion is as follows :—

Lay information before a Magistrate that the person whom it is sought to apprehend is a Native Indian subject of His Majesty, and has conspired to deprive the King of the Sovereignty of British India or any part, thereof, an offence punishable under section 121A of the Indian Penal Code and obtain a warrant under section 75 of the Code of Criminal Procedure directed as required by section 77. The necessary evidence available in India should be before the Magistrate under section 29 of the Fugitive Offenders' Act, preferably in the presence of the Police Officer to whom the warrant is addressed and to whom it is desired that the fugitive should be delivered. The police officer with the warrant and the evidence should then apply for an endorsement of the warrant to the Secretary of State, or a Bow street Magistrate, under section 3 of the Fugitive Offenders' Act.....”.

The Evidence against V. D. Savarkar after he left India for England was as follows :—

(1) He was the Manager of the India House kept by Krishna Varma, the Editor of the Indian Sociologist.

(2) On 8th January 1909 he was present at the Guru Govind Singh meeting in London and made a speech “inciting the Sikhs to rise against the Indian Government.”

(3) He organised the meeting at which what is known as the Khalsa leaflet was distributed.

(4) Letters alleged to have been written by him to his brothers at Nasik.

(5) Certain seditious speeches delivered by him during the first five months of 1906.

Shri G. D. Savarkar was undergoing his sentence in the Yeravda Central Prison. He gave evidence that the letters found with him were written by his brother V. D. Savarkar.

The case being thus prepared, proceedings were undertaken against V. D. Savarkar in England under Fugitive Offenders' Act.

"On 20th April 1910, at Bow Street Police Court before Sir A. de Rutzen, V. D. Savarkar, 24, an Indian Law student was charged on remand as a fugitive offender with sedition and abetment of murder in India.

Mr. Bodkin and Mr. William Lewis appeared on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions, Mr. Reginal Vanghan defended.

The prisoner was remanded until Saturday.

The case was resumed on Saturday, Mr. Bodkin, in opening the case, said that the proceeding had been taken at the request of the Indian Government.

A provisional warrant for the prisoner's arrest was granted at the Court on February 22 upon receipt of a telegram from India, stating that a warrant had been issued by a Magistrate in Bombay.....
.....The original warrant which was granted in India on February 8, charged the prisoner with five offences under the Indian Penal Code, all of which came within the Fugitive Offenders' Act of 1881. The first charge was of waging war or abet the waging of war against the King in India. The second charge was to conspire to deprive the King of the sovereignty of British India or any part of it. The third charge was for collecting arms or ammunition or otherwise waging war against the King. The fourth charge was of spreading disaffection against Government established by law. The fifth charge was of abetment of murder.

It was alleged that a large number of speeches had been made at Nasik and elsewhere exhibiting a great hostility to the Government in India and inciting the people there to acts of violence for the

purpose of subverting the Government. The prisoner was represented to have said, "Are there no weapons except arms? There are many which need not be more fully explained here."

"Though we were made armless, still we require arms when we have determined to overthrow the Government we want weapons Let us fight with weapons. It means that we must preserve our religion."

FROM "DAILY EXPRESS" OF 2ND MAY 1910

"The documents received from India in support of the case included the deposition of a man named Chatterbhuj, who told a striking story of happenings at India House.

"Chatterbhuj spoke of his relations with Savarkar at that address. He gave the names of several persons who used to attend meetings there and described the character of the proceedings. It is made clear by the deposition that Savarkar took a prominent part in these meetings, presiding on some occasions and making speeches of a revolutionary character.

"Chatterbhuj referred at length to a book printed at India House. It was illustrated and on one occasion Chatterbhuj asked what the pictures were. Savarkar replied, 'Pictures are pictures'.

"The book was circulated by post, and Savarkar said he must not address any of the wrappers, as his handwriting was known to officials in India. He stated also that none of the books was to be posted at Highgate or in the neighbourhood.

"Chatterbhuj was made a member of a secret society of which Savarkar and one of his brothers were the founders. He described his initiation, and the objects of the society which included the levying of war.

"He declared that while he was at India House on February 14, Savarkar and another man prepared a parcel which he afterwards took to Bombay and delivered to a man whose name he gave. He made other statements of an important character, clearly indicating Savarkar's intentions.

"Mr. Bodkin included in his evidence a translation of some parts of Savarkar's book on the Mutiny and he corroborated

the statements as to Savarkar's connection with the Mitra Mela, a secret society in India. He also referred to certain visits to Krishnavarma in Paris and to the Dhingra incident."

FROM "TIMES" OF 13TH MAY 1910

"The case was completed at the previous hearing and the Magistrate now ordered the prisoner to be returned to India for trial, and said he would be allowed the usual 15 days in which to appeal, but if his advisers should require further time in which to make the necessary preparations he was sure that any application on the subject to the Home Office, would be duly considered."

FROM "TIMES" of 25TH MAY 1910

"Mr. A. Powell K. C. and Mr. J. M. Parikh moved for a writ of Habeas Corpus on behalf of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar who had been committed by Sir Albert de Rutzen for removal to India under the Fugitive Offenders' Act of 1881. This was before the High Court of Justice, King's Bench Division before the Lord Chief Justice of England, Mr. Justice Pickford, and Mr. Justice Coleridge. The Solicitor General (Sir Rufus Isaacs K. C.), Mr. Rowlatt, and Mr. Bodkin showed cause; Mr. Powell K. C. and Mr. J. M. Parikh appeared in support of the Rule.

"The Solicitor General deposed that in the affidavit of Chatterbhuj it was stated that at the meetings at India House, the means suggested for independence of India and driving the English out of India were the collection of arms and the killing of Englishmen by arms or bombs, and it was said that the deaths of 15 natives did not matter if they resulted in the death of one Englishman. Buttons inscribed "to Martyrs of 1857" were distributed. The applicant had shown him certain books dealing with the manufacture of Bombs. At dinner one evening one of the boarders said he had assaulted Sir William Lee Warner, that the Police would probably come, and suggested that any thing against the Government should be concealed. In consequence Savarkar called the deponent into his room and gave him three bottles and two packets of powder, and asked him to pour the contents of the bottles on to the ground when nobody was watching, warning him that they were dangerous. A week before the deponent left for India the applicant persuaded him to become a member of the secret society. He took him to a room and closed the door from the inside. He then placed a lamp with ghee in it on the mantelpiece, and put a picture of Shivaji on it. He poured

water into the hollow of the deponent's palm, reciting Sanskrit sloks and translating them into Hindustani. He told him his duties were to be ready to wage war against the Government with such weapons as he might have, sacrificing life, family and possession. The deponent said he took the oath, but had now released himself from it in his own mind. The applicant gave him a parcel of 20 Browning pistols to take to India and hand it over to the addressee, which he did. The Solicitor General said that these pistols were useless for sport and could only be used for killing men. The pistol with which Mr. Jackson was shot had been ascertained to be one of these 20 pistols. These men had been executed in respect of this murder. In one of his letters Savarkar suggested that they should make India independent, and that the one who did the most to obtain that result should be made the monarch.

After some further argument the Lord Chief Justice gave his judgment, regarding the rule of *nisi* for a writ of *habeas corpus* obtained at the instance of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, directed to the Governor of Brixton Prison. The Judge came to the conclusion that even if Mr. Powell, the Defence Counsel, was right in saying that the applicant did not come within the term of section 2 of the Act, that he came within the terms of the Act as applied by section 33 to a different set of circumstances. He, therefore, was of opinion that there were no grounds under section 10 for declining to send the applicant to India for trial.

Mr. Justice Pickford delivered judgment to the same effect. Mr. Justice Coleridge also concurred."

"TIMES" OF 17TH JUNE 1910

An appeal from the above judgment of the Divisional Court discharging a rule *nisi* for a writ of *habeas corpus* was made to the Court of appeal consisting of Lord Justice Vanghan Williams, Lord Justice Fletcher Moulton and Lord Justice Buckley. The Court dismissed the appeal on the ground that as the notice stood there could be no appeal. They gave Mr. Powell leave to serve short notice of an original motion under the Fugitive Offenders' Act, 1881, for next day morning.

FROM "TIMES" OF 22ND JUNE 1910

The Court having allowed a preliminary objection to the hearing of the appeal and having on that ground dismissed the appeal, the case was continued in the shape of an original application under the

Fugitive Offenders Act, 1881, its proper title now being "Application under the Fugitive Offenders' Act, 1881—Ex-party Vinayak Damodar Savarkar."

In concluding the judgment, Lord Justice Vanghan Williams said, "But in a case connected so much with India as this is, the *prima facie* right to trial in England is overridden by the facts of this case, which show that India is the locality of the seditious conspiracy which resulted in murder. I decline entirely to hold that Savarkar is likely to get an unfair trial before the special court of three judges. In fact, I adopt in the main the dicta as to the questions arising in the dicta of the Majority of Judges in the King's Bench Division. I conceive I may do this although we have no sort of appellate jurisdiction in respect of this matter."

Lord Justice Fletcher Moulton and Lord Justice Buckley delivered judgment to the same effect.

With the consent of the Solicitor General, it was arranged that the warrant should not issue for seven days.

PRISONER SAVARKAR ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE AT MARSEILLES

(FROM H. D. SPECIAL FILE NO. 60 B OF 1910.)

Reuter published the following news :—

I

London July 11.

It transpires that Savarkar made a desperate attempt to escape from the "Morea" at Marseilles. He squeezed himself naked through the bathroom porthole and fled along the quay. He was caught by a gendarme.

II

London July 19.

Paris telegrams state that as a result of an official enquiry into Savarkar's escape at Marseilles, the French Government, in view of

the fact that he was actually on soil, have requested the British Government to suspend the trial till full report of the case is received. It is stated that according to International law it may be necessary to bring Savarkar back to France for extradition.

“POSTPONE SAVARKAR’S TRIAL”

Telegram dated 20th July 1910 from Secretary of State to Governor of Bombay :—

“A very awkward point has been raised by the French Government as to the recapture of Savarkar on French soil. We shall promise to examine their arguments, but meanwhile, during the examination, these circumstances point to your judicial proceedings being temporarily suspended. This might be done as quietly as possible, without any reasons being publicly given.”

Telegram dated 22nd July 1910 from Secretary, Bombay Government to Nasik :—

“You are directed not to proceed with complaint against Savarkar pending further orders. Please inform Montgomerie and Davar. Warn them not to discuss the matter.”

Telegram from Secretary of State to Governor of Bombay, dated 22nd July 1910 :—

“With reference to the case of Savarkar, I am advised that, under the Indian Criminal Law, it rests with the Court that issued the warrant to determine the course of trial. I have therefore to request that you will cause an application for the postponement of the trial to be made, on the ground that an international question has been raised which it is desirable to settle before the commencement of the trial.”

Telegram from Governor of Bombay to Secretary of State, dated 23rd July 1910.

“Savarkar. Your telegram dated 22nd instant. The proceedings in the Magistrate’s Court at Nasik will be postponed. I trust, however, that an early settlement may be possible, as delay will be inconvenient legally and gravely disadvantageous politically.”

HAPPENINGS OF THE ESCAPE AND RECAPTURE

How Savarkar tried to escape at Marseilles can be gathered from the statements of —

(1) C. J. Power, Esquire, Deputy Superintendent of Police, on Special Duty to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D.

(2) Head Constable Mahomed Siddik of the C.I.D., Poona.

(3) Amarsing Sakharamsing, Head Constable, IV Grade, Nasik Police States.

(4) Inspector Edward Josh Parker, Detective Inspector of Police, New Scotland Yard, London.

The following summarises the above Statements :—

Inspector Parker was deputed by the Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, at the request of Government of India to accompany Mr. Power to Bombay and to assist him in looking after Prisoner V. D. Savarkar. Although provided with First Saloon Passage, Parker travelled in the Second Saloon so as to help Mr. Power in looking after the prisoner. There were two native Head Constables named Siddick and Sing to form part of the escort. Mr. Power, Savarkar and Parker occupied the same Cabin. It was a four berthed cabin. Savarkar and Parker occupied the lower berths and Mr. Power the one above Savarkar's. The party left Tilbury in s. s. Morea on the 1st July, 1910. They touched at Gibraltar on the 5th July and stopped there about four hours from noon to 4 p.m. They reached Marseilles about 10 a.m. on 7th July. The vessel was moored alongside the quay in the dock. As soon as the party arrived a French Police official, "Henri Leblais, Commissarie Adjoint de "Emigration, 37, Boulevard des Dames—Marseilles" went on board and met Parker. He produced an official letter addressed by the Commissioner of Police, London, to the Chief of Police, Paris, representing that precautions be taken to prevent any demonstration or attempt on the part of Savarkar's friends resident in France, to interview him or to facilitate his escape during the time the Morea remained at Marseilles. The Commissarie promised Parker every assistance. He took him ashore and introduced Parker to the Police officials stationed on the Quay whom he directed to render Parker any assistance that might be found necessary. Parker spoke French and could converse in that language.

The morning after the arrival at Marseilles (8th July) at about six o'clock, Savarkar got out of his berth. Parker sat up in his berth and asked him to see what time it was by his watch which was lying on a cabinet in the cabin. Savarkar said it was 6-15 and returned to his bed. Parker remained half awake. About a quarter of an hour later Savarkar said he wanted to go to the water closet. Parker unlocked the cabin door and took him in the direction of the lavatory. The two head Constables Siddick and Sing were standing near the kit boxes which were kept in the passage about 12 feet beyond the entrance to the lavatory. Parker beckoned to them. They both approached him at a quick pace buttoning their coats as they came along. Savarkar and Parker entered the lavatory and were followed immediately by the two Head Constables. Parker allowed Savarkar to enter one of the water closets the door of which was open. It was the second one from the end, opposite the urinals. Savarkar closed the door. Parker stepped on the platform of the urinal and could see Savarkar on the seat through the opening over the door which was about 18 inches wide. Parker noticed that the port hole in the W. C. in which Savarkar was seated, was shut. All the port holes were closed owing to the steamer having coaled during the night. Parker then directed Sing to stand up on the platform and keep an eye on Savarkar from there. Siddick was standing at the door of the W. C. between Sing and Savarkar. Parker returned to the cabin to dress himself.

There was an opening of about three inches at the top and bottom of all the closet doors. Sing peeped under the door and saw two slippers as if the person who wore them was seated. Sing concluded it was Savarkar, but to make sure he stood on a urinal and peeped through the opening over the door. He saw Savarkar's body half through the port hole. He shouted at him and tried to force the door open but it would not yield. Two panes of glass broke in the door. Simultaneous with Sing's attempt to force the door, Savarkar disappeared through the port hole. Sing immediately raised an alarm and ran on deck to secure Savarkar. Head Constable Siddick also went with him. They ran on the quay. Savarkar landed on the quay as these two appeared on the deck. The side of the ship was about 10 to 12 feet from the quay. Savarkar had to swim that distance to reach land. As soon as he landed on the quay he commenced to run. Mahomed Siddick and Sing ran after him shouting "Catch him", "Catch him". Some of the ship's crew joined in the chase. Savarkar ran for about 200 yards and then stopped partly from exhaustion and partly owing to his progress being blocked by a number of Frenchmen who were employees of the dock. A gendarme on the quay also joined in the pursuit. They all came

up together. Sing seized Savarkar by the back of the neck, the second Saloon Head Steward of the "Morea" seized his right wrist and the gendarme his left wrist. Savarkar said to the gendarme "Take me into your custody. Assist me. Take me before a Magistrate". The gendarme did not understand English and none of the others could speak French. They took him back on board the Morea and went straight to Power's cabin. The door of the cabin was closed. Some one knocked at the door. Mr. Parker opened it and found Savarkar standing outside the cabin door guarded by a gendarme, the two head constables and some of the Ship's Stewards. Savarkar's clothes were quite wet. Head Constable Sing reported what had happened to Power in Hindustani. Mr. Power informed Parker that Savarkar had escaped through the port hole of the W. C. and had been captured on the quay. Parker afterwards was informed by the French Police Officer who accompanied Savarkar on board, that he had seen Savarkar running along the quay and had stopped him and brought him back to the ship. Later in the day Commissaire M. Le Blais came and saw both Mr. Power and Parker, inspected the W. C. from which Savarkar had escaped and said he would have to report the matter to the French authorities. The ship remained at Marseilles until 11 a.m. the next day when she sailed for Port Said. Between the second visit of Mr. M. Le Blais and the departure of the ship nothing transpired. No other French official came to make any enquiries about the matter. After Savarkar was brought on board, Parker telegraphed to Superintendent Quinn, New Scotland Yard as follows: "Prisoner attempted escape. Recaptured. Report follows."

Savarkar was then securely handcuffed and kept under very strict guard. As all through the period of this episode Mr. Power was sleeping in the Cabin without any knowledge of what had happened, he was called upon by Government to state what measures he took for the security of the prisoner generally and what special measures he prescribed while the "Morea" was in port.

In reply, Power supplied Government all the details of Savarkar's life on board the ship.

SHOULD SAVARKAR'S TRIAL BE SUSPENDED ?

Regarding Savarkar's trial *Government of India* sent a telegram to London as under on 3rd August 1910 :—

"Could approximate date decision Savarkar be assigned? Arrangements here much affected. Presume Lammirande Case Canada 1866 strictly analogous but more in our favour has been considered."

The Secretary of State sent reply to the above on 4th August 1910 :—

“Your telegram of the 3rd August. We must consult Law Officers, but the particulars asked for below must be communicated to us before this can be done. It is now stated by the French Government that Savarkar's escort, on his attempting to escape at Marseilles, pursued him for about 400 metres on land and helped his capture, the French policeman, to take him back to the ship, although he was not actually arrested by them. A minute description is urgently required of their action from the time when the attempt became known to them until the completion of the recapture. I shall be glad to receive immediately by telegram a full narrative of events with all possible detail.”

Government of Bombay sent a detailed telegram on 5th August describing the escape episode. The details in the telegram were similar to facts detailed above. The telegram added :—

“Regarding Magisterial Proceedings, now in abeyance, is there any objection to continuing investigations? Proceeding can be stopped short of committal pending conclusion negotiations which would not be prejudicial. If Savarkar not surrendered, High Court can proceed with case jointly with that of other accused. If investigation postponed inconvenience and delay will be serious.”

Secretary of State sent a reply to the above telegram on 12th August as under :—

“Savarkar. Your telegram of 5th August. Case is about to be submitted to Law Officers. Investigation by Magistrate must, therefore, be suspended for the present.”

After a few exchanges of telegrams seeking to find out whether it was the French Gendarme who first caught Savarkar or it was the Indian Constable who did it, the *Secretary of State* telegraphed to Bombay on 31st August 1910, as under :—

“No application by the executive for further adjournment in the case of Savarkar is necessary, as French Government will be told that proceedings in Court cannot be stopped but that, if the conclusion arrived at on the international issue should require it, we shall still be able to restore him to their jurisdiction after judgment has been pronounced.”

THE CONSPIRACY CASE

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT BOMBAY.
CRIMINAL JURISDICTION.

Joint Charges against :—

1. Shankar Balwant Vaidya.
2. Damodar Mahadeo Chandratre.
3. Purushottam Laxman Dandekar.
4. Vinayak Kashinath Gaidhani.
5. Vishnu Ganesh Kelkar.
6. Narayan Damodar Savarkar.
7. Kashinath Daji Tonpe.
8. Ramchandra Babaji Kathe.
9. Gopal Krishna Patankar.
10. Vinayak Sadashiv Barve.
11. Gopal Govind Dharap.
12. Sakharam Dadaji Gorhe.
13. Vinayak Vasudev Manohar.
14. Govind Sadashiv Bapat.
15. Vishnu Mahadeo Bhatt.
16. Trimbak Gangadhar Marathe.
17. Purashuram Waman Gokhale.
18. Keshav Shripat Chandavadkar.
19. Vinayak Kashinath Phulambrikar.
20. Shridhar Vasudeo Shidhaye.
21. Hari Anant Thatte.
22. Krishnaji Gopal Khare.
23. Trimbak Vinayak Jog.
24. Vinayak Govind Tikhe.
25. Vyankatesh Parsuram Nagpurkar.
26. Gangaram Rupchand.
27. Vaman Kashinath Palande.
28. Damodar Chintaman Paranjape.
29. Raghunath Vidyadhar Bhave.
30. Shankar Pandurang Mahajan.
31. Anant Vishnu Konkar.
32. Raghunath Chintaman Ambdekar

33. Vishwas Balwant Davre.
34. Mukund Pandurang Moghe.
35. Keshav Ganesh Paranjape.
36. Balvant Ramchandra Barve.
37. Sakharam Rangnath Kashikar.
38. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.

These persons were charged for attempting to wage war, collect arms etc. and hatching a plot for the conspiracy. Besides the common charges levelled against the 38 persons including V. D. Savarkar, the latter was charged separately under articles 121, 121-A as also that "at London during the year 1909 you aided and abetted the murder of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson which was committed at Nasik on 24th December 1909 and thereby committed an offence punishable under sections 302 and 109 of the Indian Penal Code and within the cognisance of the High Court of Bombay."

The Magistrate directed on 10th September 1910 that Savarkar be tried by the Special Tribunal of the High Court of Judicature at Bombay.

SECOND TRIAL SHOULD NOT BE DEFERRED

Government of India sent the following telegram to Government of Bombay on 6th December 1910 :—

"Your telegram of November 28th. Savarkar. I agree that charge of conspiracy is rightly being tried first, but I cannot admit expediency of deferring separate charge of abetment of murder until decision of Hague Tribunal is known. Delay may be used against us in the course of the arbitration proceedings and may raise troublesome question of political crime which British care seeks to avoid by giving prominence to Savarkar's Complicity in Mr. Jackson's murder. It may also be argued that suspension by the intervention of Government until the decision of Hague Tribunal is known of a charge which was placed before the Court by the order of commitment, is inconsistent with our previous refusal to postpone proceedings before Nasik Magistrate on the ground that executive Government has no power to interfere with the proceedings in Court. I, therefore, am clear that you should proceed in ordinary course with the separate charge of abetment of murder as soon as conspiracy trial is over. The Arbitration tribunal does not meet till February 12th and must give its decision within thirty days from that date."

Government of Bombay replied by telegram on 9th December 1910 as under :—

“Your telegram December 6th. Savarkar. It should be clearly understood that there is chance of acquittal on charge of abetment of murder whereas in all probability sentence on conspiracy charge will be transportation for life which would be probable maximum on conviction on the other charge. If such a sentence now given effect might naturally be to induce leniency at a second trial. Political effect of second trial would be most unfortunate as vindictiveness of Government would be alleged. In any case owing to dislocation and heavy arrears of ordinary work of High Court through three judges having been engaged on conspiracy case continuously for 3 months, it seems most probable that High Court will refuse to hear charge at once and may fix date coinciding with or subsequent to arbitration. We urge that decision as regards second trial may be postponed till present trial has ended.”

Government of India replied to the above on 13th December 1910 as under :—

“Your telegram of the 9th instant. Savarkar. After careful consideration I cannot accept your reasons for postponing trial for abetment of murder and in view of political crimes involved I must ask you to take steps to place the case before the court at the earliest moment and to leave to the court the responsibility of dealing with it judicially. You will no doubt inform Chief Justice importance attached by His Majesty's Government to not prejudicing case before Hague Tribunal and giving ground for importation of bad faith on our part.”

Bombay Government replied to the above on 15th December 1910 as under :—

“Your telegram of 13th instant. Savarkar. Your instructions will be carried out. Please instruct Wallinger in England not to leave but await letter reaching 31st December.”

THE SENTENCE PASSED IN THE CONSPIRACY CASE

The Special Bench of the High Court which tried the Nasik Conspiracy Case consisted of—

1. The Hon. The Chief Justice.
2. The Hon. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar.
3. The Hon. Justice Heaton.

The Special Tribunal tried the case and gave the judgment on 24th December 1910. The following sentences were passed on the accused :—

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|------------------------------|
| 1. Vinayak Kashinath Gaidhani | } | Acquitted and discharged. |
| 2. Ramchandra Babaji Kathe | | |
| 3. Govind Sadashiv Bapat | | |
| 4. Hari Anant Thatte | | |
| 5. Shankar Pandurang Mahajan | | |
| 6. Mukund Pandurang Moghe | | |
| 7. Keshav Ganesh Paranjape | | |
| 8. Trimbak Vinayak Jog | | |
| 9. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar | ... | Transportation for life. |
| 10. Keshav Shripat Chandwakdar | ... | Transportation for 15 years. |
| 11. Gopal Krishna Patankar | ... | R. I. for 10 years. |
| 12. Krishnaji Gopal Khare | ... | R. I. for 10 years. |
| 13. Trimbak Gangadhar Marathe | ... | R. I. for 10 years. |
| 14. Vyankatesh Parshram Nagpurkar. | ... | R. I. for 7 years. |
| 15. Vishnu Mahadeo Bhat | ... | R. I. for 5 years |
| 16. Purushottam Laxman Dandekar | ... | R. I. for 5 years |
| 17. Damodar Mahadeo Chandratre | ... | R. I. for 5 years |
| 18. Sakharam Dadaji Gorhe | ... | R. I. for 5 years |
| 19. Gopal Govind Dharap | ... | R. I. for 5 years. |
| 20. Shidhar Vasudeo Shidhye | ... | R. I. for 4 years. |
| 21. Raghunath Vidyadhar Bhawe | ... | R. I. for 4 years. |
| 22. Damodar Chintaman Paranjape | ... | R. I. for 4 years. |
| 23. Vaman Kashinath Palande | ... | R. I. for 4 years. |
| 24. Vishnu Ganesh Kelkar | ... | R. I. for 3 years. |
| 25. Kashinath Daji Tonpe | ... | R. I. for 3 years. |

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|-------------------------------------|-----|--------------------|
| 26. Parashram Vaman Gokhale | ... | R. I. for 3 years |
| 27. Anant Vishnu Konkar | ... | R. I. for 3 years |
| 28. Vishwas Balwant Davre | ... | R. I. for 3 years |
| 29. Vinayak Govind Tikhe | ... | R. I. for 2 years. |
| 30. Balwant Ramchandra Barve | ... | R. I. for 2 years. |
| 31. Sakharam Rangnath Kashikar | ... | R. I. for 2 years. |
| 32. Narayan Damodar Savarkar | ... | R. I. for 6 months |
| 33. Vinayak Vasudeo Manohar | ... | R. I. for 6 months |
| 34. Gangaram Rupchand Marwari | ... | R. I. for 6 months |
| 35. Raghunath Chintaman Ambdekar. | | R. I. for 6 months |
| 36. Shankar Balwant Vaidya | ... | Acquitted. |
| 37. Vinayak Barve | ... | Acquitted. |
| 38. Vinayak Kashinath Phulambrikar. | | Acquitted. |

SENTENCE UNDER CHARGE OF ABETMENT OF MURDER

The second case against V. D. Savarkar was heard by the special bench of the High Court and he was sentenced to another transportation for life. The following is the judgment given by the special bench: —

(EXTRACT FROM SECRET ABSTRACTS, 1911, PAGES 219 TO 223,
C. I. D., BOMBAY.)

IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE AT BOMBAY

SPECIAL BENCH CASE No. 1 OF 1911.

Emperor *versus* Vinayak Damodar Sawarkar

(Charge of Abetment of Murder)

Judgment.—On the 10th of September 1910 Vinayak Damodar Sawarkar was committed for trial before a Special Tribunal upon charges framed by the Magistrate under sections 121 and 121-A of the Indian Penal Code and also on a charge of abetment of murder under sections 109 and 302.

Upon the charges under sections 121 and 121-A the accused was tried by this Tribunal jointly with a number of other persons in a trial which concluded last month and resulted, so far as Sawarkar is concerned, in a conviction under both sections 121 and 121-A. One of the chief matters investigated in that trial was the despatch from London by Sawarkar of parcel of twenty Browning pistols with ammunition for the same and their reception, distribution and use in India, it being incidentally proved that one of the pistols was used in the murder of Mr. Jackson at Nasik on the 21st of December 1909.

As the charge in the present trial is based upon the fact of the despatch of the pistols by Vinayak and their use in the murder of Mr. Jackson, the first point considered by us at the outset of the case was whether the trial on the present charge was not barred by the provisions of section 403 of the Criminal Procedure Code. For the reasons stated in an interlocutory judgment we came to the conclusion which we see no reason to doubt was correct that if the circumstances above referred to brought the case within the scope of any of the sections specially mentioned in section 403 (1) and (2) they fell within section 235 (1) and that therefore section 403 was no bar to the trial.

The charge of abetment of murder framed by the Magistrate has been amended and expanded by the Clerk of the Crown into two charges, putting the case for the prosecution in an alternative form. The first charge is that the accused in London and elsewhere outside British India engaged with certain specified persons and others not specified in a conspiracy for *inter alia* the murder of officials of the Government in India and in pursuance of such conspiracy and in order to the commission of such murders, sent out twenty Browning pistols from London to Bombay about February 1909 in consequence of which Anant Laxman Kanhere murdered an official of the Government in India, namely, Mr. Jackson in December 1909.

The second charge is that the accused conspired with the specified persons and others to overawe by means of criminal force and show of criminal force the Government of India and for that purpose sent out the twenty Browning pistols and that as a probable consequence of the conspiracy and the sending of the pistols, Anant Laxman Kanhere murdered Mr. Jackson.

Either of these charges, if made out, would involve the finding that the accused is guilty of abetment of murder.

The evidence recorded divides itself naturally into two parts : First, that which deals with the early history of Sawarkar in India, his

doings in London and Paris, the despatch of the pistols, their reception in India and the manner in which five of them found their way to Nasik into the hands of Krishna Gopal Karve and his associates, secondly, that which sets forth preparations for and the details of the murder of Mr. Jackson by Anant Laxman Kanhere for the purpose of proving conclusively that one of these pistols was used for committing the murder.

The first branch of the evidence covers much the same ground and leads to the same conclusion in regard to Sawarkar as was arrived at in the conspiracy case above referred to.

The second branch of the evidence covers the same ground as was traversed in the murder case before the Special Tribunal in which Anant Laxman Kanhere and six other persons were tried for the murder of Mr. Jackson with the result that three were condemned to death and three were sentenced to transportation for life.

The evidence shows that prior to 1906 there existed in Nasik under the leadership of Ganesh and Vinayak Sawarkar, an association of young men known first as the Mitra Mela and subsequently as the Abhinav Bharat (or New India) whose objects were revolutionary and aimed at achieving the independence of India and the termination of the British domination. Their chief heroes were Shivaji and Mazzini. For the purpose of spreading their ideas the lives of patriots were read at the meetings of the Society and inflammatory speeches were delivered from time to time by Sawarkar and others. Discussions took place as to how arms could be procured for the purpose of rebellion and certain publications prepared at the expense of the Society were sold, some of which amounted to direct incitement to rebellion.

About the middle of 1906, Vinayak Sawarkar left for England being the recipient of a scholarship given by Shamji Krishna Varma, the founder of the India House at Highgate. Before he left, a party was given in his honour at Nasik at which he made a speech describing his country as steeped in the mire of dependence and stating that his real object in going to a foreign country was to repay the obligations of Hindustan wherein he was born and to be discharged of the debt due to her.

Earlier in the year he had made two violent speeches, one in February at Poona, in which he advised his hearers to follow the dictates of Ramdas and quoted a well known verse of that poet to the effect that they should gather many persons, fill their hearts with one

thought and then together fall on Mlenchas or foreigners. He is reported to have stopped before uttering the last word as he noticed that detectives were present. In the other speech which was delivered at Nasik on the 22nd of April he called attention to a picture of the god Maruti holding a mace in his hand with demon under his feet whose complexion was white or red (obviously a reference to the colour of the English), and he exhorted his hearers to take up gymnastic exercises of which the god Maruti was the presiding deity.

Shortly after he arrived in England, he completed and despatched to India for publication there a Marathi translation of the life of Mazzini with an introduction in which he pointed out how Mazzini relied upon the youth of the country to obtain independence, and described Mazzini's programme of instruction and war.

In London he took up his residence at the India House and from 1907 to 1909 was a very active member of the group of the Indian revolutionists residing there. He was for a considerable time the manager of the India House.

In May 1908 Sawarkar organised at the India House a meeting in celebration of those who fell on the rebel side in Indian Mutiny. He had mutiny badges prepared and distributed among those present and despatched with the assistance of one Chaturbhuj to India a number of copies of a pamphlet called "Oh Martyrs", in honour of rebels who fell in the Mutiny. In the same year with the assistance of residents in the India House, he manifolded in type a number of copies of a work describing minutely the manner of preparing explosives and bombs and had them despatched to India by post to various addresses. Early in 1909, he took advantage of the departure of Chaturbhuj Amin for India to conceal in a false bottomed box and despatched with Chaturbhuj a parcel of twenty Browning pistols with ammunition for the same to be delivered to one or other of two addresses in Bombay, one of whom was V. M. Bhat, an original member of the Mitra Mela and a close friend of the Sawarkars. These pistols were of two sizes, the larger size being about the length of a man's hand and the smaller size very much less.

Having regard to the size and nature of these weapons, it is not credible that they were despatched for use in actual warfare. The alternative is that they were despatched for another unlawful purpose, namely murder. This alternative is quite in accordance with the known fact, for before this time Indian revolutionists had resorted to political assassinations; Khudiram Bose and Profula had already committed murder at Muzafferpur in attempting the assassination of

an official and these men were the objects of admiration among members of the Abhinav Bharat Society. This is clear from a composite photograph styled the Rashtrapurush found in the possession of Kashikar, one of the members of the Abhinav Bharat Society, in March 1909, in which Khudiram and Profula and the Chapekar brothers who murdered Messrs. Rand and Ayerst in 1897 are grouped together under the title of Patriots. It is also noteworthy that one of the residents at the India House at this time was Dhingra, who in June 1909 assassinated Sir Curzon Wyllie with a Browning pistol. It is proved that Dhingra was a friend of Vinayak Sawarkar at the India House and that subsequent to his execution Sawarkar was pushing the sale of photographs of Dhingra in the form of picture postcards.

Among the collection of English cuttings found in the possession of Sawarkar at the time of his arrest, was one headed, "Ireland honours Madan Lal Dhingra who was proud to lay down his life for the sake of his country" and there were two copies of an article published in the Evening Standard dated the 25th February 1909 containing extracts from a pamphlet in praise of Profula and Khudiram. The accused when asked if he could explain why he had in his possession two copies of this article said that he was concerned with all the calumnies going about him and that one cutting might have come to him from the cutting agency and the other might have been a cutting made by himself. The inference we think is clear that the accused early in 1909 was in warm sympathy with these assassins. Nor is there any reason for thinking that he ever changed his views. For it is proved that early in 1910, he tried to induce Changeri Rao to take with him to India a parcel of 25 Browning pistols and on his refusal persuaded him to take one of these weapons. This parcel was packed in the false bottom of a box brought out to India by Changeri Rao. It also contained a number of copies of the Indian War of Independence which was originally written by Sawarkar in Marathi and translated into English by other residents at the India House. Those copies are mentioned as having been handed to Changeri Rao in a list describing the distribution of this work which was found in Sawarkar's possession at the time of his arrest. Together with this pistol and these copies of the Indian War of Independence, were found several copies of a pamphlet styled "Bande Mataram" in praise of Dhingra in which many passages refer in the clearest language to a conspiracy of Young Indians for the murder of officials. It was apparently written soon after the execution of Dhingra which took place in August 1909 and clearly before the murder of Mr. Jackson to which there is no allusion, although several other political murders in India of recent years are referred to.

One of the earliest passages is, "Young India has once more shown her hand and the world is lost in wonder and admiration. The scene of action is transferred from Bengal to England. Once more the heroism of Young India has struck terror into the heart of Britain".

Among other passages are the following, "Our policy of laying them (the tools of British Government) low with the bomb, the revolver or the dagger". "Terrorise the Officials English and Indian, and the collapse of the whole machinery of oppression is not far. The initial stage of the revolution is marked by the policy of separate assassination".

As this pamphlet was found with the other articles proved to have been entrusted by Sawarkar to Changeri Rao for secret conveyance to India we feel no doubt that the copies of the pamphlet came from the same source and represented views with which Sawarkar was in accord. The subsequent history of the pistols so far as it is relevant to this case can be given very shortly. Ganesh Sawarkar at the end of February was aware that the pistols were about to arrive with Chaturbhuj. He communicated this to Patankar, who was one of the associates of Bhat. Chaturbhuj as directed by the accused delivered the letter entrusted to him to Bhat and at a subsequent interview Bhat despatched Patankar with Chaturbhuj to take delivery of the pistols. This was a few days after the arrest of Ganesh Sawarkar, and Patankar, in order to avoid detection, transferred the pistols to Pen where a relation of his took charge of them. Soon afterwards he says that he had a conversation with Kurve, who was a friend with whom he used to talk upon 'national' topics and 'naturally' mentioned to him that a friend had pistols to dispose of. This led to Kurve take over from Patankar first five and afterwards two more of the pistols imported by Chaturbhuj with ammunition for the same. The five pistols first taken over consisted of two large and three small Brownings. They were sent up to Nasik by Kurve and distributed among his associates from time to time and eventually when the murder of Mr. Jackson had been decided upon by his gang principally, it would appear, because he had committed Ganesh Sawarkar for trial, one of the large Brownings was given to Anant Laxman Kanhere, the person selected for doing the deed, and with that pistol Mr. Jackson was murdered by Kanhere in the presence of two of his associates Kurve and Deshpande in a theatre at Nasik on the evening of the 21st of December 1909. All these events from the time of the receipt of the pistols by Kurve are most conclusively proved by the evidence of Ganu Vaidya and the full confession of Kurve and Deshpande corroborated in many details by the evidence of witnesses who are above suspicion.

The view that we take of the action of the accused in sending out the pistols by Chaturbhuj is that he was, to use the words of the *Bande Mataram* pamphlet, taking part "in the initial stage of the revolution" by providing instruments which were suitable for carrying out "the policy of separate assassinations". He sent out the pistols with ammunition with the intention that they should be used for assassination. The result of his action was precisely what he intended and what was naturally to be expected.

In addressing the court at the close of the trial the accused has contended that there was no evidence to establish a conspiracy to murder officials, although he concedes that there is much evidence of a conspiracy to overawe the Government by force, but in the particular circumstances of this case it is established that the conspiracy to overawe included the idea of assassination of officials: as we said in our judgment in the conspiracy case, assassination of officials was a method of attack upon the Government which was rendered possible by Vinayak Sawarkar and the murder of oppressive officers is proved to have been one of the objects of Kurve's gang and of Anant Kanhere, the murderer. We have no doubt that Patankar, who according to his own story, offered some of the Browning pistols to Kurve "naturally" as they used "to talk on national subjects", was fully aware of the purpose for which they had been sent out and the purpose for which they were wanted by Kurve.

The fact that at the time of the despatch of the pistols Mr. Jackson had not committed Ganesh Sawarkar for trial and thus specially incurred the enmity of the assassins or of Vinayak Sawarkar, does not make the accused any the less an abettor of his murder. A man who provided weapons for the murder of any 20 persons answering to a particular description cannot escape punishment for murder, if only one of such persons is murdered with the weapons provided. The action of the accused falls within the provisions of the Penal Code Sections 107 (secondly) and 109. These sections are as follows :—

Section 107—(Secondly).—A person abets the doing of a thing who engages with one more other person or persons in any conspiracy for the doing of that thing, if an act or illegal omission takes place in pursuance of such conspiracy and in order to the doing of that thing.

Section 109.—Whoever abets any offence shall, if the act abetted is committed in consequence of the abetment, and no express provision is made by this code for the punishment of such abetment, be punished for the punishment provided for the offence.

The accused engaged with various persons in a conspiracy, having murder of officials as one of its objects in pursuance of which various acts took place, notably the despatch of the pistols, and the murder of Mr. Jackson took place in consequence of the abetment. The accused is therefore guilty of abetment of murder and liable to be punished with punishment provided for the offence.

The fact relied upon by the accused that he did not know Anant Kanhere or any of Kurve's gang who engaged in the conspiracy of murder is no defence, for section 108, Explanation 5, provides as follows :—"It is not necessary to the commission of abetment by conspiracy that the abettor should concert the offence with the person who commits it. It is sufficient if he engages in the conspiracy in pursuance of which the offence is committed.

True Copy.

(Signed) M. R. JARDINE,
Clerk of the Crown,
High Court, Bombay,
3rd February 1911.

The third day of February 1911.

E. P. WHITE,
Acting Personal Assistant
to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police.
Criminal Investigation Department.

NO REMISSION OF SENTENCE FOR SAVARKAR BROTHERS

[FROM H. D. SPECIAL VOLUME NO. 60-D (a) OF 1919.]

The Government of India wrote a letter dated 28th February 1919 to the Superintendent Port Blair of their desire to extend clemency to prisoners on the day of the Signature of Peace, after the termination of the first world war.

The Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Superintendent Port Blair, sent in reply to the above the following case history of the Savarkar brothers.

Serial No.	Convict No.	Names.	Offence.
1	32778	Vinayak Damodar Savarkar	... 121, 121A, 109, 302.
2	31911	Ganesh Damodar Savarkar	... 124A, 121.

II

No.	Name.	Conduct in jail.	Present attitude.
31911	Ganesh ...	His behaviour until 1914 was bad and he was frequently punished chiefly for refusal to work and for possession of forbidden articles. For the last 5 years his conduct has been very good, his only offence having been a minor one in November 1917 for which he was warned.	His present attitude is one of submission to authority but he has never shown any disposition to help in the work of the Jail in the way that the three Bengalees have done. He does the light work of rope making assigned to him and spends the rest of his time in reading. He is not communicative and I have therefore no knowledge as to whether he has renounced his former political views.
22778	Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.	Punished 8 times during 1912, 1913 and 1914 for refusing to work and possession of forbidden articles. For the last 5 years his behaviour has been very good.	He is always sauve and polite but like his brother, he has never shown any disposition to actively assist government. It is impossible to say what his real political views are at the present time.

In a third chart are given the details of the physical appearance and other information about the two brothers. Important points in these are :—

Vinayak Damodar—

Sentenced on 24th December 1910. 'Transportation for life (25 years).

(2) Sentenced on 30th January 1911. Transportation for life (25 years).

Sentencing Court.—Special Tribunal, High Court, Bombay. Age when convicted 26 years. Height 5' 2½".

Ganesh Damodar—

Sentenced on 8th June 1909.

(1) Transportation for life, (2) two years R. I. (Concurrent) by Sessions Judge, Nasik. Age 29, Height 5'-2¾".

NOTE ON THE SAVARKAR BROTHERS

The following note by the Judicial Department gives important information about Savarkar Brothers :—

"Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and his brother Ganesh Damodar Savarkar were the leaders of the secret society founded in Nasik known as Mitra Mela which subsequently developed into the Abhinav Bharat or Young India Society. The Society had branches at Poona, Pen, Bombay, Yeola and Aurangabad. The object and methods of this society have been described in the judgments of the special Branch of the Bombay High Court on the cases known as the Nasik Conspiracy case and the Nasik abetment of murder case. Briefly, the object of the society was to overthrow the present British Government in India. The methods adopted were political assassination, the dissemination of seditious and revolutionary ideas by means of lectures and pamphlets, and the secret collection of arms to be used when opportunity arose.

2. Vinayak, the more dangerous of the two brothers, went to England about the middle of 1906 as the recipient of a scholarship given by Shamji Krishna Varma, the founder of the India House at High Gate. Before he left India he made an inflammatory speech at Nasik at which he described his country as steeped in mire of dependence. In London he took up his residence at the India House, and from 1907 to 1909 was a very active member of the group of the Indian revolutionists residing there. For a considerable time he translated into Marathi the life of Mazzini with an introduction in which he pointed out how Mazzini relied upon the Youth of the country to obtain independence and described Mazzini's programme of instruction of war. He was author of the revolutionary book called the Indian War of Independence in which he described the Indian Mutiny. He also wrote a pamphlet called "Oh Martyrs" in praise of rebels who fell in the Mutiny and distributed copies of it at a meeting organized by him at the India House in celebration

of the rebels. It was he who despatched to India a parcel containing 20 Browning automatic pistols, one of which was used by the murderer of Mr. Jackson, the Collector of Nasik. He was friend of Dhingra, the murderer of Sir Curzon Wylie, and subsequent to the execution of Dhingra he was preaching the sale of photographs of Dhingra in the form of picture postcards. He was prosecuted under sections 121 and 121A, Indian Penal Code, for attempting to wage war and for conspiring with others to overawe by criminal force or the show of criminal force the Government of India and the Local Government, and convicted under both these sections and sentenced to transportation for life. He was also prosecuted under sections 302 and 109, Indian Penal Code, for abetting the murder of Mr. Jackson and sentenced to another term of transportation for life.

3. Ganesh Savarkar, as has been said above, was one of the leaders of the secret society at Nasik and carried on active propaganda of disseminating sedition by means of inflammatory pamphlets. Books dealing with military topics, bomb making and explosives were found in his house when searches were made in 1908 and 1909. He knew the despatch by his brother Vinayak of the Browning Pistols which have been referred to above and had made arrangements for their reception in India, but before their arrival, he was prosecuted in connection with two of the most inflammatory pamphlets of the secret society for attempting to wage war against the King and for sedition, under sections 121 and 124A, I.P.C., and was sentenced to transportation for life (*vide* judgment at p. 207 of C 1329/09) under section 121 and to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment under section 124A, both sentences to run concurrently. The latter sentence has already expired. As to his former sentence his case falls under clause (ii) of paragraph 4 of the Government of India's letter, and the balance of his sentence can be suspended, if the Bombay Government are disposed to recommend this course, on the condition that he pledges himself to abstain from political agitation or conspiracy in future.

4. The petition submitted by Ganesh Damodar Savarkar to the Bombay Government in 1910 was rejected by Government letter No. 1152, dated 26th February 1910. Similarly the petitions submitted by the wives of the two convicts to the Government of India in 1915 on behalf of their husbands were rejected by the Government of India's letters No. 2328, dated 28th July 1915 and No. 3452, dated 11th October 1915. Another petition to the Bombay Government in 1919 from the wife of Ganesh Damodar Savarkar was also rejected by Government memorandum No. 1028, dated 8th February 1919.

5. In 1911, Vinayak D. Savarkar applied to the Bombay Government for certain concessions in connection with his sentences. By Government letter No. 2022, dated 4th April 1911, his Application was rejected and he was informed that the question of remitting the second sentence of transportation for life would be considered in due course on the expiry of the first sentence of transportation for life.

NO REMISSION

The Bombay Government sent the following telegram to the Superintendent, Port Blair on 4th June 1919 :—

‘ Your 232 of 20th May. Bombay Government do not recommend any remission of the sentences passed upon Ganesh Damodar Savarkar and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.’ ”

SAVARKAR BROTHERS EXCLUDED FROM ROYAL AMNESTY

[FROM H. D. SPECIAL VOLUME No. 60-D (b) OF 1919-1920.]

India Government on proposed Royal Clemency

The Government of India sent to Bombay Government a telegram No. 2545, dated 4th December 1919. The important portion of the telegram is as under :—

“ The Secretary of State proposes that the passing of the Government of India Bill should be accompanied by a Royal Message to the people of India and that the occasion should be marked by an act of Royal clemency to political prisoners and by removal of all restrictions now imposed under the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, the Seditious meetings Act Regulation III and other similar enactments and ordinances ; the intention is that whatever exceptions are made they should be as few as possible. The power of Government under the legislation would continue unaffected for use in case of necessity.

By the term ‘ other similar enactments and ordinances ’ the Government of India understand Ingress into India Ordinance, Madras Regulation II of 1819 and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, but not the Foreigners Act or our Foreigners Ordinance.

Will you please inform the Government of India of local Government's views immediately? Matter very urgent. We have promised reply to Secretary of State 9th. The hope underlying the suggested policy is that frank manifestation of clemency and trust may disarm hostility and promote success of Reforms. Government of India feel sure that local Government will give full weight to such consideration and at the same time take full account of danger of disorders".

The Bombay Government sent telegram No. 1413, dated 8th December 1919 in reply to the above telegram :—

"Government of Bombay are unable to entertain any sanguine anticipation of substantial results from proposed Act of clemency in present political situation. Public feeling aroused as a result of proceedings of Hunter Committee, return of Tilak and announcement by him of policy of intensive agitation. Whatever concessions may be made, postponement of Turkish settlement and other circumstances have created political atmosphere unfavourable to success of proposal. Government of Bombay are, however, prepared to accept general policy of Amnesty subject to following remarks.

Political Prisoners as defined in your telegram. Government agrees to grant of free pardon to all such prisoners for crimes committed in jurisdiction of Bombay Government, with exception of Savarkar Brothers who were both leaders of the Nasik Revolutionary Society and determined and dangerous conspirators

..... The view of the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola is that having regard to the fact that the act of clemency is to be that of His Majesty and the object is to produce a favourable atmosphere for the introduction of the Reforms it is necessary from the Oriental point of view that the Amnesty should be on a most generous scale especially in regard to convicted persons during the recent disturbance".

Government of Bombay sent another telegram No. 1439, S/D, dated 18th December 1919 :—

"The following persons will be affected by Government of India's recommendation regarding proposed amnesty.

Persons imprisoned for offences against State :—

Admitted : (1) K. S. Chandwadkar,
(2) H. D. Mariwala,
(3) Durgadas B. Advani,
(5) Jethmal Parsram.

Excluded : (1) Ganesh Damodar Savarkar.

For reasons already explained Government of Bombay regards following as excluded *ipso facto* by terms of amnesty apart from special reasons. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Also all persons convicted by Ahmedabad, Kaira and Akola Tribunals.”

Government of India sent the following reply to the above on 30th December 1919 :—

Government of India agree that the Savarkar brothers should not be released under the Royal Amnesty. This is in reply to your telegram No. 1413, S. D. of 8th December 1919.

THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION OF DECEMBER 1919

In Bombay Government Gazette Extra-ordinary, dated 24th December 1919, we get a Royal Proclamation by the King Emperor George V. The following is the summary of the proclamation :—

Paragraph 1.—Reference to Acts of 1773, 1784, 1833, 1858, 1861 and 1909—The Act of 1919 entrusts the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in Government and points the way to full responsible Government hereafter.

Paragraph 2.—Mention of what Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and he himself declared between 1858 and 1910.

Paragraph 3.—Britain's desire to make it possible for India to take the control of her domestic affairs on her own shoulders.

Paragraph 4.—Recognition of the political awakening and political aspirations of the people of the country.

Paragraph 5.—Hope that the new legislatures shall succeed.

Paragraph 6.—An appeal to forgive and forget for removing all bitterness and creating an atmosphere of goodwill for the

success of the reforms. Declaration of Royal clemency to political offenders.

Paragraph 7.—Reference to Chamber of Princes.

Paragraph 8.—Intention of sending Prince of Wales to visit India to further cordiality of relations between the King and his subjects.

REACTION OF THE PRESS

The following is an extract from the Report on Indian Papers published in the Bombay Presidency for the week ending 24th January 1920 :—

Comments on effect given to the Royal Clemency

(Mahratta, 25th January 1920.)

“From the information supplied to us by Dr. N. D. Savarkar it seems that a cruel wrong has been done to the Savarkar brothers in the Andamans by their being excluded from those who have received the benefit of the Royal Amnēsty Dr. Savarkar informs us that his brothers had petitioned the Government of India once in 1915 and at another time in 1918, clearly stating to Government that (we quote the words from the Barrister's letter). ‘If the reforms are effected and if at least the Viceregal Councils are made to represent the voice of the people, then there would be no hesitation on my part to make the beginning of such a constitutional development a success, to stand by law and order which is the very foundation and basis of Society in general and of Hindu policy in particular.’ What more did the Government want than this clear and definite assurance? It (the Royal Proclamation) gave the Viceroy a definite mandate to release those who are, willing to respect law in the future. Of course it left the Viceroy discretion enough to keep dangerous men in jail for public safety. But we are sure that men like the Savarkar brothers who are willing to respect law cannot be a danger to the public, and the terms of the Royal Proclamation, therefore, clearly applied to their case. It left no choice to the Viceroy so far as the brothers were concerned and we think that in excluding the Savarkar brothers from the benefit of the Royal amnesty, the Viceroy has acted against the Royal Mandate. We are also informed that the brothers are not keeping good health and are losing in weight considerably. Considerations of health also thus demanded their

release. It is, therefore, obvious that justice, mercy, expediency and health demanded the release of these unfortunate brothers."

QUESTIONS IN THE BOMBAY COUNCIL

Mr. D. V. Belvi, LL.B., asked question No. 15 in the Legislative Council regarding the above paragraph in the Maratha. The Government replied that "no such representations as are referred to in the article have reached this Government" and that the Bombay Government did not recommend either of the Savarkar brothers for clemency in view of the recent Royal Proclamation.

COULD GANESH SAVARKAR ALONE BE GIVEN AMNESTY ?

The Government of India, on representation made by Mr. Khaparde with regard to the case of the Savarkar Brothers, asked the Bombay Government by their letter No. 516, dated 24th February 1920, whether G. D. Savarkar should be released or at least be transferred to a jail in India. The letter concludes, as under :—

"4. I am to enquire whether His Excellency the Governor in Council considers that there is sufficient ground for discrimination between the two cases, and if so, whether he would recommend that Ganesh Damodar Savarkar should be released and on what conditions.

(Signed) MACPHERSON."

The Government of Bombay sent their firm "No" to the above letter.

The Government of India then again wrote letter No. 1193, dated 20th May 1920 to the Government of Bombay, stating that "a petition has recently been received from Vinayak Damodar Savarkar praying for the release of himself and his brother. I am to enclose a copy of this and ask that the Government of India may be favoured with the opinion of His Excellency the Governor in Council thereon, especially in regard to the suggestion of conditional release, mentioned in paragraph 7 of the petition.....

"In conclusion there has been considerable agitation for the release of at least one of the Savarkars and from the information on record, it seems that the Government of India contemplated the possibility of their release on such occasion as the amnesty.

It may be observed that if Ganesh is released and Vinayak retained in custody, the latter will become in some measure a hostage for the former, who will see that his own misconduct does not jeopardize his brother's chances of release at some future date.

"I am accordingly to request that the case of Ganesh may be re-examined in the light of the observations now made and that the Government of India may be informed whether His Excellency the Governor in Council would recommend his release, and if so, on what conditions."

VINAYAK SAVARKAR'S PETITION

The petition of V. D. Savarkar referred to in the above letter is as under :—

CELLULAR JAIL,
PORT BLAIR :
30th March 1920.

To

THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF THE ANDAMANS.

Sir,

In view of the recent statement of the Honourable Member for Home Department to the Government of India, to the effect that "the Government was willing to consider the papers of any individual, and give them their best consideration if they were brought before them" and that "as soon as it appeared to the Government that an individual could be released without danger to the State, the Government would extend the Royal Clemency to that person"; the undersigned most humbly begs that he should be given a *last chance* to submit his case before it is too late. You, Sir, at any rate would not grudge me this last favour of forwarding this petition to His Excellency the Viceroy of India especially and if only to give me the satisfaction of being heard, whatever the Government decisions may be.

I. The Royal proclamation most magnanimously states that, "Royal clemency should be extended to all those who were found guilty of breaking the law, through their eagerness for Political progress". The case of me and my brother are pre-eminently of this type. Neither I nor any of my family members had anything to complain against the Government for any personal wrong due to us nor for any personal favour desired. I had brilliant career

open to me and nothing to gain and everything to lose individually by treading such dangerous paths. Suffice it to say that no less a personage than one of the Honourable Members of the Home Department had said, in 1913 to me personally.....
 "Such Education, so much reading; You could have held the highest posts under our Government". If in spite of this testimony any doubt as to my motive does lurk in any one, then to him I beg to point out, that there had been no prosecution against any member of my family till this year 1909; while almost all of my activities which constituted the basis for the case have been in the years preceding that of the prosecution, the judges and the Rowlatt Report have all admitted that since the year 1899 to the year 1909 had been written the life of Mazzini and other books, as well as organized the various societies and even the parcel of arms had been sent before the arrest of any of my brothers or before I had any personal grievance to complain of (*vide* Rowlatt Report, pages 6 etc). But does any one else take the same view of our cases? Well, the monster petition that the Indian public had sent to His Majesty and that had been signed by no less than 5,000 signatories had made a special mention of one in it. I had been denied a jury in the trial: now the jury of a whole nation has opined that only the eagerness for political progress had been the motive of all my actions and that led me to the regrettable breaking of the laws.

II. Nor can this second case of abetting murder throw me beyond the reach of the Royal clemency. For (a) the Proclamation does not make any distinction of the nature of the offence or of a section or of the Court of Justice, beyond the motive of the offence. It concerns entirely with the motive and requires that it should be political and not personal (b) secondly the Government too has already interpreted it in the same spirit and has released Barin and Hemu and others. These men had confessed that one of the objects of their conspiracy was "the murders of prominent Government officials" and on their own confessions had been guilty of sending the boys to murder magistrates, etc. This magistrate had among others prosecuted Barin's brother Arabind in the first "Bande Mataram" newspaper case. And yet Barin was not looked upon, and rightly so, as a non-political murderer. In my respect the objection is immensely weaker. For it was justly admitted by the Prosecution that I was in England, had no knowledge of the particular plot or idea of murdering Mr. Jackson and had sent the parcels of arms before the arrest of my brother and so could not have the slightest

personal grudge against any particular individual officer. But Hemu had actually prepared the very Bomb that killed Kennedy and with a full knowledge of its destination (Rowlatt Report, page 33). Yet Hemu had not been thrown out of the scope of the clemency on that ground. If Barin and others were not separately charged for specific abetting it was only because they had already been sentenced to capital punishment in the Conspiracy Case, and I was specifically charged because I was not and again the international facilities to have me extradited in case France got me back. Therefore I humbly submit that the Government be pleased to extend the clemency to me as they had done it to Barin and Hemu whose complicity in abetting the murders of officers etc., was confessed and much deeper. For surely a section does not matter more than the crime it contemplates. In the case of my brother this question does not arise as his case has nothing to do with any murders, etc.

III. Thus interpreting the proclamation as the Government had already done in the cases of Barin, Hemu etc., I and my brother are fully entitled to the Royal Clemency "in the fullest measure". But is it compatible with Public Safety? I submit it is entirely so. For (a) I most emphatically declare that we are amongst "the microzymes of anarchism" referred to by the Home Secretary. So far from believing in the militant school of the Bukanin type that I do not contribute even to the peaceful and philosophical anarchism of a Kropotkin or a Tolstoy. And as to my Revolutionary tendencies of the past: it is not only now for the object of sharing the clemency but years before this I have informed of and written to the Government in my petitions (1918, 1914) about my firm intention to abide by the constitution and stand by it as soon as a beginning was made to prove it by Mr. Montague. Since that the Reforms and then the Proclamation have only confirmed me in my views and recently I have publicly avowed my faith in and readiness to stand by the side of orderly and constitutional development. The danger that is threatening our country from the North at the hands of the fanatic hordes of Asia who had been the curse of India in the past when they came as foes, and who are more likely to be so in the future now that they want to come as friends, makes me convinced that every intelligent lover of India would heartily and loyally co-operate with the British people in the interests of India herself. That is why I offered myself as a volunteer in 1914 to Government when the War broke out and German-Turko-Afghan invasion of India became imminent. Whether you believe it or not, I am

sincere in expressing my earnest intention of treading the constitutional path and trying my humble best to render the hands of the British Dominions a Bond of Love and Respect and of Mutual help and such an empire as is foreshadowed in the Proclamation with my hearty adherence. For verily I hate no race or creed or people simply because they are not Indians, (b) but if Government wants a further security from me then I and my brother are perfectly willing to give a pledge of not participating in politics for a definite and reasonable period that the Government would indicate. For even without such a pledge my failing health and the sweet blessings of Home that have been denied to me by myself make me so desirous of leading a quiet and retired life for years to come that nothing would induce me to dabble in active politics now. (c) This or any pledge e.g., of remaining in particular province or reporting our movements to the police for a definite period after our release—any such reasonable conditions meant genuinely to ensure the safety of the State would be gladly accepted by me and my brother. Ultimately I submit that the overwhelming majority of the very people who constitute the State which is to be kept safe from us have, from Surendranath the venerable and veteran moderate leader to the man in the street the Press and the Platform, the Hindus and the Muhamedans, from the Punjab to Madras, been clearly and persistently asking for an immediate and complete release declaring it was compatible with their safety—nay more, declaring it was a factor in removing the very “sense of bitterness” which the Proclamation aims to allay.

IV. Therefore the very object of the Proclamation would not be fulfilled and the sense of bitterness removed from the public mind, until we two and those who yet remain have been made to share the magnanimous clemency.

V. Moreover all the objects of a sentence have been satisfied in our case. For (a) we have put 10 to 11 years in jail; while Mr. Sanyal who too was a lifer was released in 4 years and the riot case lifers within a year; (b) we have done hard work in mills, oil mills and everything else that was given to us in India and here; (c) our prison behaviour is in no way more objectionable than of those already released; they had, even in Port Blair, been suspected of a serious plot and locked up in jail again. We two on the contrary have to this day been under extra rigorous discipline and restraint and yet during the last six years or so there is not a single case even on ordinary disciplinary grounds against us.

VI. In the end I beg to express my gratefulness for the release of hundreds of Political Prisoners including those who have been released from the Andamans, and for this partially granting my petitions of 1914 and 1918. It is not therefore too much to hope that His Excellency would release the remaining prisoners too, as they are placed on the same footing, including me and my brother. Especially so as the political situation in Maharashtra has singularly been free from any outrageous disturbances for so many years in the past. Here, however, I beg to submit that our release should not be made conditional on the behaviour of those released or of anybody else ; for it would be preposterous to deny us the clemency and punish us for the fault of someone else.

VII. On all these grounds I believe that the Government hearing my readiness to enter into any sensible pledge and the fact that the Reforms, present and promised, joined to the Common danger from the North of Turko-Afghan fanatics have made me a sincere advocate of loyal co-operation in the interests of both our nations, would release me and win my personal gratitude. The brilliant prospects of my early life all but too soon blighted, have constituted so painful a source of regret to me that a release would be a new birth and would touch my heart, sensitive and submissive to kindness so deeply as to render me personally attached and politically useful in future. For often magnanimity wins where might fails.

Hoping that the Chief Commissioner, remembering the personal regard I ever had shown to him throughout his term and how often I had to face keen disappointment through that time, will not grudge me this last favour of allowing this most harmless vent to my Despair and will be pleased to forward this petition, may I hope with his own recommendations, to His Excellency the Viceroy of India.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) V. D. SAVARKAR,
Convict No. 32778."

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT AGAINST THEIR RELEASE

After receipt of the copy of the above petition, together with Mr. MacPherson's demi-official letter No. 1193 of 20th May 1920,

Government of Bombay sent a reply on 19th June 1920. The following are pertinent extracts from this letter :—

Paragraph 1.—Acknowledges receipt of Government of India's letter and copy of Savarkars' petition.

Paragraph 2.—Restatement of Bombay Government's decision of excluding Savarkar brothers from the Clemency.

Paragraph 3.—" Government have now re-examined his (Ganesh) case in the light of the observations made in your letter of the 20th May 1920 and Vinayak's petition dated 30th March, 1920, but they are constrained to say that they are unable to change their former opinion which was arrived at after very careful consideration. In the first place Government are unable to accept the argument that because Barindra Kumar Ghose and his two confederates have been released in Bengal, therefore the Bombay Government should release Ganesh Savarkar The most recent secret reports on the activities of Barindra do not encourage this Government to believe that the extension of the amnesty to criminals of this type has been in any way useful.

4. "As for release on adequate guarantee, Government think that conditions in such cases are useless.

5. "In deference, however, to the wishes of the Government of India, the Bombay Government will be ready to consider the case in a year's time.....".

Government of India ultimately wrote to the Chief Commissioner Andaman and Nicobar Islands their letter No. 2845, dated 12th July 1920, as under :—

"In reply to your letter No. 67, dated 9th April 1920, forwarding a petition from V. D. Savarkar praying for the release under the amnesty of himself and his brother, I am directed to say that His Excellency the Viceroy is not prepared at present to extend to them the benefit of the amnesty, and to request that the petitioner may be informed accordingly."

NOT EVEN TRANSFER TO A BOMBAY JAIL

The Government of Bombay by their letter No. 1106/36, Home Department, dated 29th February 1921, informed the Government of India that the Governor in Council was not in favour of the

transfer of the Savarkar brothers from Andamans to a jail in the Bombay Presidency, as that would lead to a recrudescence of agitation in their favour.

JAIL HISTORY TICKET OF V D. SAVARKAR

(FROM H. D. SPECIAL VOLUME No. 60 (D) F, PAGE 27.)

History Ticket.

Convict No. 32778

No. of Corridor—Top.

Class 3 C.

No. of Block 2.

Date.

Entry.

30th August 1911 ... 6 months solitary confinement until further orders.

14th August 1911 ... Letter from Secretary to Government Educational Department to the effect that the Degree of B.A., conferred on him has been cancelled.

30th August 1911 ... Petition for clemency.

3rd September 1911. Petition rejected.

15th January 1912... Removed from Solitary Confinement.

11th June 1912 ... One month's separate confinement for writing letters to others without sanction.

11th July 1912 ... Removed from separate confinement.

10th September 1912. Seven days standing handcuffs for having in possession a letter written to another convict.

29th October 1912 ... Petitioner to be released from Cellular Jail because he has been in 16 months and that his conduct has been better.

4th November 1912. Petition rejected.

- 23rd November 1912 One month's separate confinement for being in possession of a note written by another convict.
- 18th December 1912 Informed of his brother's address : 98, Premchand Burat Street, Bow Bazar, Calcutta.
- 23rd December 1912 Removed from separate confinement.
- 30th December 1912 Refused to eat his food all day.
- 1st January 1913 ... Do.
- 2nd January 1913 ... Ate his food this morning.
- 14th November 1913 Permitted by the Hon. Member of Home Department to write a petition : Petition made and sent to Medical Superintendent.
- 16th December 1913 Absolutely refusing to work.
- 17th December 1913 One month's separate confinement without work or books.
- 17th January 1914 Removed from S. C., Rope making.
- 8th June 1914 ... Absolutely refusing to work. Seven days standing handcuffs imposed.
- 15th June 1914 ... Completed S. H. cuffs.
- 16th June 1914 ... Absolutely refusing to work. Four months chain gaug imposed.
- 18th June 1914 ... Absolutely refusing to work. Ten days cross bar fetters imposed.
- 19th June 1914 Asks for work put in rope making.
- 29th June 1914 ... Removed fetters.
- 16th July 1914 ... Convalescent gaug.
- 10th September 1914 Asks to make out a petition to C.—C. granted.

- 14th September 1914 Petition forwarded through Medical Superintendent.
- 16th October 1914... Chain gaug fetters removed.
- 1st December 1914. Government rejected prisoner's proposals in the petition.
- 18th May 1915 ... Convalescent gaug (Discharged on 11th June 1916 on admission to hospital).
- 5th July 1916 ... Brother's address : N. D. Savarkar, Goregaonkar's 1st Chawl, ground floor, Girgaum, Bombay.
- 28th October 1916 ... Promoted to 2nd class with effect from 2nd November 1916.
- 2nd October 1917 ... May write a petition to Government of India.
- 1st February 1918 ... Informed that Secretary has placed his petition (in which he prays that a general amnesty be given to all political prisoners) with the Government of India.
- 1st January 1919 .. To continue as a hospital patient for purposes of diet and treatment.
- 30th May 1919 ... Interview with wife and brother Dr. Savarkar one hour.
- 31st May 1919 ... Interview with wife and brother Dr. Savarkar $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours.
- 24th January 1920... Petition to Jails Committee.
- 6th April 1920 ... Petition to Government of India forwarded to C. C. for disposal, forwarded to Government of India.
- 14th July 1920 ... May do some clerical work in his Varandah.
- 19th August 1920 ... Reply received from Government of India
"The Viceroy is not prepared at present to extend to him the benefit of amnesty."

- 28th September 1920 Savarkar desires either to be made a foreman or to be given definite clerical work. The former is at present not possible. The latter should be granted as far as possible.
- 4th November 1920. Appointed a foreman on probation in charge of oil godown.
- 10th February 1921 Recommended to be made pucca.
- 2nd May 1921 ... Embarked on s.s. Maharaja for transfer to join Bombay Presidency.
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TERRORISM IN BOMBAY

[FROM H. D. SPECIAL FILE NO. 673-A (2)—PERIOD 1897 TO 1932.]

Extracts from a note prepared by the Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India, with a notice by the Bombay Government :—

BOMBAY

1. Terrorism in this Presidency has been spasmodic only. As far back as 1895, two Brahmins formed in Poona a society for physical and military training which they called the "Society for the removal of obstacles to the Hindu Religion." Its real object appears to have been the removal by any means of the British. On June 22, 1897, when celebrations in connection with the 60th anniversary of the coronation of Queen Victoria were taking place, these two Brahmins murdered Mr. Rand who had been on duty in connection with anti-plague measures, and Lieutenant Ayerst; the latter was possibly murdered by accident. One of the Brahmins was convicted for these murders. In February 1899 two other members of the abovementioned Association made two unsuccessful attempts on the life of a Chief Constable in Poona and afterwards murdered two men who had given information leading to the conviction of one of the founders of the Association. Four members of the Association were hanged and another was sentenced to imprisonment.

2. The next people who resorted to terrorism in this Presidency were the Savarkar brothers. In June 1909, Ganesh Savarkar was sentenced to transportation on a charge of abetment of waging war against the King. Within a few days his brother, Vinayak Savarkar, made a most seditious speech at the India House in London; this speech was followed within 12 days by the murder of Colonel Sir William Curzon Wyllie, Political A.D.C., at the India Office, at a gathering at the Imperial Institute in London. In December of the same year, Mr. Jackson, the District Magistrate of Nasik, who had committed Ganesh Savarkar for trial, was shot dead at a farewell party given in his honour. The police investigation disclosed a conspiracy which had not come to light during the proceedings against Ganesh Savarkar. For the murder of Mr. Jackson, seven men, all Chitpavan Brahmins, the same caste as the two founders of the Association mentioned above, were brought to justice and three of them were hanged. In the subsequent Nasik Conspiracy Case 27 men were sentenced to imprisonment. It was ascertained that the Savarkar brothers had formed a terrorist association called the

"Abhinav Bharat," or "Young India" Society, which had members in various parts of Western India. Evidence regarding this Society was followed up with the result that 22 members of the Society and 19 other Brahmins were prosecuted by the Gwalior State, many of whom were sent to prison. In the same year, two coco-nut bombs were thrown at the carriage in which Lord and Lady Minto were travelling in Ahmedabad; after the carriage had passed one of the bombs exploded.

3. In 1910, it was discovered that a secret society, a branch of the Abhinav Bharat Society, existed in the Satara district and three Brahmin youths were convicted.

4. Nothing more in the terrorist line was noticed in this Presidency after the above events till September 1914, when a printing press was discovered on which a quantity of seditious pamphlets had been printed including a formula for the preparation of bombs.

5. The attached list shows that no terrorist crime occurred between 1912 and 1927. In 1928, a packet of bombs exploded in a train near Manmad. These bombs were being taken by terrorists from the United Provinces in the hope that they might be used against members of the Simon Commission. In 1929, absconders from the Punjab and the United Provinces opened fire on the police at Bhusaval Railway Station when they were challenged. They had revolvers and bombs with them. During their trial one of these men managed to secure a revolver and had shots at an approver in the case and at a sub-inspector of police and wounded both.

6. In October 1930, a police sergeant and his wife, when motoring with friends along Lamington Road, Bombay, were fired at by a gang which was subsequently found to consist partly of up-country absconders and partly of Bombay men. The acquittal which followed the prosecution came as a great surprise to all.

7. The next terrorist outrage was an attempt on the life of the officiating Governor, Sir Ernest Hotson, in July 1931, at Poona. A young Brahmin student at the Fergusson College fired two shots at His Excellency who had a miraculous escape. This youth had two revolvers on him which he had bought in Hyderabad State. The young offender stated that he had tried to kill Sir Ernest Hotson because an Indian had not been appointed Governor of Bombay. In his room in the college were found photographs of various terrorists who had previously been hanged.

A month before the attempt on the Governor, the Kolhapur state police had arrested a boy from Poona who made a confession regarding the theft of a gun. The investigations which followed showed that a number of school-boys had been collecting arms for the murder of Europeans. Two rifles and a gun were recovered by the police. It was ascertained also that these youngsters had been experimenting with chloroform, potash, etc., obviously wishing to learn how to make bombs. This little conspiracy appeared very puerile, but it is fortunate that it was nipped in the bud.

8. It is natural that Sind should not have entirely escaped infection from the neighbouring province of Punjab, and in 1931 and 1932, it was discovered that the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army had made attempts to extend their operations to this area. A notorious absconder from the Second Lahore Conspiracy Case was arrested in Sind and the arrest of four members of the Karachi group of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army in Jodhpur in March 1932 with a revolver and ammunition resulted in these activities being checked. Intentions of this gang had included the robbery of a Customs cashier, the blowing up of the train of the Indian States Enquiry Committee at Jodhpur, the murder of police officials in Jodhpur and the robbery of a wealthy contractor.

9. Recently it had been ascertained that one of the men acquitted in the Lamington Road Shooting Case has been responsible for forming a small terrorist group in Bombay City. Some of the members of this group robbed a school-master of the pay of his staff in Bombay on the 7th April last. There was also good reason to believe from the statement of one of the accused made in the course of the police investigations into that case that three members of the party abetted the manufacture of the crude bombs which were thrown in the Empire Theatre, Bombay, on two occasions in March and in April 1933. They were accordingly charged but were acquitted.

NOTE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

1. Following the discovery and the breaking up of the organisations which were responsible for the political murders of 1897 and 1909, terrorist activity in this Presidency has had a precarious existence and the rarity of attempted outrages must be taken in the circumstances as an indication of some fairly strong natural resistance in this part of India to purely terrorist propaganda. As was to be expected, the prevalence of anarchist crimes in other parts of India, the persistent advertisement and laudation of political assassins both in the press and on the platform, the dissemination of revolutionary pamphlets,

combined with the campaign aiming at the subversion of organized government since 1930, have all had their repercussions in this Presidency and have undoubtedly contributed towards the creation of a fertile field for terrorist propaganda and recruitment, particularly among the student community. But although political conditions have recently been favourable to the development of initiative efforts by isolated hands of youths, the instances of attempted outrages are too few and isolated to indicate the presence of any definite terrorist organization. That the various subversive movements which encourage secret co-operation for illegal objects should occasionally produce results of this kind is only to be expected, but the Bombay Government are of opinion that there is as yet no definite development which is inconsistent with the conclusions of the police officer placed on special duty in 1930-31 to enquire into the extent to which revolutionary doctrines had taken root in this Presidency, who found that there was no organized party in existence for the purpose of committing political outrages or connected with revolutionary movements in other provinces.

2. It seems that in this Presidency the attack is being made more widely through the medium of communism and that organizations such as the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association, which have one leg in the terrorist and the other in the communist camp, work in this Presidency through the latter type of propaganda. On the whole therefore, the Bombay Government consider that at present there is no separate terrorist party in the Presidency and that such signs of it as come to the surface are either an offshoot of communism or merely independent imitative efforts.

3. The effective control over the press provided by the provisions of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, XXIII of 1931, which was primarily designed to deal with this growing menace, has been a powerful factor in preventing any marked tendency to incitement and encouragement of murder or violence by means of writings. It may be added also that a special staff of watchers has been employed under the local C. I. D. s for the purpose of maintaining a close supervision over the movements of known and potential revolutionaries and assassins.

SUMMARY OF TERRORIST ACTION IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, 1909 TO 1933

[The following analysis extends over the period 1909 to 1933. The period 1921 to 1933 pertains to the Third period of the Freedom

Struggle. The portion, however, is included in this volume for the 2nd period as breaking up the summary would not fit in with the continuity of the analysis.]

No.	Date	Place of occurrence	Brief Account
1909			
1	January 15th	... Poona	... A coconut bomb was found in Canaught Road by a Muham- madan, it exploded, blowing off one of his hands.
2	November 13th	... Ahmedabad	... Two bombs which did not explode were thrown at the Viceroy's carriage.
3	December 21st	... Nasik	.. Mr. Jackson, the District Magis- trate was shot dead by Anant Lakshman Kanhere.

1911

4	May 18th	... Satara	... Two coconut bombs, 37 revolver cartridges and six Manlicher cartridges were found in the verandah of the house of Gangadhar Kulkarni of village Kanheri.
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1912 to 1927

Nil.

1928

5	October 7th	... Near Manmad	... An explosion occurred in a 3rd class compartment in No. 198 up train near Manmad. In- vestigation revealed that the bombs were being taken to Bombay by members of the U. P. revolutionary party in order to make an attempt on the lives of members of the Simon Commission. The explosion resulted in the kill- ing of one suspect and the serious wounding of another.
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No.	Date	Place of occurrence	Brief Account
1929			
6	11th September 1929.	Bhusaval	... Two persons, named Bhagwandas Tulsidas Mahur and Sadashiv Ragunath Malkapurkar, who alighted at Bhusaval Railway Station from Allahabad-Bombay Express were detained by the Excise Head Constable for inspection of their luggage. When one of the passengers after much argument opened his trunk, the Excise Head Constable saw inside a pistol and some cartridges. The two passengers were therefore taken to the Excise officer for a thorough examination of their luggage by the Railway Police, and whilst this was about to be done in the presence of a Panch Bhagwandas whipped out a pistol, fired at the Police Head Constable, missed and ran from the platform followed by his companion but they were chased and secured by the Excise and Police constables. During the chase, Bhagwandas fired at his pursuers three times but missed again. Two automatic pistols with ammunition, two live bombs, one empty bomb shell and a quantity of chemicals and explosives used in the manufacture of bombs were found in the possession of the two passengers who were subsequently identified as absconders in the Lahore Conspiracy Case.

No.	Date	Place of occurrence	Brief Account
7	30th September 1929.	Pcona	... In the early morning a raid was made by the Police on a house in Pcona City and Shivram Hari Rajguru, an absconder in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, and another were arrested. A revolver and 13 rounds of ammunition were found in their flat. The garage of one D. B. Karandikar was also searched a little later and in the coat pocket of Karandikar, who was sleeping there, a 6.35 bore automatic pistol fully loaded with 6 cartridges and 20 copies of a revolutionary leaflet were discovered. Subsequently Karandikar's father's house was also searched and in a small leather attache case (the key of which was produced by Karandikar) a revolver was found and in another wooden box 15 Eley's 6.35 bore automatic pistol cartridges. Karandikar stated that the arms were given to him by Rajguru for repairs.
8	February 21st	... Jalgaon	... An attempt was made with a revolver, smuggled from out-side, by one Bhagwan Das, an undertrial prisoner in Bhusawal Bcmb Case, to murder the approver Jai Gopal. Jai Gopal and Sub-Inspector of Police were wounded.
9	10th/12th April 1930.	Bombay	... When the G. I. P. Railwaymen's strike was in progress, certain strikers and others entered into a conspiracy to blow up railway lines, stations and

No.	Date	Place of occurrence	Brief Account
9— <i>contd.</i>			
			bridges with a view to furthering the cause of the strikers. With this object they manufactured bcmb's and exploded one of the railway lines between Parel and Dadar Stations on the night of the 10th April 1930. No damage was done to the line. Dissatisfied with this result, two of the conspirators exploded a bcmb each, one on Masjid Station and the other on Byculla Station on the morning of the 12th April 1930. As a result of the Masjid Station explosion a milkman was injured on his back and three glass windows of a local train were damaged. In the Byculla Station explosion, only the culprit responsible for it was injured as the bcmb slipped from his hand and exploded as he was about to lay it in the 3rd Class waiting room. On the arrest of the conspirators, a large quantity of explosives was recovered from them.
10	September 15th ...	Karachi	... A crude bcmb was thrown at the City Police Station. The bcmb exploded but caused no damage.
11	September 29th ...	Karachi	... A bcmb exploded in Rewachand's Building.
12	October 9th ..	Bombay	.. A shooting outrage near the Lamington Road Police Station took place, in which Sergeant Taylor and his wife were injured.

No.	Date	Place of occurrence	Brief Account
13	November 25th ..	Karachi ...	A practically completed bomb and bomb making materials were recovered from the house of one Tek Chand.
14	November 28th ...	Hy d e r a b a d (Sind).	A crude bomb exploded in the compound of the bungalow of the Deputy Superintendent of Police.
15	December 28th ...	Ahmedabad ...	A bomb exploded in the house of a tailor, in which he and a friend of his, both low class Congress workers, were seriously injured. The bomb was intended to be used for killing local police officers.

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16	January 12th ...	Mahar b a v d i, Bombay City.	A crude coconut-shell bomb exploded while the police were dispersing a large crowd which had collected near the Maharbadi Police Station. No damage was done.
17	January 13th ...	Ahmednagar ...	A bomb was thrown into the compound of the sub-jail. It fell near the guard and exploded without causing damage.
18	June 12th and 18th.	Bombay ...	Bombs exploded in Gunpowder Street.
19	July ...	Poona ...	Information was received that two thefts of arms had occurred in Poona on 28th May and 10th June, when two rifles and one gun were stolen by some youths who were arrested. The arms were to be utilized in murdering certain British Officers.

No.	Date	Place of occurrence	Brief Account
20	July 22nd	... Poona	... An attempt was made on the life of the Acting Governor (Sir Ernest Hotson), by a student while H. E. was on a visit to the Fergusson College, Poona. The assailant fired point blank at H. E. who had a miraculous escape, the bullet striking a metal button on his pocket book. Two revolvers and a dagger were recovered. The assailant was convicted.
21	July 23rd	... Muhtio village, Nithi Taluqa (Sind), Thar Parkar Distt.	... An armed dacoity was committed in which Rs. 4,697 were looted. The object was to collect money for the purpose of avenging the death of Bhagat Singh, one of the murderers of Mr. Saunders.
22	June 3rd	... Hyderabad (Sind).	... Hans Raj <i>alias</i> Wireless, a very important member of the Hindustan Socialists Republican Association and an absconder in the 2nd Lahore Conspiracy Case was arrested. At the time of his arrest a loaded automatic pistol was found under his pillow and a country-made pistol and an air-pistol were also recovered, together with a certain amount of ammunition and two bomb-shells which proved to be empty. In addition some counterfeit rupees and dies for making them were found.
23	October 19th	... Panvel	... An attempt was made on the life of Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Northern Division, Kclaba, at Panvel. The S. D. M. returned to his

No.	Date.	Place of occurrence	Brief Account
23— <i>contd.</i>			bungalow after nightfall and was accosted by a man who pointed a revolver at him. The revolver was not fired. A peon immediately grappled with the man and managed to wrest the revolver from him, although the man himself succeeded in escaping.
24	October 30th	... Bombay	... On the arrival of s. s. "Hirawati" from Goa on the 30th October 1932, a passenger was noticed suspiciously thrusting his bedding in a gunny bag near the Examination Hall. On a search of the bedding, 4 revolvers (one of which was loaded with 5 cartridges), and 25 cartridges were found therein, tied in a piece of cloth. The passenger was then handed over to the police, by whom he was subsequently placed before the Presidency Magistrate, along with 4 others, who as a result of police investigations into the case were suspected of complicity. The Magistrate convicted all the accused, except one who was acquitted, and sentenced them to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000, or, in default, to undergo further six months' rigorous imprisonment.
25	7th April 1933	... Bombay	... A road robbery occurred in Bombay on the 7th April, when a school-master was relieved of the pay of his staff. The investigation of the crime disclosed the existence of the terrorist group

No.	Date	Place of occurrence	Brief Account
25— <i>contd.</i>			"Anand Mandal", which was organised by one of the acquitted accused in the Lamington Road shooting case of 1930. The programme of his party included the commission of crime against property to acquire money for the purchase of arms. There was good reason to believe from the statement of one of the accused made in the course of the police investigation that three members of this party abetted the manufacture of the two very crude bombs which were thrown in the Empire Theatre, Bombay, on two occasions in March and in April 1933. They were charged accordingly under the Explosive Substances Act and committed to stand their trial at the Criminal Sessions of the Bombay High Court. The jury however by a majority of 7 to 2 found them not guilty and they were acquitted on the 31st August 1933.
26	21st April 1933	... Ahmedabad ...	Following two unsuccessful attempts to set fire to two foreign cloth shops, two men suspected to be the culprits, were arrested in the early morning of the 21st April as they were proceeding in the motor car. In their possession were found a loaded revolver, explosive substances mixed with pellets and gramophone needles and four bottles of kerosene oil mixed

No.	Date	Place of occurrence	Brief Account
26— <i>contd.</i>			with petrol. On their house being searched, a quantity of chemicals, a further quantity of explosive mixed with pellets and gramophone needles and several copies of leaflet threatening foreign cloth dealers with death if they persisted in selling foreign cloth were found.
27 June 16th	... Hyderabad (Sind).		A bomb was thrown by two youths on bicycles in Hyderabad town, near two British soldiers who were walking in a street. One of the soldiers was slightly injured in the neck. The assailants made good their escape.

2

**REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES
A FEW ADDITIONAL INCIDENTS**

BOMB THROWN AT THE VICEROY AT AHMEDABAD, 1909

(FROM CONFIDENTIAL COMPILATION No. 2330, J. D. Vol. No. 160 OF 1909.)

[When the Viceroy Lord Minto, accompanied by Lady Minto visited Ahmedabad on 13th November 1909, an attempt was made by some unknown person to murder the Viceroy by throwing two bombs at the Viceregal Carriage. The bombs, however, did not explode and the life of the Viceroy and Lady Minto was saved. Government of India demanded a full report from the Government of Bombay. The following are extracts from a letter written by the Bombay Government, giving a report of the occurrence].

No. 6880, dated the 11th December 1909.

From

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,
Judicial Department, Bombay ;

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
Home Department.

I am directed to reply to your letter No. 1694 of the 23rd November 1909 on the subject of the attempt upon the life of His Excellency the Viceroy at Ahmedabad.

On leaving the Railway Station the Viceroy took the seat on the right hand side of the carriage while Lady Minto occupied the left hand seat.....As soon as the carriage moved off from the Station the Chobdar opened a large white umrella of some five or six feet diameter and held it over their Excellencies ; underneath this Her Excellency Lady Minto carried an open parasol and, so far as the Commissioner was concerned, the umbrella blotted out all view to the rear of the carriage. The only persons who were actually visible to the Commissioner among those attending the carriage were Lieutenant Merriman and Sergeant Spencer. The horses were rather fresh and excited by the horses of the escort in front of them, so that the carriage was travelling at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour. Police arrangements have already been described in this office letter No. 6522, dated the 22nd ultimo. The crowd were cheering their Excellencies heartily, and nothing of importance happened until, about a mile from the Railway Station, the Orphanage School was reached, where a body of school children were drawn up on the near side of the carriage. Their lusty cheering attracted attention as the carriage passed. Just after the carriage had passed the Commissioner observed the Sergeant's

horse begin to plunge, and heard a click against the hilt of his sword which he was holding at the carry. The Commissioner thought he was raising his sword to cut at some one on the road, but realised that he was only trying to ward off something with it. His horse did not fall behind appreciably and he soon brought it into position again, and the Commissioner then caught a glimpse of a youth near, but not exactly among the children either recovering from the recoil of some previous active exertion or else in the act of raising after picking something off the ground, and saw him throw something at the carriage. What it was that he threw the Commissioner could not see nor could he see where it fell. All this takes time to recount, but in the happening it was almost instantaneous.....On the arrival of their Excellencies at Rani Sipri, the first place to be inspected Mr. Cousens of the Archaeological Survey took over the duties of guide; and profiting by this, the Commissioner called Mr. Sladen, the Collector, aside and told him that something had been thrown at the carriage as it drove through the street. Mr. Sladen and the Commissioner went outside to speak to Mr. Thatcher who was still on horse-back, and at the foot of the two or three steps leading down into the tiny compound met the Chobdar, who had been sitting in the rumble of the carriage. He showed his wrist which was bruised and on which was a spot of yellow about the size of a two-anna piece; he said that he had been struck by something. On going outside in the road the Commissioner asked the Sergeant if he could say what it was that had struck his hand, and he replied that it was something like a turnip. Mr. Thatcher, who heard the question and who then first learnt of the occurrence, rode back at once to make inquiries. It was not until the next halting place, the Juma Musjid, that the Commissioner learnt from Mr. Sladen that an explosion had taken place on the road shortly after the carriage had passed. Before the special train left for Baroda the Commissioner learnt that the fact of the explosion had been reported to His Excellency the Viceroy.....

The question asked is "what is the explanation of the regrettable failure on the part of the authorities to effect the arrest of the miscreant?" The answer is that those who saw the act were not in a position to effect an arrest, while those who were in a position to effect an arrest did not see the act. Mr. Thatcher was not riding by the side of the carriage, but was well to the rear and entirely hidden from the Commissioner's view. The Commissioner might have taken action in one of three ways. He might have hurled himself over the side of the carriage with intent to arrest

the youth, and been immediately trampled under foot by Sergeant Spencer's horse. He might have stopped the carriage, and have exposed the lives of their Excellencies to a far greater risk than that which it is now known they had just escaped. Or he might have stood up in the carriage, thrust aside the sheltering umbrella, and shouted or signalled to Mr. Thatcher who would not have heard but who, seeing the gesticulations, would have made his way through or behind the remaining sections of the escort, crossed the road, and found nothing beyond a group of people standing quietly there. It may be asked why none of the escort or the Police arrested the assailant on the spot. With respect to the escort, I am to suggest a reference to the Military Department; but it is understood that in not falling out of line and cutting the man down Sergeant Spencer was but carrying out his orders to the letter. With regard to the Police, I am to say that none of those riding with the cortege observed, or was in a position to observe, what happened. The police sepoy on duty nearest the spot was on the other side of the road, and the carriage end escort prevented the possibility of his seeing anything. The next two nearest sepoys were respectively about thirty yards ahead and about 25 yards behind the spot; they were probably busy with the crowd, but all have been closely questioned and deny having seen anything thrown. The fortunate part of the incident is that of the two bombs neither exploded on impact. The one picked up contained picric acid and was loaded with slugs. From the facts that one burst when the bhanghi struck it violently on the wheel of his cart and that in the other the glass tube was rather thick and the leaden weight usually attached to the detonator in order to ensure the breaking of the glass had been omitted, it is possible that Their Excellencies owe their escape to the bombs being carelessly manufactured and thrown with force insufficient, in the absence of the weight, to explode them. There is no doubt that both missiles were thrown by the same person, who seems to have been a smoothfaced young man of the student class; but the accounts available differ as to the clothes he was wearing, and as to the exact course of the two missiles after they were thrown. As, however, the letter under reply seems to be dictated by a desire to know why the authorities failed to arrest the miscreant on the spot, and as the only authority who could have possibly initiated any action was the Commissioner, the account submitted relates the incident as it appeared to that officer; but means have been taken under the orders of His Excellency the Governor in Council to keep you informed of all the accounts which have reached the Bombay Government and of the progress of the investigation.

In conclusion I am to say that His Excellency the Governor in Council shares the view of the Government of India that the failure to arrest was regrettable, but considers that in the circumstances explained no blame attaches to any of the officers concerned.

ATTEMPT TO TRAP G. B. DESHPANDE IN REVOLUTIONARY CRIME

(EXTRACT FROM SECRET ABSTRACTS, 1910, C. I. D., BOMBAY,
PARAGRAPH 1956-57, PAGES 781-782.)

Belgaum, June 16th.—The District Magistrate writes :—

“On the 15th instant G. B. Deshpande informed Mr. Jefferies, Deputy Superintendent of Police, that a man named Shaligram of Kolhapur, who was accompanied and introduced by Krishna Gowda of Shahapur (Sangli State) came to him on the 13th instant and said that he studied chemistry in Japan and that he wanted to consult him on some law point. Deshpande told him to come next day. On the following day Shaligram came alone and told Deshpande that when he was in Japan he had with great difficulty procured a book on explosives and bombs and that he felt it was unsafe for him, being a Brahman, to keep the book in view of the disturbed atmosphere of Kolhapur. He finally asked Deshpande to keep the book for him. Deshpande seems to have suspected a trap and refused to have anything to do with the book and informed the Police. The book was said to be in the house of Krishna Gowda in Shahpur. On receiving this information from Mr. Jefferies I issued warrants for the arrest of Krishna Gowda and Shaligram and for the search of Krishna Gowda's shop in Belgaum and house in Shahpur. The warrant for the house search in Shahpur was not executed in consequence of the attitude of the Shahpur Magistrate, regarding whose conduct a report will follow. Krishna Gowda and Shaligram were, however, arrested and on the following day (16th) information having been received that the book had been posted back to Kolhapur, telegrams were sent to the Post Office at Kolhapur to detain the book and to the Political Agent to secure it under section 95 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The Political Agent secured the book and sent it to me. The following is a description of the book—

“A Dictionary of Explosives by Major J. P. Cundill, R.A., published by the Royal Engineers' Institute, Chatham.

"The names of the arrested persons, who are now awaiting extradition, are :—

(1) Dattatraya Shivram Shaligram, Station Officer of the Kolhapur Forest Department ; pay Rs. 40 ; caste Deshast Brahman ; age thirty-three ; native of Valwada, Kolhapur State.

(2) Krishna Anaji Gowda, resident and Municipal Councillor of Shahpur and merchant of Belgaum ; caste Narvekar ; age twenty-seven ; native of Shahpur.

"The circumstances under which this book was possessed by Shaligram and offered to Deshpande constitute a *prima facie* case of an offence under section 6 of Act IV of 1908, and on completion of the preliminary inquiry application will be made for sanction for the trial of Krishna Gowda and Shaligram. It is possible that Shaligram may make important disclosures and the case derives added interest from the fact that the information was given by G. B. Deshpande, the notorious extremist, who must either have suspected a trap or may conceivably have invented this stratagem with the object of providing that the suspicions entertained by the authorities regarding his complicity in murderous plots are baseless."

Kolhapur and Southern Maratha Country, June 19.—The Political Agent writes :—

"On Friday, the 17th instant, I received a *prima facie* certificate from the District Magistrate, Belgaum, for the extradition of one Dattatraya S. Shaligram and of one Krishna Gowda arrested at Shahpur, Sangli State, by the Belgaum Police under section 6, Act VI of 1908. As there is one Dattatraya S. Shaligram, a Forest Officer in the Kolhapur State, and one Krishnaji Annapa Gavda, Myrabolam Contractor, Kolhapur, I sent for Fernandes and ascertained that these men were arrested. Fernandes promptly searched Shaligram's house and the houses of some of his friends including the Gadgils. At present except a few letters from Nasik about the time of the Jackson's murder, which letters appear important, nothing seems to have been found. Shaligram was sent to Japan to study Chemistry, it is said, by Tilak, and it is probably that he might, if he chooses, gave valuable information. He has been unobtrusively

kept under surveillance for some time in Kolhapur. I believe that there is a photograph of him taken in Japan with K. D. Kulkarni and certain Bengalis; this photograph is, I believe, with one of the C.I.D., Simla, officials, I have not seen this photograph. It may be the one published but I fail to recognise Shaligram in it."

RECOVERY OF TWO BROWNING PISTOLS AT PEN.

(EXTRACT FROM SECRET ABSTRACTS, 1912, PAGE 135, PARAGRAPH 424,
C.I.D., BOMBAY.)

S. B., Bombay, March 9th—

Copy of a letter dated the 1st February 1912 from the Deputy Commissioner of Police, C.I.D., Bombay, to the Acting Superintendent of Police, Kolaba :—

"I arrived at Dharamatar yesterday afternoon at about 4-30 p.m. with a small posse of detectives. We split up and arranged to enter Pen after dark. I there had to hunt out one Chunilal alias Sadashiv Akhadevala, who I was told would be able to give me the correct address of the Bhendia Katkari who in turn would be able to supply me with some information against extremists whom he was said to be blackmailing.

"(2) So far so good, but arrived at Pen; no Chunilal was to be found. Luckily I brought with me an extremist youth who knew Pen and whom I could for the time being rely on. He visited the house of the elder Joshi, brother to Keshav Ballal, the absconder and Bhagya of Bombay, and indirectly learnt that Chunilal was Chandulal a nickname given to Sadashiv K. Limaye the present Vice-President of the Municipality.

"(3) You probably know more about this gentleman than I can tell you in these few lines. Suffice it to say that his adoption brought him into affluent circumstances, that he spent his money freely, lived a vicious life, hence his nickname, and during the early years of Political agitation was undoubtedly tainted. He was one of the development-of-the-body swadeshists, kept a gymnasium, hence he was dubbed 'Akhadevala,' and was undoubtedly the leader of some of the youths of Pen. A split occurred and Sadashiv seceded, turned into a respectable member of society and is now the Vice-President of the Pen Municipality.

I understand that since his conversion he has been staunchly on the side of law and order, but on this point I should be glad to have your opinion after you have consulted your Inspectors and sub-Inspectors who may have come in contact with him.

“Before sending for this man, whose identity we had now established, I called the Pen Sub-Inspector to my assistance. The question was: who was the right Bhendia. From what your Sub-Inspector said he probably was a bad character living some few miles out of Pen. This was confirmed when Limaye arrived as he was able to connect this Bendia with the notorious extremist family of Mandlik. Bhendia was, therefore sent for precautions being taken to avert all suspicion as to why he was wanted. His brothers and Katkaris were also sent for. Your Sub-Inspector managed this matter very well and though the people wanted were out fishing he managed to bring them all to Pen by 3 A.M. Bhendia arrived, I commenced my enquiry. I knew that two of the pistols out of the consignment of 20 brought out by Chaturbhuj at Savarkar's instigation were still unaccounted for and that these were believed to be with the absconder Keshav Ballal Joshi. This Joshi I heard was one of a party responsible for the death of the Bhaya servant about whom we have already corresponded and I had further learnt that this Joshi and Keshav Narayan Mandlik who died last year were close friends and leaders of the Pen Anarchist Society.

“Bhendia suggested that his brother Malia should be questioned and he had told him that he had caught Mandlik burying something in the hills. Malia was sent for and admitted that he had accidentally come across K. Mandalik burying something in the hilly jungles east of Pen and close to Borachi Wadi where he lived. He waited till Mandlik was about to depart and then made his presence known. Mandlik swore him to secrecy and wanted him at some opportune time to throw all that had been buried into the river. This Malia feared to do. Asked whether the things, whatever they were, would still be found, he said yes. This was enough for us to work on and a very early start was made as we did not know who else was in the secret and might do away with everything before we arrived. We arrived at the spot at day-break accompanied by a Panch we had taken from Pen. Malia pointed to a heap of stones and removing some pointed out some rusty tin boxes. The place was then carefully searched and a rusty Browning pistol, a large amount of ammunition, 13 boxes of percussion caps, some scraps of paper and other articles recovered.

IV

SOME REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS

- 1. Chanjeri Rao**
- 2. K. V. R. Swami**
- 3. Waman Vishnu Phadke**
- 4. Virendra Chattopadhyaya**
- 5. Sardar Singhji Rana**
- 6. Madam Cama**
- 7. Narayan Sadashiv Marathe**
- 8. Hanmant Appaji**
- 9. Govind Narayan Potdar**
- 10. Some Revolutionary Workers of Kolhapur**
- 11. Vishnu Ganesh Pingale**

MR. CHANJERI RAO OF SAVARKAR GROUP

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACTS, 1910, PAGE 167,
PARAGRAPH 299.)

Bombay, January 28th.—The Collector of Customs writes :—

"It will interest you to know that we caught an Extremist this morning who arrived by the S. S. Sidney.

"He had a false bottom to his box with a Browning pistol cartridges and several copies of the Indian War of Independence. Tied to his back underneath his clothes was a pamphlet on bomb making and each of his boots contained a seditious pamphlet.

"The name of the man caught is Rao. He was handed over to the Police and is now being placed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate."

Bombay, January 28th.—The Deputy Commissioner of Police writes :—

"In accordance with instructions I placed the accused Rao before Mr. Dracup, Third Presidency Magistrate, on a charge of having imported into India without a license one Browning pistol and 50 cartridges. I led the evidence of Mr. Lorrimer of the Customs and Inspector Favel and put in as exhibits the box and seditious literature. On this the accused was charged, but pleaded not guilty, saying that he was unaware of the contents of the secret chamber in the trunk. This despite the fact that seditious literature was found on his person as also the receipt acknowledging payment for this very box. I pointed out the gravity of the case to the Magistrate and passed for the severest sentence. The Magistrate sentenced him to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500, in default six months' imprisonment—the maximum he is empowered to give. I took him personally to the Byculla House of Correction and handed him over to the Prison Authorities with instructions to keep him separate with a view to his further examination".

(EXTRACTS FROM STATEMENT OF CHANJERI RAO.)

I was born in the year 1877 or so in Erode village of the Coimbatore District. My father was a landlord ; he is dead now. He died in 1903.

I was educated in Erode, Coimbatore, Trichinopoli and South Arcot, I failed to pass the Matriculation. I first joined Government service in 1896 as a 1st class Constable in the Trichinopoli District. I was first a jailor in the Insein Central Jail under Major Singh, I.M.S., resigned this appointment and took a better appointment as plague inspector under the Rangoon Municipality and this is the appointment I held till I went to England in August, 1909. My pay at that time was Rs. 125 plus 25 house-rent and actual conveyance hire. The idea was to give higher post of Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 to those who had passed the English Sanitary Inspectors' examination, and to qualify for this I took six months' leave and went to England. I had some savings, accumulated in my three years' service in Rangoon and I sold some of my wife's jewels and also took a loan of Rs. 1,000 in Rangoon from friends. My wife lived with me in Rangoon. I sent her and my child back to India to my sister's house, Tirupattur, some time before starting for England. At that time I was not a Nationalist. I took no interest in politics and I did not wear *swadeshi* clothes. In Rangoon I joined no political party.

I left Rangoon on the 23rd July 1909 and travelled via Madras to Bombay whence I sailed by the French s.s. *Vilee de la Ciotat* for Marseilles. I went straight through to London. I had no introductions to anyone in England.....

One V. V. S. Aiyar used to come frequently and we always discussed politics. The question of my resigning my appointment came up again. Aiyar and Swami both were against this and said that I could be of much more use to their party if I remained in service. They said I could then play their tactics better for them. A political meeting was held in 11, Sutherland Place, which I attended; the subject was how to import arms into India and how to fight the English. Aiyar, Rajan, Madhavrao and Gyanchandra Varma spoke; only half a dozen attended. I remember one Bannerji, one Ali, whose father is said to have married an Englishwoman; he was living in No. 8, Sinclair Gardens. A second meeting was held in Nitisen Dwarkadas' place, No. 128, Holland Park Avenue. The same subject was discussed, how to fight the English, how to collect arms and money for the same and how to import them. I was asked to speak. I spoke that education of the masses was what was wanted. Nitisen got up and said in Hindustani that I was talking like a madman; so I sat down. Nitisen spoke how to drive the foreigners out, etc. He is not a very good speaker. One Satyanand Prasad used to attend and speak at these meetings.

At that time Savarkar being unwell was living in some sanatorium. I met him later on.

I do not know whether all this talk led to anything whether arms were sent or not. What one man does is not known to nother.....

Savarkar and Aiyar were at that time living together at 11, Upper Addison Gardens. I was taken there by Mr. Madhavrao the day after the second meeting. There I was compelled to take an oath. First refused, they threatened me. They were particularly anxious that being a Government man should join, as I could do much work for them. They told me that they had put some man into prison in India as he had refused to do what they told him. They frightened me in this manner and thus I consented. They talked that so many people died in India of famine, plague and cholera that they did not mind if some died in another way. Rajan used this argument. The oath was as follows :—

“In the name of God, in the name of mother Bharat and in the name of my ancestors I (C. R. Rao) convinced that without obtaining the absolute political independence my country cannot obtain the glorious space amongst the Nations of the world and convinced also that political independence cannot be obtained without waging a bloody and relentless war, do solemnly declare that I shall from this moment do everything in my power even at the cost of my life to crown my country with her *swaraj* and solemnly swear that I shall even be faithful and true to this society. If I betray the whole or a part of this oath may I be doomed to death. *Bande Mataram.*”

I took this oath. It was administered to me in the dead of night. It was given me by Aiyar who evidently was one of the leaders and repeated it after him.

I beg of you not to let it be known to any one that I have told you anything of this oath or in fact given you any information, for I am convinced that I will be tracked down and shot.

I was taken to Aiyar's place by Madhavrao : there were then Chhattopadhyaya, Aiyar, Bannerji and one Kunte of Gwalior who is getting money from the Gwalior State. I was taken to a room on the top floor where Aiyar was left along with me and gave me the oath. I had to hold my hands in attitude of prayer and repeat the oath. They vary the oath ; if they think its wording has become known to unauthorised persons, they would change it.

I understand that the head of the Society in London was Savarkar and Aiyar. I had to pay a sovereign as a fee. I did so. I came down with Aiyar and after some further talk left for home. All this

happened in the month of December. I left England on January 3rd Savarkar came to our place..... I was introduced to him. He said "Are you Mr. Rao?" I said "Yes". He said he was glad as I was in Government service and that was what they wanted. He asked me when I was returning. I told him. I did not see him in London again. Whilst in London I was asked to kill Lord Morley. I refused and told them I was not going to die on the gallows. They told me I must do this or they would kill me. I argued that I would not do such cowardly business. It was one thing to meet a man in due with pistols or swords and another to kill a man unawares. Aiyar and Madhavrao were instigating me to this deed. Madhavrao first broached the subject. They were mocking me for having gone to see Mr. Arnold and the Secretary, Mrs. White and he said "Why don't you go to see Lord Morley? He lives somewhere in Hampton. Better see him with your revolver." I had no revolver. Madhavrao has one. It is an automatic one like that one I brought out.

After this Mr. Aiyar gave me a letter addressed to Trimul Acharya in Paris. I do not know what its contents were. They told me I was to take 25 revolvers out with me in a box with false bottom. Aiyar came to me at 11, Sutherland Place, on the very day I left and gave me the letter for Aiyar.

This was the alternative to killing Lord Morley which I had refused to do.

From the talks I had with Aiyar and Madhavrao I am convinced that they intend still to kill Lord Morley and also Lord Curzon. Both were marked down to be killed by Dhingra when he shot Sir Curzon Wyllie. I was, of course, not in England at that time, but from what they told me it appears that at that conversazione Lord Curzon was present and that Dhingra's companion said to him "Look there goes Curzon", but Dhingra somehow (was) did not catch sight of him. I do not know who the companion was. Aiyar and Madhavrao were telling me this. In London I also learnt that two Bombay Judges one a native Mr. Chandavarkar and the other the Judge who sentenced Tilak, were marked down for assassination. No plan is fixed as far as I know, but what I think is that either some one of these will come out for this purpose or they will write to some one here to do this. The following is also marked down for assassination the Judge who sentenced Chidambaram Pillay.

The idea underlying the whole society is for the present to continue political assassination until the revolution takes place in about two or three years. The plan was to preach sedition and get the masses infected so that they would follow their leaders. High

Officials, heads of districts and police were to be murdered and this would lead to a general revolution. During the preparatory period arms were to be distributed to all who were willing.

On the 4th January I reached Paris and went to see Trimul Acharya ; with him was living one Govind Amin, a Guzerathi, at 75, Faubourg du Temple. I lived with them there.....

On the 8th in the afternoon we went to Shyamji Krishna Varma's place. We had tea. Rana, Madame Cama and Har Dayal were not there. Almost all the other Indians were. Nitisen was there. Shyamji asked me, Savarkar, Govind and Satyanandprasad to stay there and dine with him. Shyamji was talking that he had promised to send out 100 revolvers to India and that I should not raise objections, but take 25 out with me. I said it was a dangerous task. Govind said it will be packed in such a way that no one will suspect. I agreed. Afterwards I told Savarkar, that it was too risky a matter and ultimately agreed to take books and pamphlets and Govind induced me to take the one revolver. In talking Govind mentioned that he was going to bring out revolvers. On the 9th I was taken to Madame Cama's place ; there again I was made to take the same oath, Savarkar and Madame Cama were there, but when I gave the oath in the upper room only Savarkar was present.

We went downstairs again and there were Govind, Trimul Acharya, Satyanandprasad, etc. We had tea. There I met one Varma, fairly tall, thin, wears spectacles, fair, whose initials I do not know. Possibly G. K. He had come to Paris to learn how bombs should be prepared. I gave money for the purchase of the box. The date is the date of the receipt. Govind took me to the shop and it was he who arranged everything. The cost of the box was 25 francs, but we had to pay an additional 5 francs for the alterations.

The box was brought to me by Govind. He told me what the contents under the false bottom were. The box must probably have been packed in Rana's place, as the Mutiny book is stocked there. I was never allowed into the store room of Rana, but Trimul Acharya and Rana's son used to go in and out and were always sending off packages like book post parcel. I was told by Savarkar and others that as soon as I arrived I was to wire to Rana about my safe arrival. I was to study the whole matter as to whether there was anything against them in India or whether if they returned they would be arrested. I was to write letters. They all wanted to return to India in two or three months.....

K. V. R. SWAMI

(An associate of V. D. Savarkar in England.)

(EXTRACT FROM SECRET ABSTRACTS, 1910, C.I.D., BOMBAY,
PARAGRAPH 2014, PAGES 805, 806 AND 807.)

S. B., Bombay, July 19th—

Extracts from the note regarding one K. V. R. Swami, a Madras law student, received from the D. I. C. :—

"It will be seen from this account of Swami's doings that he has taken an active part in the revolutionary movement there. His associates are men who have come prominently to notice and are all more or less deeply implicated in the anarchical movement, and that he was known to C. R. Rao.....

"K. V. R. Swami first came to notice in July 1908 when he was reported to be a boarder at the India House, 65, Cromwell Avenue, Highgate, London, the headquarters of the revolutionary party there known as "The Free India Society", where meetings and debates were frequently held to propagate the doctrines of revolt.....

"In October 1908 it was reported that K. V. R. Swami was in a critical state of health and suffering from lung troubles and had gone to a nursing home in the suburbs of London.....

"K. V. R. Swami's state of health apparently compelled him to give up his attendance at the India House meetings for we do not hear of him until he was mentioned as having been present at a meeting of the Indian National Society at Essex Hall, Essex Street, London, on the 23rd January 1909.

"On the 7th March 1909 Swami was again present at the Sunday meeting held at the India House, which was well attended by Nationalists and Extremists.....

"On the following Sunday K. V. R. Swami was again present at the meeting of the Free India Society.".....

"Swami was again noticed at the India House meeting on the 21st March 1909. V. D. Savarkar spoke on the 'History of the Indian Mutiny and the present need for a similar and much stronger rising.....

"During the next few months K. V. R. Swami's presence at these meetings was not noticed, and it seems that the lung trouble had again compelled him to undergo medical treatment, and he was attending the Brompton Hospital as out-patient. He, however, returned to his old haunts in September and was seen associating with V. V. S. Aiyar.....

"For the next three months Swami's attendance at the meetings of the Free India Society was not noticed probably owing to his absence at some sanatorium, and it was not till the 28th November 1909, at the usual Sunday meeting of the Free India Society, held at 11, Sutherland Place, Bayswater, that he again put in an appearance; he was again present at the meeting of the 5th December 1909 when V. V. S. Aiyar was the principal speaker.....

"He again attended the meeting of the 19th and 26th December and the one on the 2nd January 1910.....

"On the 7th January 1910 he was present at a meeting of the Secret Society, the President of which was V. V. S. Aiyar, who lamented the want of funds intended for the purchase of arms, and asked those present to buy the Indian Mutiny Book and thus help this object.

"From 7th January 1910 to the 10th April 1910 Swami attended only one meeting, that of the 21st January 1910, at which the formation and constitution of a secret society was discussed at length, and afterwards, apparently, went to the Isle of Wight where he was undergoing medical treatment at a Sanatorium. The arrest of his friend, V. D. Savarkar, early in March attracted him back to London, and we find that he attended the Bow Street Court on several occasions during the hearing of his case.

"The last meeting Swami is reported to have attended was one held on the 10th April 1910, at 81, Clarendon Road. V. V. S. Aiyar spoke on Terrorism and its Limitations.....

"K. V. R. Swami has thus taken an active part in the Indian agitation in the metropolis, his political career there, however, being marked by long absence which his critical state of health rendered imperative. His associates are men who have all along come prominently to notice in the role of active seditionists, and are all more or less deeply implicated in the anarchical movement at home.....

"K. V. R. Swami passed his final law examination, Lincoln's Inn, on the 13th May 1910."

WAMAN VISHNU PHADKE

(A Revolutionary of the London Group.)

(EXTRACT FROM SECRET ABSTRACTS, 1910, C. I. D., BOMBAY
PARAGRAPH 2100, PAGES 840-841.)

Waman Vishnu Phadke is the son of Vishnu Wasudeo Phadke First Class Subordinate Judge, who served at Belgaum for many years and has since retired. He is married to the daughter of Keshavrac Patwardhan, a leading pleader of Ahmednagar, and is brother of R. B. S. V. Patwardhan, late Director of Public Instruction in the Berar. Waman has an eldest brother, Wasudeo, who is, a B.A., and LL.B. and is practising as a pleader at Sholapur. The family belongs to Miraj.

Waman is now about twenty-four years of age and graduated as B.A. from the Deccan College in 1904 and went to England the following year intending to appear for the I.C.S. About June 1908 he wrote to his father saying that he had become a nationalist and did not wish to enter the I.C.S. and would study for the Bar. His father is reported to have replied insisting on his appearing for the I.C.S., adding that if he failed to pass he could then read for the Bar. He eventually sat for this Examination at his father's request, but failed.

W. V. Phadke was first noticed in England on the occasion of the Oxford Union Society Debate on 31st October 1907 at which he spoke fluently on the danger created by Police corruption in India.

His first connection with the India House, 65, Cromwell Avenue, Highgate, London, was in August 1908, when he was reported to be a resident, studying for the Bar.....

His first public appearance was at a meeting held under the auspices of the London Indian Society on the 16th October 1908 in Caxton Hall, Westminster.....

In November of this year Phadke's name appeared in the list of passed candidates in class III (Constitutional Law and Legal History—Gray's Inn.)

In January 1909 it was reported that Phadke was managing the "India House", and that it was not in a very flourishing condition. He left the "India House" towards the end of the same month and went to live in a boarding house in the vicinity.

On the 23rd of January he was present at a meeting of the India Nationalist Society, held at Essex Hall, Essex Street, London.....

On 7th February 1909, he was present at the India House meeting, which was well attended by Nationalists and Extremists.

The following Sunday meeting of the India House Society on 14th February 1909, was attended by about twenty-two persons, including Phadke. Savarkar spoke on Nationalism, and with his usual outspokenness advocated free assassination, saying that no practical good would ever come from merely preaching and speaking.

On the 21st March, the India House meeting came off as usual, Savarkar speaking on "The History of the Indian Mutiny and the present need for a similar and much stronger rising." Amongst the other speakers was Phadke who spoke in a similar strain.

About this time Savarkar had in hand the preparation of his Mutiny Book, and it was reported that W. V. Phadke had translated part of the book into English (The Book, or part at least, was originally in Marathi). And later on he is said to have lent his whole-hearted assistance to V. D. Savarkar and Aiyar in their propaganda.

W. V. Phadke was called to the Bar on the 8th June 1910; and intends coming out to India this summer.

4

VIRENDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA

(CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICE : CIRCULAR No. 2, POLITICAL OF 1913 :
BOMBAY POLICE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE FILE No. 3120/H.)

1. V. Chattopadhyaya, familiarly known as Biren if Binnie, was born at Hyderabad, Nizam's Dominions, in 1880, the eldest son of Dr. Aghorenath Chatterji, D.Sc. (Edin.), ex-Principal and Professor of Science of the Nizam's College.

2. Chattopadhyaya passed the Matriculation Examination of the Madras University from St. George's Grammar School, Hyderabad. He is a B.A. of the Calcutta University. He went to England in 1902 to study for the I.C.S. but failed twice. He became a student of the Middle Temple in November 1909.

3. In 1903, he made the acquaintance of an English girl who lived with him as his wife for five years at 78, Lancaster Road, Notting Hill.

In 1908, they went to Shepherd's Bush and opened a confectioner's shop, this proved a failure, and after six months they returned to Notting Hill, going into lodging at 98, Lancaster Road, where they lived as Mr. and Mrs. Chatterton. Soon after this they quarrelled and parted, but Mrs. Chatterton continued to reside at 98, Lancaster Road until Chattopadhyaya left for Paris in 1910.

4. It was towards the end if 1908 that Virendranath Chattopadhyaya came prominently to notice in London.

5. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya's first reported connection with the "India House" was his presence at a meeting held there on the 28th February 1909, which was very well attended by a large number of Indian agitators.

7. On the 6th July 1909, five days after the murder of Sir W. Curzon Wyllie Chattopadhyaya wrote a letter to the 'Times' supporting V. D. Savarkar's objections to the resolution which was passed at a meeting of Indians resident in London expressing indignation at the crime of Dhingra, declaring his inability to assist Government in suppressing murders and prophesying along catalogue of coming assassinations. For the views expressed in this letter he was expelled by the Benchers of the Middle Temple.....

13. For the next three or four months Chattopadhyaya continued to attend regularly the meetings of the Free India Society. The policy of holding these meetings had been much criticised in private by some members of the extremist party and the future policy of the society was the subject of discussion at two or three meetings. The influence of Chattopadhyaya and others was, however, very considerable and they carried the majority of the extremists with them. When the policy of the society came up for discussion on the 13th February 1910 Chattopadhyaya stated that he believed in murder without rhyme or reason, and he advocated the wholesale assassination of all directly or indirectly responsible for English rule. He saw no reason to stop murders which he believed could alone effect the salvation of the country. Later, however, his views on this matter cooled down and he began to look upon murders as injurious to "the cause", as the last two assassins had shown signs of demoralisation and he believed that Kanhere's confession had led to the arrest of Chaturbhuj, and Chaturbhuj's confessions to Savarkar's arrest, but he added that he did not deprecate murder altogether.

14. During the hearing of Savarkar's case Chattopadhyaya was seen in Court on many occasions. He also visited Savarkar in Brixton jail fourteen times, and devoted a great deal of his time to arranging for his defence.

15. When V. V. S. Aiyar left for Paris in April 1910, Chattopadhyaya and G. C. Varma were elected unanimously Vice-Presidents of the London Secret Society. Before leaving for Paris, Aiyar handed over to Chattopadhyaya the revolvers which it had originally been intended to send out to India with Chanjeri Rao.....

16. Chattopadhyaya was present at the meetings of the 15th May, 22nd May and 29th May, at which he spoke with his usual fiery eloquence. The society however was becoming seriously alarmed and demoralised by the developments in Savarkar's case, and rumours of treachery amongst the members of the society and of the issue of warrants of arrest had a deciding effect upon Chattopadhyaya. In company with Madhav Rao he left London hurriedly on the 9th June for Paris which became the centre of the Indian revolutionary movement in Europe.

17. In the June number of the Indian Sociologist, it was announced that the services of V. N. Chattopadhyaya had been secured as lecturer in Hindi. The experiment, which was to be on a year's trial, was to be carried out in educational centres such as London, Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh, but Chattopadhyaya was apparently afraid to return to England.

18. Some months before leaving London Chattopadhyaya had started the Talvar (i.e., the sword) a revolutionary paper on the lines of the Bande Matram. The first issue which was dated November 1909, had on the front page a portrait of the assassin Madan Lal Dhingra to keep whose memory green the paper was started. Chattopadhyaya soon found more congenial amusements in Paris and had not the energy to continue the paper long after his arrival there. It came to an end about the middle of 1910.

22. In Paris, Chattopadhyaya resided for a time in a flat at 26, Rue Cadet, and then in the Hotel la Boetie, 92, Rue De La Boeti. He had already quarrelled with Shyamji Krishna Varma, and not long after coming to Paris he fell out with Madam Cama owing to her attempt to exercise too much control. For these reasons he rather dropped out of the revolutionary movement.

24. V. Chattopadhyaya has lately been living a life of ease and is regarded in consequence by the leaders of the movement as for the present rather lost to the revolutionary cause. He is evidently still extremely bitter against the British Government, but there seems to be some justification for Madam Cama's remark that he is "all talk and no work".

25. At the end of April 1913, Chattopadhyaya and his wife went to Switzerland. He stayed for a considerable time at Geneva, where he was seen frequently in the company of the Punjabi revolutionary Ajit Singh who lives there under the name of Mirza Hassan Khan.

J. C. KHER,
Personal Assistant to the
Director of Criminal Intelligence.

5

SIRDAR SINGHJI REVABHAI RANA

[EXTRACT FROM CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICE : CIRCULAR NO. 3
(POLITICAL), 1914.]

S. R. Rana, who was born about 1878, is a Rajput by caste and comes from the Village Kantharia in the State of Dholka, Kathiawar. He is a Bhayat of the Limbdi State and one of the claimants for the Limbdi Gadi.

He studied for some time at the Elphinstone College and took a B.A., Degree in Bombay in 1898.

After taking his degree he was assisted by the late Kumar Samatshinghji of Palitana, Kathiawar, to proceed to England to continue his studies, and became a Barrister of Gray's Inn. He was in very straitened circumstances, and while he was putting in his terms for being called to the bar he used to work for pearl merchants.

After passing his bar examinations he continued to follow the same profession and went to Paris about the year 1899 to join the firm of Jivanchand and Ootumchand Jhaveri, Pearl merchants of Paris and Surat, for whom he used to work in London. He has been residing in Paris ever since at 46 Rue Blanche. His place of business is 56 Rue Lafayette. He lives with a German woman, who passes as his wife though she was never married to him. He has a legitimate wife in India, and his son by her, born about 1895, lives with him in Paris.

Rana first came to notice as a sympathiser with the anti-British agitation through his connection with the India House in London. When Shyamji Krishna Varma, founder of the India House, announced in his Indian Sociologist for December, 1905, his new scheme for

six lectureships of Rs. 1,000 each, for enabling qualified Indians to visit Europe and other foreign countries, he also published a letter from S. R. Rana of Paris offering three travelling fellowships of Rs. 2,000 each to be called after Rana Pertab Singh, Shivaji and some distinguished Muhammadan ruler.

From the first, therefore, Rana has been an active supporter of Shyamaji Krishna Varma's anti-British schemes.

The firm of Nitisen Dwarkadas & Co., called the Eastern Export and Import Co., which was closely connected with the India House and had the same political objects in view, used to keep in constant touch with Rana in Paris.

Before 1907 Rana, Godrej of Tata Bros., Kotwal of the firm of Shroff & Co., N. V. Acharya, D. C. Varma of Amritsar and Madame Cama, seem to have been the only Indians in Paris who took an active interest in the revolutionary movement.

Rana and his German "wife" accompanied by Madame Cama attended the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart on 22nd August 1907. Madame Cama was a great friend of Rana and often used to stay with him in Paris.

After Shyamaji Krishna Varma left London for Paris in August 1907 the management of the India House soon passed to U. L. Joshi, assisted by Rana, who frequently visited London and supervised Shyamaji Krishna Varma's political business there as his right-hand man.

On the 10th May 1908 Rana presided at a meeting held at the India House to commemorate the "War of Independence of 1857". On this occasion Savarkar extolled the patriotic Nana Saheb Peshwa and the Emperor Bahadur Shah, and all the audience cheered them as martyrs. Rana also read a letter from his friend Madame Cama, who sent Rs. 75 towards the fund to commemorate the martyrs of 1857.

In Paris also Rana was a leading spirit in the revolutionary movement which received great impetus from the advent of Shyamaji Krishna Varma.

In Jan. 1908, Special enquiries regarding Indian revolutionaries in Paris showed that about 20 or 30 Indians had formed an Indo-Parisia society which was virulently anti-British. Rana was

described as one of the most virulent and Krishna Varma was said to have lent him 300,000 frs. Rana claimed to be the rightful ruler of Limbdi State, but said that he would not press his claims since he was not willing to be a slave under the British.

In May 1908 information was given to the authorities that Madame Rana was a most dangerous woman and the centre of the Indian conspiracies in Paris. The Morning post in its issues of 22nd December 1908 and 1st January 1909, published articles suggesting that Mrs. Rana (who was not mentioned by name) was the moving spirit among the Indian agitators in Paris, but subsequently the journal was compelled to publish a retraction, which appeared in its issue of the 14th 1909

We next hear of Rana as being present at a meeting in K. L. Banker's house in Paris on 14 September 1908 to receive Lala Lajpat Rai. Lajpat Rai was severely taken to task at this meeting for the moderation of his views. Lajpat Rai and a young Panjabi named Radhakishen Kapoor were Rana's guests in Paris.

On 25th October 1908 Rana was present at a private meeting held in the house of Khemchand, of Banker's firm, to receive B. C. Pal. Madame Cama came specially to Paris for this meeting.

On 18th December 1908 Rana, who was then managing the India House for Shyamaji Krishna Varma, presided at a meeting which was addressed by B. C. Pal at Caxton Hall.

B. C. Pal's main points were that Muhammadans should join the Hindus in the cause of freedom, and that individual sacrifices were necessary to achieve the Nationalist ideals.

In February 1909 Rana was reported to be the life and soul of the revolutionary party in Paris. The greatest pecuniary assistance came from him and everybody relied on him, while Shyamaji Krishna Varma was held to be of small account.

At this time Paris appears to have been the most important centre of the revolutionary movement, specially with regard to the smuggling of arms to India, and rendering pecuniary assistance to agitators in England.....

The twenty revolvers which Chatturbhuj Amin imported into India, one of which was used to murder Mr. Jackson at Nasik, were

bought by two Indians accompanied by Rana in Paris, and were delivered to Rana's address.....

In December 1909 we hear that Rana was on bad terms with Shyamaji Krishna Varma and that the quarrel was due to Rana's "wife". On one occasion this is said to have nearly led to a duel between Rana and Shymaji Krishna Varma. Rana's capital was reported in December 1909 to be only about Rs. 50,000, Shyamaji Krishna Varma having withdrawn all his loans, amounting to about four lakhs of rupees, when the slump in pearls occurred in the previous year.

V. D. Savarkars' book on the Mutiny was published under Rana's supervision and a large number of copies were stored in his house in January 1910.....

Rana acted as banker to the Abhinav Bharat Society. On 23rd August 1910 Madame Cama, V. V. S. Aiyar, and V. Chattopadhyaya as trustees of the society deposited fr. 7,500 with him at 5 per cent. interest.

In February 1911, referring to the decision of the Hague Tribunal in Savarkar's case, Rana wrote to Aiyar, "We were extremely sad, but what can be done now except patience and courage. Poor Savarkar ! But without a sacrifice no country has been free". About the same time he sent to Aiyar at Pondicherry a box which is believed to have contained 320 copies of the war of Independence.....

On 4th June 1911 Rana, Krishna Varma, Madame Cama and other revolutionaries attended a secret meeting at the house of Anopchand Malupchand Shah at Villa Garches. On the same day Madame Cama and Madhav Rao searched the cellars of the house in Mont Parnasse where the Naoroji sisters used to live, apparently to see if they had left any incriminating papers behind

In October 1911, the Agent to the Governor in Kathiawar, with the approval of the Government of Bombay, issued a notification debarring Rana from succession to the estate of his father or any other relative, and in May 1912 forfeited the estate of his father Revabhai Ratansingh. It was ordered, however, that the forfeiture would not take effect till Revabhai's death.....

In July 1912, Madame Cama deposited fr. 10,000 with Rana or behalf of the Abhinav Bharat Society at 5 per cent. interest. Rana had also in his hands fr. 7,000 belonging either to this Society or to Madame Cama personally. At this time Rana was correcting the proofs of Madame Cama's monthly paper Bande Mataram.

On 27th September 1912, Rana's associate Gobind Amin committed suicide. Rana is reported to have been much distressed by the occurrence. He afterwards obtained possession of the pistol used by Gobind Amin.....

During the summer of 1913, Rana was in constant correspondence with his relatives in Limbdi and Unchdi. He appears to have suggested buying land in a native state in place of the Giras forfeited by the Bombay Government. But his father Revabhai disapproved of the proposal.

One of his relatives wrote to Rana in October suggesting that he should ask pardon from Government as a preliminary to a petition for cancelling the forfeiture of the family estates.

In October 1913, it was reported that Rana had made an application to become a naturalised French subject. His application was supported by the Socialist Deputy Francis de Pressense, but was unsuccessful.

In December 1913, he was in correspondence with Dr. Franjiban Jagjiban Mehta who lived at 8 Signal Pagoda Road, Rangoon. Dr. Mehta had visited Europe during 1913.....

During the early months of 1914, Rana used to call at Madame Cama's house two or three times a week. When the news of Har Dayal's arrest on 25th March reached Paris, Rana and Madame Cama went together to send a telegram to Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, asking him to release Har Dayal.

In April 1914, discussing Krishna Varma's intention to settle in Switzerland, Rana said that, though some thought that Krishna Varma merely wanted to avoid having to pay increased income tax under the new law, he himself believed that Krishna Varma was going as a spy in the pay of the British Government.....

It is reported that Rana, Madame Cama and Shyamji Krishna Varma have made arrangements for a sudden flight to Switzerland if necessity arises.....*

MADAME CAMA

(BOMBAY POLICE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE FILE No. 3218/H.)

Extracts from History Sheet of Madame B. R. Cama

Madame Cama was born about 1875, the daughter of Sorabji Framji Patel of Bombay. Her Husband is the son of K. R. Cama, the Parsi reformer, and is a well-to-do solicitor at Bombay. Madame Cama received her early education at the Alexandra Parsi Girls' School, Bombay, and speaks several languages fluently. According to her own account she has been in Europe since about 1902, spending about a year each in Germany, Scotland, Paris and London.....

4. In October 1907, she arrived in New York from Havre and was interviewed at the Hotel "Martha Washington," New York, where she was staying. S. L. Joshi, Secretary of the Pan-Aryan Association and at that time working in the city as a lecturer and teacher of Oriental Languages, was present at the Interview.

5. Questioned as to her aims Madame Cama said, "Swaraj, self-government. No one conceives how we are prosecuted. I could not return to India. I am sure, only recently two cultured men were arrested and deported without trial for speaking the truth about our country's condition. Now they are locked up in Burma. The most hopeful thing is the enthusiasm that is spreading over our entire people. Starved and uneducated as many of us are, the past few years have shown an increase of millions of patriots. We shall have liberty, fraternity and equality some day. We hope for freedom within ten years".....

* It has been recently announced that Rana died at his native place in India on 29th May 1957. He returned to India after she became free in 1947.

12. Madame Cama issued a leaflet which was as follows :—

BANDE MATARAM.

A message to the People of India.

Countrymen lend me your ears, I will not take up your long time ; only five minutes. I fully understand the responsibility of what I say. I have come prepared for everything. I have but one life to give one Avatar to sacrifice. I want to speak on Methods, as I cannot keep quiet, since such tyranny is going on in our country, and so many deportations are cabled every day, and all peaceful means are denied to us.

I have neither power nor the authority to recommend this or that course to our patriotic countrymen. People who suffer in that land are the best judges of the methods to adopt. However, I speak the truth and I know when I say that the recent events in India will not affect the forward movement in the least. Are our people afraid ? No ! No ! The new Regulations are perhaps a little worse than the old ones. They may be quicker in action, but they cannot be more unjust in fact.

Some of you say that as a woman I should object to violence, Well, Sirs, I had that feeling at one time. Three years ago it was repugnant to me even to talk of violence as a subject of discussion, but owing to the heartlessness, the hypocrisy, the rascality of the Liberals, that feeling is gone. Why should we deplore the use of violence when our enemies drive us to it ? If we use force, it is because we are forced to use force. How is it that the Russian Sophy Perovoskai and her comrades are heroines and heroes in the sight of Englishmen and Englishwomen while our countrymen are considered criminals for doing exactly the same thing for the same cause ? If violence is applauded in Russia, why not in India ? Tyranny is tyranny, and torture is torture wherever applied. Success justifies any action. Struggle for Freedom calls for exceptional measures. Successful rebellion against the foreign rule is patriotism. What is life without Freedom ? What is Existence without Principles ? Friends, let us put aside all hindrances, doubts and fears. In Mazzini's words I appeal to you. "Let us stop arguing with people who know our arguments by heart and do not heed them. If our people appear degraded, it is an added reason to endeavour at all risks to make them better." Show self-respect, Indians, and set to work. The days for calling meetings and passing resolutions are now over. Do silent but solid

work. A handful of foreigners, a few Englishmen, have declared war on us. Who can wonder if we millions accept the challenge and declare war on them. The price of Liberty must be paid. Which nation has got it without paying for it ?

Thank God that our people have learnt that it is a sin to tolerate despotism. They have learnt to combat without pause ; they have learnt rather to die fearless than perish like worms. We are awakened to the sense of our power, and in the name of our ancestors and our glorious country we defy our oppressors.

The lives of four young men who are done to death, are burnt away just like incense on the altar of Motherland. Bande Mataram. On the altar of truth, justice and liberty, these noble lives are sacrificed. This flag of Bande Mataram which I wave before you was made for me by a noble selfless young patriot who is standing at the bar of the so called court of justice in our country. What a mockery to talk of Justice and Jury !! We have seen such a travesty of justice in cases of Tilak and Pillay !

Why are they imprisoned and exiled ? For what ? For speaking the truth.

Why that cringing creature, John Morley, is always talking of his Western Institutions and English Oak ? We do not want his English institutions. We want back our own country. No English Oak is wanted in India. We have our own noble banyan tree and our beautiful lotus flowers. We do not want to imitate British civilization. No Sir, we will have our own which is higher and nobler. What is Morley's civilization ? Persecution of women ? For what ? For asking their human rights. What do I see all round in this country ? Poverty, misery, robbery, and despotism.

Hindustanis ! our revolution is holy. Let us send our congratulations to our countrymen and women who are struggling against the British despotism and for their liberty. May their numbers be daily increased. May their organisations become ever so formidable. May our country be emancipated speedily. My only hope in life is to see our country free and united. I beg of you young men to march on ! March forward, Friends, and lead our helpless dying, downtrodden children of Motherland to the goal of Swaraj in its right sense. Let our motto be we are all for "India for Indians".

15. On February 11th, 1909 B. Bhattacharji was convicted of an assault on Sir William Lee-Warner and ordered to find two sureties

in £10 for six months or in default to suffer one month's imprisonment. On this occasion Madame Cama and others offered to stand surety for him, but he elected to go to prison.

16. At a meeting of the London Indian Society held on February 20th at Essex Hall, Strand, after Haidar Raza had spoken on "The relation between Hindus and Muhammadans in India" Madame Cama also spoke and before commencing took from her pocket, a silk flag on which were inscribed the words "Swadeshi" and "Bande Mataram", saying that she was in the habit of speaking under that flag which was hung over her head on the wall. She said she liked Muhammadans better than Hindus because they were stronger and more war-like people. They ought to love such people at the present crisis, for they would undoubtedly be their sole help if they had to use violence to gain their goal. Force and violence had become inevitable, and without their use liberty was a dream and a mere farce.

19. In May 1909 Madame Cama left London for Paris where she associated as before with S. R. Rana, Shyamaji Krishna Varma, and the other extreme nationalists. She interested herself chiefly in the business of preparing and forwarding to India seditious literature in the form of leaflets, and generally in assisting the revolutionary propaganda with her advice, and what was probably more valuable with her money. She was at this time one of the recognised leaders of the revolutionary movement in Paris, and was said to be regarded by the Hindus as a re-incarnation of some deity, presumably Kali.

20. In Paris, Madame Cama devoted most of her time to the publication and distribution of the "Bande Mataram" and other revolutionary literature.

21. After visiting London again Madame Cama returned to Paris on 5th August 1909 and presided at a meeting held in the office of Messrs. Tata Brothers, 52 Rue Laffitte. Anti-British speeches were made by Shyamaji Krishna Varma, J. C. Shroff, Madame Cama and others. At this period Madame Cama was frequently visited by Shyamaji Krishna Varma.

22. Later in the same month it was reported that she and Rana had combined with Krishna Varma to help Govind Amin, who was formerly a member of V. D. Savarkar's gang. He had learnt how to make explosives, and the help was given to enable him to study the manufacture of arms. It was he who was the revolver expert in Paris, and filed off the numbers of certain automatic pistols before

they were sent to India. He committed suicide in August 1912, having got into trouble over some pearls entrusted to him for sale which he converted to his own use.

23. For a considerable time little was heard of Madame Cama's doings except for the regular appearance of her paper. In July 1910 it was reported in the Paris Press that "La Citoyenne Cama", described as a Hindu Socialist was attending the Congress of the Socialist Federation of the Seine. Madame Cama had been prominent in socialist circles in Paris for some years and when the arrest and recapture of V. D. Savarkar at Marseilles on 8th July 1910 became known in Paris she used her influence with such effect that the affaire Savarkar was at once taken up in the socialist papers. Strong articles on the subject appeared in "L Humanite" under the signature of Jean Longuet an Advocate and prominent socialist who interviewed M. Pichon and others in connection with it. Another paper called "Action" published on July 23rd an article which contained the following :—" Although the affaire Savarkar has been sufficiently discussed, people have not taken much trouble up to now to find out who Savarkar is. From information kindly furnished to us by Madame Cama, editress of the 'Bande Mataram', and a young Hindu living in Paris named Mr. Har Dayal we are able to give some details of Savarkar's life and character". Accordingly we read amongst other things that "In London he was one of the most brilliant orators in English and Marathi at the 'India House' a club, situated in Highgate, where a large number of the 2,000 Hindu students who reside in the English capital used to meet every week". On July 23rd, 1910 Shyamaji Krishna Varma, V. Chhattopadhyaya, Govind Amin and Madhav Rao met Madame Cama at her house and discussed the arrangements which should be made to give a fitting reception to Savarkar as they felt sure that he would be back in Paris before the end of August.

7

NARAYAN SADASHIV MARATHE

(BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT OF 1915, No. 7.)

Narsinha Marathe is identical with *Narayan Sadashiv Marathe*. His name was found in Rash Behari Bose's notes seized in the searches made at Lahore in February last.

It would appear from information elicited from Pingle that Rash Behari heard of Marathe from Bengali anarchists in America, who

reported that Marathe during his tour through America on his way to India from Germany had given out that he had promises of assistance from Germany to facilitate the importation of arms into India and has been told that whenever he wished to avail himself of the assistance, he was to approach the German Consul, disclose the authority on which he was acting and everything would be done for him. Rash Behari was, therefore, very anxious to get in touch with him and it was for this purpose that Honnurkar was sent to ask him to go to Benares.

Marathe went to Hardwar in the beginning of April to work as a volunteer under the auspices of the Servants of India Society at the big religious fair that was held at that place in April last. I have not been able to ascertain his movements whilst he was in northern India, but am endeavouring to do so.

Marathe is apparently in sympathy with the revolutionary party, if not an active member of it. Shortly after his return from Germany he went to the Central Provinces to get in touch with Waman Sakharam Sant Akolkar who is also a German-returned anarchist now living in the Central Provinces.

In the course of his statement N. S. Marathe states :—

“Now, I come to the beginning of the war and the history of my journey home. As it will be a very long narrative I will only just jot down the points which are of any importance to this statement.

“From the first of August 1914 I intended to join the factory of Ludwig Lowe & Co. in Berlin N. W. as an apprentice in order to have experience in the common handwork as well as to see the actual making of big machinery. One year's apprenticeship is compulsory for the candidate who wants to appear for the Diplomaed Engineer's Examination.

“For this purpose I had to pay fees in a lump sum amounting to 1,000 marks. I had written home and had received just a few days before the beginning of the war a cheque of one thousand; also I had in the bank a certain amount of money i.e. 500 marks as always reserve for an emergency. I had also money with me from the last instalment for my usual expenses, so that in all I had plenty of money. Now the question came whether to stay on in Germany or to come back. I preferred at first staying on because it was really worth the trouble to live in these war times in Berlin. But after the beginning all communication with home stopped and I became

very much troubled about the anxiety that my father must be feeling about me. He was more than 82 years of age. Also I considered that though the treatment that the Germans were giving us at that time was quite gentlemanly, yet as the Indian army was going to appear on the field so perhaps they might trouble us afterwards. Then we did not know how long the war was going to last. Though I had money the others hadn't and I had to help them in this difficulty. Again if I wanted to go out then I should try as soon as possible because as time passed it would be harder and harder for us to get passports. Again a rule had been issued that no students of the inimical nations were to be allowed to continue as students in the German Universities or schools. The University students (Indians) had prepared an application to be sent to the Government stating that as they were Indians and therefore not direct enemies of the Germans, they should be allowed to study on. Also many of us had applied for a pass to get out of Germany. I also applied for the same with letters of recommendation very kindly given to me by the two abovementioned professors, viz. Professor Lampe and Professor Iolles as well as from Dr. Wenkebach and Dr. Muller.

I took leave of all my friends that I could see quite hurriedly and started on the morning of the 25th of September. I had taken a permit to cross the German and Dutch border with a special intention. I thought that others were going back to India I would be wiser and go to America. Because if the war was going to end in 6 months or a year I might not lose that much time, but see and study some things in America and as soon as the war ended come back again. From America I would communicate with Rotterdam. Here I came across a new difficulty. The ships to America were engaged and quite full for a month or two. I went to the Office. They saw me to be an Indian, and as the Immigration Laws of America are very strict and specially for the Indians, they practically refused to put my name in the list of persons to be granted passages even if there was room. I told the man that I did not want to go to America but to Mexico. And why did I want to do so? He said on my passport was written that I was a student. I told him I had got an engagement as a Private Secretary to a certain gentleman (I told him the first name that came to my mouth who was then travelling in Mexico for research work or something like that). He thought perhaps that was all right, so long as this gentleman did not go to the U. S. A. he had no obligation. He put my name on the list. On the day of departure I went there and fortunately got a 2nd class passage to New York direct. Just as I was going to leave the Offices of the Company I was surprised to see Mr. Dhiren Sarkar come in through the door. He was also quite surprised to see me. It had

happened that he had also got permission to go to Holland a few days before me. Consequently he had come to Rotterdam a few days earlier. Again he had been in America before coming to Europe and his passport was given to him in America. So he claimed to be a bona fide Indian student in America. So he was also able to take a ticket on the same boat. So we asked the clerk to put us in the same cabin which he did. That is how I got a companion from Europe to America.

It was my misfortune that I made the acquaintance of Chakravarty in New York. It was the introductions I received from and through him that brought me in contact with the revolutionary party in America. Once I got in touch with them I had no alternative but to hear what they chose to say. I did not express approval of the views they expressed. On the contrary I argued in opposition and endeavoured to point out that it was futile their expecting to attain anything by a revolution and that moreover a revolution was an impossibility. I did not urge my views with any vehemence so as to provoke their anger, but calmly tried to convince them that their ideas were erroneous.

He asked me how many Indians there were in Germany at that time and how they were treated. I told him that we were treated quite fairly and were looked upon neither as friends nor foes by the general populace. Of course the laws for all British subjects, Englishmen or Indians, were the same. But they were very mildly applied to the Indians, as they were thought to be involuntary enemies. He asked me whether the Germans did not expect the Indians to create a disturbance in India. I said, of course, almost every German asked me whether they could expect anything like that and some of the newspapers published reports about there having been already some disturbances in India. Indeed one newspaper had published an Extra with a big heading "Revolution in India". He asked me about the views that we, that is the Indian students in Germany, had in the matter. I told him that I could only speak of my friends in Berlin and that though everybody's heart was fluttering with the hope of freedom, yet none spoke of his readiness to go to India and help his countrymen. Indeed everybody seemed to feel that it was after all impossible and inadvisable, and, yet, such is the effect of a free atmosphere that we were all sorry that we could not acquire our freedom, as we were too feeble and too divided to derive any happiness from it. That is at least the general impression that I had formed.

As to the report about me, that he is said to have given about my being specially come to see the Ghadr party from Germany, it might

have been a rumour that could have easily spread on account of my coming from Germany at such a time and being in communication with the party. But as I have also visited the other Indian students that were at that time present in San Francisco, and on being once introduced I was not able in the name of decency to break my connection with the Sikhs, it is clear that I have acted in the best manner I could. But Mr. Sant can himself tell that I was never in any intimate relation with any of them.

8

HANMANT APPAJI alias MURKIBHAVEKAR KULKARNI

(EXTRACT FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT OF 1911. PARAGRAPHS 714, 1374.)

The Political Agent Kolhapur and S. M. writes on 1st April 1911 :—

I have given orders that Nagpurkar on leaving Kolhapur should be shadowed to his destination. He, Krishnaji Dadaji Kulkarni and Hanmant Annaji Kulkarni are all most dangerous characters and they should be carefully watched, especially when His Majesty visits India. As far as I recollect H. A. Kulkarni was last reported at Benares.

10th June 1911.—I. G. P. Indore State, reports that Hanmantrao Kulkarni alias Bhimaji Murkibhavekar, the originator and leader of the Shivaji club, Kolhapur, who has been turned out of Nepal Territory, has now been reported as having come to Indore State and joined the P. W. D. at Indore. The persons noted below are said to have more or less assisted him (1) Bodas, (2) Oak, clerk-P. W. D., (3) Anant Appaji Lele (Sadar Court-clerk).

9

APPA RAO BHAT

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT No. 7 OF 1910.)

Appa Rao Bhat is reported to be concerned in the Kolhapur sedition case. He arrived at Raxaul from Nepal on the 23rd ultimo and left for Sonapur at once.

He was shadowed there by a C. I. D. detective, whose report is subjoined :—

“I had a talk with the man and ascertained from him that he is a Mahratta Erahman and subscriber to the *Kesari*, a paper edited by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. His married sister is living in

Nepal at present. He is a follower of Mr. Tilak, and about two years ago, visited his native place Karnatak where he lost his wife. He said that there are six families of Mahratta Brahmins in Nepal. The British Government was afraid that the community of Mahrattas in Nepal would poison the minds of Nepalese with their extremist propaganda, and hence the Maharaja of Nepal was requested to take steps against the Mahrattas and stop the circulation of seditious papers in Nepal. Other papers had also been stopped. He also received information that a list of his associates, numbering about seven or eight men, were sent to Nepal, and amongst them was Benaik Rao Bhat. This Benaik Bhat proceeded from Raxaul to Benares a day before Appa Rao left Raxaul, and they had left Nepal together. Benaik took away the luggage of Appa Rao, and it was arranged that Benaik would wait for him at Benares City railway station. Appa Rao generally stops at the Serai at Baremghat, but he said he would not stop there this time, as it was not safe for him to do so. He was anxious that he might reach his native place safe and feared his arrest in this part of the country. He said he was a tile contractor and was in the employ of the Nepal Darbar, but was dismissed since two months. It seems there is something serious against him at Poona. He said that the Police had arranged to take possession of his letters, and he was quite sure that some of them had already fallen into their possession. He gave his address as Chitra Shala Press, Poona. He said he had attended the Lucknow, Bombay and Poona Congresses. I remarked that his gold ring had a monogram B. K. engraved on it. He left Sonepur at 4 p.m. by the Bhatni train and purchased a ticket for Benares City. He was followed and shadowed by a Saran Sub-Inspector and made over to the Benares Police. Appa Rao said that he would stop at Benares for about a week at least. He said that national education would help in bringing the people of India together for the ultimate struggle for freedom."

10

GOVIND NARAYAN POTDAR

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT NO. 7 OF 1910, PAGE 520.)

Potdar is an Extremist and a protege of Dr. Moreswar Gopal Deshmukh, M.D., B.Sc. He is a Deshastha Brahmin, resident of Akalkot, Sholapur District, and was educated at H. H., the Nizam's College, Hyderabad. He graduated as a private student in the University of Madras in 1903 and subsequently left for Japan to

study Applied Chemistry, his expenses being defrayed by the 'Hindu Education Fund' of which Dr. Deshmukh is a Trustee. While there he appears to have taken a large part in the Indo-Japanese Association, Tokio which appears to have some connection with the India House (There is some presumption for the belief that the environment of India House, Tokio, is as bad as that of its namesake of London and that there are influences at work undermining the loyalty of youths who go to Tokio and elsewhere in Japan to complete their education) there and he edited the India House Magazine which is described as an Industrial Journal. Hotilal Varma told Govind Pandurang Bapat, the Bomb maker of Poona, that he had met Potdar in Japan, and the acquaintance was probably made or renewed during his (Hotilal's) stay at Tokio during May 1907 (vide his Diary) when he came in contact with all the Indian students there and the Indo-Japanese Association. Potdar also made the acquaintance there of Khatao of the Belgaum Match Factory and also his friend who appears to be connected with this factory too and he probably also met K. D. Kulkarni who was in Japan from 1899-1904 and who was known at the Indo-Japanese Association : the latter was one of the instigators in the Ferris Conspiracy.

On Potdar's return to India in December 1907 he launched his 'Western Manufacturing Company' with a Factory at Mahim, Bombay, known as the 'Pioneer Alkali Works' for the manufacture of washing soda and buttons. Part of the funds for this enterprise was obtained on loan from the 'Paisha Fund' of Poona.

Potdar also endeavoured to float a company for the manufacture of sulphuric acid but the necessary funds were not forthcoming : similarly also his attempt to float a company with a capital of a Lakh of rupees in Rs. 20 shares for the purpose of starting a Swadeshi Match Factory.

While in Japan he appears to have acquired knowledge of bomb-making and it is significant that his name should have cropped up when Bapat and Hotilal were deep in a discussion of bomb-making in Tilak's house, Poona and that he should have been specifically mentioned in Hotilal's diary as among those who came to meet him on his arrival in Bombay on the 26th February 1908 after his visit to Tilak in Poona. Possibly it was Potdar who sent, at Hotilal's suggestion, the 45 pages of manuscript bomb-formula which Bapat states he received from Bombay by book-post about the 15th March 1908. The evidence that can be further adduced from Joshi's and Bapat's statements more than support this. On the explosion in Apte's Wada on the 16th May 1908, Joshi under Bapat's instructions

took over possession of these bomb-formulæ from Keshav Agashe Bapat's intimate friend, in whose possession they were, and after getting a translation made of certain of the formulæ into Marathi had copies sent to G. B. Deshpande, B. B. Deshpande, S. V. Kowjalgi and Waman Sakharam Khare, all of whom he knew to be patriots. Meanwhile Joshi got into contact with Potdar personally, about June 1908, and obtained from him a manuscript bomb formulæ and a promise to supply him with acids. This bomb formulæ Joshi took with him to G. B. Deshpande at Belgaum, and on the latter comparing this one with the bomb formula received by Bapat from Bombay they were found to be identical.

On the occasion on which Joshi made this trip to Belgaum he started from Bombay in the company of Potdar who put up at Belgaum with his friends of the Belgaum Match Factory, Khatao and Company. Joshi got Potdar and his friends to examine and give him their opinion on the liquid extracted from the bomb sent from Poona for use against H. H. and Colonel Ferris.

Potdar's knowledge of bomb-making seems to have been well-bruited about and besides Damodar Hari Joshi, K. D. Bhagwat, Dr. Athale, K. D. Limaye and perhaps also Pandurang Shastri went to him to acquire the art, and from Joshi's and Limaye's statements it would appear that he was not in the least backward in imparting his knoweldge or misdirecting the use of the chemicals at his disposal.

In September last Potdar was endeavouring, with the assistance of other well-known extremists of Bombay and Surat, to assist one Gotare Givanram from Rajmundry in the Madras Presidency to float a company for the purpose of starting a paper-mill. Givanram is a man after Potdar's kidney : a rank extremist who has acquired scientific knowledge of various sorts, including perhaps bomb-making in Japan.

Potdar gave evidence on behalf of Hotilal Varma when the latter was being tried in Bengal under sections 121A and 124A and he also seems to be in touch with the Extremists of Calcutta for K. V. Bhandivad who was anxious to obtain some knoweldge of pottery manufacture, went to Calcutta under a letter of introduction from Potdar and put up at he Mahratta Lodge.

The latest information regarding Potdar is that he has been appointed Manager of the ' Dyeing and Weaving Company ' shortly to be started at Belgaum. From the information we possess it would

appear that Potdar besides being an extremist is a centre for the spread of knoweldge in bomb-making, and in the industries with which he has been connected there are exceptional facilities for cloaking any work he may have undertaken in this direction. He would, therefore, appear a decidedly dangerous individual whose movements and doings would require careful watching and should he turn up in Eelgaum he should at once be brought under surveillance and a special note kept as to his particular friends and associates ; meanwhile the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, should endeavour to find out Potdar's doings at Mahim."

11

SOME REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS OF KOLHAPUR

(FROM POLICE SECRET ABSTRACT No. 7 OF 1910, PAGE 982.)

Below is published a brief history of some persons in the Kolhapur State connected with the extremist propaganda :—

1. *Damodhar Mahadeo Sonar*.—A goldsmith by caste. Age thirty. Was born at Kolhapur. Present residence, Bombay. Studied up to 7th English standard in Private English School at Kolhapur. Was convicted of theft said to have been committed in company of D. H. Joshi in 1900. Member of Shivaji Club.

2. *Ganesh Balwant Modak*.—Konkanastha Brahmin ; age forty ; was born at Kolhapur. Present residence, Kolhapur. Received school education at Kolhapur and became B.A., after learning for some days in Bombay and Poona. Is at present under arrest on a charge of conspiring to murder Colonel Ferris, the late Political Agent, Kolhapur. Was Head Master at Pandharpur where he quarrelled with the Police Authorities when he exhibited a much defiant attitude towards the rule and authority. Then he went to Rajkot where also he quarrelled and had to leave the service in consequence. Was reporting the Kolhapur Bomb Case Trial to the Rashtramat and subsequently became its sub-editor. Was convicted in Bombay for publishing Swaraj through his Vartaman Agency. All the known leaders of sedition are his friends.

3. *Damodhar Hari Joshi*.—Deshastha Barhmin ; aged twenty-nine ; was born at Sangavde near Kolhapur. Is in custody of the Kolhapur Police on various charges. Studied up to 5th Marathi standard in a Vernacular School at Kolhapur. Was a leading member of the Shivaji Club and committed dacoities and thefts at several times

with the other members of the Club and was convicted for one of them. Very desperate and daring character. Being known to all concerned it is unnecessary to offer any further remarks about him. Has been convicted for conspiring to murder Colonel Ferris and sentenced to seven years and for posting placards and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of one thousand rupees.

4. *Shripad Dattatraya Nagpurkar*.—Deshastha Brahmin ; age thirty-two ; was born at Kolhapur. Is under arrest for conspiring to murder Colonel Ferris. Was in the Kolhapur High School and Rajaram College up to P. E. when he joined the Science College of Poona. Was a friend of Damodhar Joshi and also of Govind Bapat, Gokhale and Gadre, accused in the Ferris Bomb Case.

5. *Hanmant Ganesh Deshpande*.—Deshastha Brahmin, age twenty-five ; was born at Belgaum. Residing at present at Belgaum and sometimes at Mazgaum a village of Kurundwad State (Junior) near Belgaum. Educated up to Matric in Belgaum High School. He is a great friend of G. B. Deshpande of Belgaum and belongs to the party of extremists there. Damodar Hari Joshi of Kolhapur kept the "lota" in which the bomb intended to be used against Colonel Ferris was filled up, and also some pistols and a revolver which all were confiscated subsequently and Hanmant Ganesh was convicted under the Arms Act by the State Karbhari of (Junior) Kurundwad and fined Rs. 200.

6. *Gangadhar Vishwanath Gokhale*.—Konkanastha Brahmin ; age twenty-two ; was born at Kolhapur and at present undergoing a sentence of imprisonment in Kolhapur Jail. Was educated up to Matric in the private English School at Kolhapur after which he joined the College of Science at Poona. He brought from Poona the "lota" in which the bomb intended to be used against Colonel Ferris was filled up and also some revolvers from one Ramchandra Balkrishna Gadre and Govind Pandurang Bapat, and conveyed the same to Damodhar Joshi. He has been convicted by Mr. Kincaid for the theft of chemicals from Private School, Kolhapur, for manufacturing bombs, and was sentenced to four years' imprisonment, and also he was convicted in the case for writing and posting bomb-placards and received a sentence of three months' imprisonment, and in the case of attempting to murder Colonel Ferris he received a sentence of two years' imprisonment. This young man is of a daring character and will have to be carefully watched after his release from the jail as there appears to be no chance of repentance from the course he pursued.

7. *Govind Pandhrang Bapat*.—Konkanastha Brahmin ; age twenty-seven ; born at Poona ; is at present in Kolhapur Jail. Was educated in Poona and left studies after going through certain course in the Sub-Overseer's class in the College of Science, Poona. From inquiries it has appeared that a certain Bengali man taught him to make bombs and that he also possessed a copy of MS. of the recipes of making bombs similar to the one that was found in the Maniktola gardens. He used to visit Tilak and received instructions and encouragement from that quarter. He was also a follower of Dr. Annasahib Patwardhan of Poona who also helped him in such pursuits. While in custody before the trial he wrote a letter to Dr. Patwardhan and gave it secretly for posting to the sepoy who was on his watch. From this letter the fact that he was in the hands of Tilak and Patwardhan is amply established. One Sitaram Bhaskar Joshi of Nasik came to see Bapat while the trial was proceeding in the Magistrate's Court and Mr. Phansalkar, a pleader from Satara, also came with Joshi and applied for an interview with Bapat. It is also reported there is one Karambalikar boia in Poona and some Mangs near Poona who are friends of Bapat. Bapat was convicted and sentenced by Mr. Kincaid to seven years' imprisonment and a fine of one thousand rupees. Bapat, Garde and Gokhale and some more persons had their hand in the explosion that took place in Apte's wada in Poona. Bapat is a daring man.

8. *Keshawa Waman Padalkar*.—Deshastha Brahmin ; age twenty-eight ; was born at a village called Padli near Kolhapur. Resides at Padli, but often comes to Kolhapur. Studied up to the sixth Marathi standard. Was a trusted companion of Damodar Joshi and took part in various undertakings with him. He wrote some plays MSS. of which were found in his house. These exhibited a conception of bitter hatred towards Government on the part of the author. He was tried along with Damodhar Joshi and others by Mr. Kincaid and sentenced to one year's imprisonment in the placard case.

9. *Parsoo Narayan Sutar*.—A Maratha Sutar (carpenter) by caste ; age nineteen ; was born at Kolhapur and now is in custody, as a charge of incendiarism is pending against him and Damodhar Hari Joshi in the Court of Committing Magistrate, of Kolhapur. Has learnt up to fourth Marathi standard. He is another trusted right hand man of Damodhar Joshi, and was convicted in the placard case and has undergone a sentence of nine months' imprisonment. His wife's house is in Belgaum and he knows G. B. Deshpande and others having visited them in company of Damodhar Joshi.

10. *Ramchandra Balkrishna Gadre*.—Konkanstha Brahmin ; age thirty ; present residence not known and where he was born is

not known. Was educated in the Private English School at Kolhapur and has passed Matriculation. For some time he was employed as a teacher in New English School at Poona after which he joined the periodical published in Poona called Mumukshu. Was a great friend of Bapat who made the bomb intended against Colonel Ferris. The explosion in the Apte's Wada in Poona took place in the room occupied by him. It appears that he has learnt the making of bombs from the Bengali man who taught Eapat. He, Bapat and Gokhale and some others formed a regular club in Poona and they were all tools in the hands of Tilak and others. Was tried with Bapat and others for attempting to kill Colonel Ferris, but Mr. Kincaid acquitted him. Soon after his acquittal he absconded and when a Notice of Appeal from the order of acquittal was issued against him he was nowhere to be found. There is warrant kept standing against him in Kolhapur. It is said that he is at Tasgaum or Bhilavdi in the Satara District.

11. *Narayan Jyiram Padhye*.—Karhada Brahmin ; age twenty-one ; was born in Kolhapur ; present residence, Kolhapur, but has been in the Private English School at Kolhapur and has passed Matriculation. His father is a Native Vaidya and is a relative of Shenolikars. Sarvottam Janardhan Shenolikar and Padhye and Gangadhar Vishwanath Gokhale and Narayan Balaji Ambapkar were joint friends. They all joined Damodhar Joshi and decided to make bombs and kill the Europeans in Kolhapur. This Padhye wrote parts of the condemned placards and was brought down from Calcutta. On conviction he received a sentence of nine months' imprisonment. After writing the placards he went to join the National Medical College at Calcutta and was a student there when a warrant was issued for his arrest. His wife is a daughter of the present State Karbhari of Vishalgad whose brother also is the State Karbhari of Kagal.

12. *Sarvottam Janardhan Shenolikar*.—Karhada Brahmin ; age twenty-two ; was born at Kolhapur ; at present undergoing a sentence of imprisonment in Kolhapur Jail. Was educated in the Private English School at Kolhapur and joined the High School for Matric Class when he was arrested. Was convicted for the theft of chemical from the private English School and is also convicted for writing the placards and has been sentenced in all to five years' imprisonment. His father was the Special Police Officer of Kolhapur State at the time of his arrest and his elder brother was in the College of Science, Poona, from where he has since passed as a Sub-Overseer and is in search of employment. Certain clue was found that some of the students in the College of Science were in the plot of anarchism and this brother of Sarvottam was among them, but the Kolhapur Police could not work up the clue for various reasons.

13. *Narayan Balaji Ambapkar*.—Deshastha Brahmin, age twenty-one; was born at Kolhapur; at present serving his sentence in the Kolhapur Jail. Was educated in the Private English School at Kolhapur and was in the Matric class with Shenolikar in the High School at the time when they both were arrested. He has been sentenced for stealing the chemicals and writing the placards, in all four years and three months.

14. *Bhausahib Ghatge* alias *Zunzarrao*.—Maratha; age thirty-five; was born at Gargoti in Kolhapur State; present residence, Gargoti; was educated upto Matric in the Private English School, Kolhapur. Was an active member of the Shivaji club and great friend of Hanmantrao Murkibhavekar. When the latter returned from Nepal had come to Kolhapur and went to Gargoti to see Zunzarrao. He is also an intimate friend of Damodhar Joshi and gave evidence to prove Police torture in favour of Damodhar in the cases of the Political dacoities, but the evidence was disbelieved. Is a good shot and plays dandpatta and handles javelin with some skill. At present he occupies himself in farming at Gargoti where he has his own land, but often visits Kolhapur and goes to Baroda where his niece is given in marriage.

15. *Krishna Maruti Kalambe*.—Maratha; age thirty; born at Malem in Alta Petha; at present a school-master at Koregaum in Satara District. Was educated at Satara where he passed his Vernacular Public Service Examination and then joined the Poona Training College and passed in 3rd class. Is an agitator and friend of Bapat who made the bomb to be used against Colonel Ferris.

12

VISHNU GANESH PINGLE

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACTS FOR 1915, PARAS. 277, 295.)

S. B., Bombay, April 14th—

The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., writes :—

“After the breaking up of the Samrath Vidyalaya, Vishnu Ganesh Pingle started a hand-loom weaving factory at different places in Hyderabad Territory and having raised some money he proceeded to America in 1911. He attended the University at Seattle and used to work as a labourer to maintain himself. When

the war broke he found he could not get work, so returned to India. During his stay in America he got acquainted with most of the Indians in that country and took an interest in politics. He was particularly friendly with some Bengalis and Sikh emigrants from Canada, several of whom were fellow passengers with him on the *Salamis*. He got in touch with the Bengali anarchists in Calcutta through Satyaboshen Sen, one of the American returned Bengalis. Through the Calcutta Bengalis he got introduced to Rash Behari Bose at Benares and during December, January, February and March, he travelled over the Punjab making and reviving numerous acquaintances with the returned Sikh emigrants and other sympathisers of the revolutionary movement. He went about disguised as a Bengali or Punjabi and under assumed names to suit his disguise for the time being. He visited the lines of several Indian Regiments trying to seduce the soldiers and was engaged doing this when he was arrested."

S. B., Bombay, April 10th—

Vishnu Ganesh Pingle alias Shamlal alias Ganpat Singh was arrested on the night of the 23rd March in the Cavalry lines, Meerut, with ten bombs of the pattern used in the attempt to assassinate the Viceroy, several scent bottles filled with phosphorous solution and a big bottle containing solution, in his possession. He had recently brought these from Benares.

This Vishnu Ganesh Pingle is identical with the Samarth Vidyalaya student. He is not a native of Barsi but of Talegaon Dhamdhare in the Sirur Taluka of the Poona District where his family own some land.

His father, Ganesh Govind Pingle (deceased), was a petition writer in the Sub-Judges' Court at Talegaon. Vishnu has two elder brothers, Mahadev, the eldest, who is a section writer in the Sub-Judge's Court at Amalner, East Khandesh, and Keshav who looks after the family house and lands at Talegaon. After the breaking up of the Samarth Vidyalaya, Vishnu returned to Talegaon from where he left for America in 1911 with funds provided by Keshav. He joined the University at Seattle and returned to India last year landing at Calcutta on the 20th November from the *S. S. Salamis*. Since then he had been lost sight of.

V

MOVEMENT IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

INDIA AND IRELAND WORKING TOGETHER

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT OF 1906, No. 7, PAGES 109-111.)

S. B., Bombay March 31st.—The following communication has been received from the C. I., Simla :—

A copy of the New York, newspaper, THE GAELIC AMERICAN, of the 9th December 1905, was received by the last mail of January, addressed to "The students, 1st class, Madrassa, Calcutta, India." The first article in this issue is headed "India and Ireland working together" and runs as follows :—

They have a common enemy and are at last adopting a common policy—Two remarkable Hindustani documents appealing to the native soldiers to stand by their own people—Indian salt and Irish example—From Scinde to Shannon.

Ireland and India have a common enemy, which has succeeded in holding them down, robbing and starving them, by sowing division race hatred, and religious animosity among the people. Without the help of Irishmen in England's service no Irish effort for freedom has ever yet been put down, and the Indian soldier in England's pay is the chief obstacle to the emancipation of his own country. The Irish soldier of the British Army contributed largely by his valour to the conquest of India and to the suppression of insurrection and it is well-known that the English Government intends to use Sikhs, Gurkhas and Pathans against Ireland in her next struggle to shake off the yoke of England.

The two documents in the Hindustani language one in Persian, the other in Sanskrit characters—which will be found below, each written and translated into English by a native Indian, have reached The Gaelic American from widely separated places, and will show how vigorously the gospel of liberty is being preached in India, and how rapidly the Irish and the Indian peoples are adopting concurrent lines of action. God speed the work.

The first of the two documents referred to is in Hindi and is written in the Kaithi character ; the second is in Urdu in the Persian character. Both have been reproduced by photo-zincography or some similar process. The text of the translation is as follows :—

1. The Touch of a Whip to an Arab Stead

The Irish people in America and Ireland, and the American people also have great sympathy with the rising aspiration of the Indian

people, who are oppressed by the perfidious British Government. We want to make it clear to the Indian people, and especially to the Indian sepoys, that it is their own fault that their country does not belong to themselves. The cunning and hypocritical English Government makes the Indian people cut the branch on which they stand with their own axe.

We, therefore, advise Indians to refrain from joining the British Army and not to aid the English in oppressing the Indians. It is sinful for Hindus and Musalmans to fight against their own countrymen on whose salt they are fed, for it is on Indian salt and not on English salt the sepoys are fed.

The British steal the salt of the Indian people by force and give it to the sepoys to fight against their own flesh and blood and against other people in Asia—Afghans, Tibetans and others. This is a fatal sin, and the sepoys should not fire on their own people and their brothers in Asia when the English order them, but should go on the side of Indians and the other people in Asia.

A word of advice to a sensible man is like the touch of a whip to an Arab steed.

We hope Indians and Indian sepoys will take the advice to heart—India first—India last—and India for ever.

Hail Mother : Hail Motherland : See thy children walking hand in hand.

II. Learn a Lesson from Ireland

It is superfluous to tell the people of India that the oppression of England in India has exceeded all bounds. The English have divided the people of Bengal with a view to weaken the strength of the Bengalis.

It is superfluous to tell the people of India that the oppression of Parliament of England and trying to awaken the English conscience, they should appeal to their own men in the army, their relatives, and their officers in British service. If the Hindustani Army demands something, it is sure they will get as much in one day as the beggars of the Congress could not succeed in twenty years to get. What is needed is to approach the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, and Pathans—and not the Englishmen. The reason why the people have succeeded in Russia is that the officers in the army help the patriots

and well-wishers of the country, and the police officers overlook to arrest those that agitate for common rights.

Recently in Japan, when the people rioted to show their resentment against the peace terms of Russia as accepted by Mikado, the soldiers and the police were sent to arrest them. But when the soldiers arrived at the spot, the rioters asked the soldiers whether they were no longer Japanese by being soldiers. The soldiers replied, they were Japanese undoubtedly. The rioters then said "you better walk here and there, and let us do what we please, for we do not intend to harm any one : all that we will do is to punish those that are a cause of our disgrace." Hence the Japanese soldiers kept quiet and themselves took part in the proceedings. Are there no such patriotic well-wishers of the country among Indian soldiers ? Certainly there are.

It has been heard more than once from the Indian soldiers that personally and privately they are tired of the English. Their pay is much less than that of the English ; that is, the English soldiers are paid four times as much as the Indian soldiers. The English soldiers are given free board and lodging, the Indians have to supply their own board.

But the Indian soldiers say, what can they do ? Their educated countrymen hate them ; whereas, if they advise them, they are ready to follow.

Therefore, educated men of India, police officers, and officers in the army, if you happen to read THE GAELIC AMERICAN, think over this problem and try to act accordingly, for the liberty of India hangs on your decision.

There are several other articles, mostly of a seditious character, on the subject of the relations between India and Great Britain, of which the following is an example :—

Indo-Irish Conference

The Gaelic American feels so strongly the importance, as well as the necessity, that the fight for the freedom and independence of Ireland should be carried on in alliance with all who are struggling against British oppression that it has decided to adopt the policy of concurrent action with the national movement now in progress in India, and to assist it in every way possible. We are ready to do the same for South Africa, so that with Ireland attacking on the West, India on the East, and South Africa in the Centre, it will go

hard if in a few years the three allies by concurrent action in a righteous cause cannot bring the brutal British Government to reason.

Already its power is tottering. The infamous Milner, having turned a prosperous South Africa into a howling waste, has disappeared into the limbo of the lost. Curzon the earthen pot that collided with the iron pot Kitchner, as the two floated down the current of the Hindu Ganges, has gone to the bottom, leaving an execrated memory behind him. To finish all the two confederates whom a crass and brutalized people put to rule over them, Balfour and Chamberlain, have toppled from power, while the British capital is the scene of processions of the starving, the hooting and jeering of royalty and its social and political parasites, and the dispersion by the police in the heart of the richest and largest city in the world, of crowds assembled to protest against the "charity" of Britain's land and money, thieves being accepted as a substitute for justice and human right.

With the enemy's citadel in the state of confusion which these conditions produce, we think it all the more important to carry on the attack with relentless purpose, and feel sure that with the multiplied force of a triple alliance and the concurrent action of Ireland, South Africa and India, the war against the tyrannical rule of the British can be brought to a successful and happy conclusion.

It has been ascertained that the address on the wrapper of the copy sent in the Calcutta Madrassa is in the handwriting of Direndro Nath Mookerjee, a Bengalee student, now studying at Corcallis, Oregon, U.S.A. One of his fellow-students is Mahesh Chandra Sinha alias Mahesh Singh, and it is possible that he is the writer of both the seditious documents.

2

THE INDIAN BRANCH OF THE GERMAN INTELLIGENCE BUREAU AT BERLIN

(BOMBAY POLICE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE FILE No. 3120/H.)

The German Intelligence Bureau the headquarters of which are at 28, Wieland Strasse Charlotteoburge, Berlin, has established an Indian Branch known as the "Indian National Party". Virendra-nath Chattopadhyaya, son of the late Dr. Agher Nath Chattopadhyaya of Hyderabad and the brother of the poetess Sarojini Naidu is at the head of this branch and Chempakraman Pillai the protege of Sir Walter Strickland is one of the members. Har Dayal, who has also

joined the party, has been sent on a special mission to Turkey. The first work of the party was to decide who among the Indians in Germany should be interned and who should be enrolled as members to work against Britain in Germany and elsewhere. The interned Indians have been interned at the concentration camp at Ruhleben but are kept apart from the British prisoners there.

The members of the Indian National Party are well supplied with funds by the German Government and it is reported that they have also received money from America. The chief members of the party are provided with credentials authorising them to get any assistance they may require from German Consuls in neutral countries.

The principal work of this party will apparently be the preparation and distribution of anti-British literature in all languages. They will publish a weekly paper called HINDUSTANI OR CORRESPONDENZ-BLATT DER INDESCHEN NATIONAL PARTIE, and will also issue a series of pamphlets. A copy of the first of this series has been received. It is written by Mansur Rifat, the Egyptian Nationalist, and is entitled "Unverdict sur L' Angelture". The pamphlet, which is a well got up booklet of 16 pages with a dark red cover, consists of a series of extracts from speeches and public documents relating to the British occupation of Egypt, with a preface and conclusion by Mansur Rifat. The object of the pamphlet is to show to the Swiss people how Egypt, "the independence of which England promised to respect, after 32 years and in spite of the solemn promises of statesmen, still groans under the oppressive rule of perfidious Albion". This pamphlet is being issued in several languages. Copies have been sent to every professor in Switzerland and to a number of societies. Chattopadhyaya visited Switzerland in the middle of May and established agencies of his party at Geneva and Zurich. He also went to Lucerne where he met the Egyptian Nationalist Farid Bey, who had just returned from Constantinople.

3

AMERICANS' OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

(EXTRACT FROM SECRET ABSTRACTS, 1910, C. I. D., BOMBAY,
PAGES 736 TO 738.)

Abstract of Open Letter.

An Open Letter has been addressed to President Roosevelt in protest against his recent laudatory characterization of British rule in India at the Metropolitan Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church in

Washington. The protest has 18 signers, members of the *Society for the Advancement of India*, of New York, and others, including Revd. Dr. J. T. Sunderland, Hartford; Moorfield Storey, Boston; Erving Winslow, Boston; Dr. Leslie Willis Sprague, New York; Rev. Dr. R. Heber Newton, New York; J. Collins Pumpelly, New York; John J. Murphey, New York; Dr. John H. Girdney, New York; Dr. John Milton Dexter, New York; J. H. Postlethwaite, New York; Myron H. Phelps, New York; Revd. Dr. Frank O. Hall, New York; Revd. Dr. Merle St. Croix Wright, New York; Charles B. Soutter, Aiken, S. C. : Hon. Chas. H. Aldrich, of Chicago, formerly solicitor-general of the United States; Revd. Jenkin Lloyd Jones of Chicago; Louis F. Post, of Chicago; S. Solis Cohen, Philadelphia.

Worse than Russian Despotism

In refutation of the President's assertion that British rule in India is a "colossal success" the letter declares that, on the contrary, it is a despotism worse than that of Russia as far as possible removed from the ideal of the Government at the head of which he stands and which he is supposed to believe in and represent. "The people of India have no voice whatever in the management of their own affairs. The small number of Indians on Government councils are, with rare exceptions, appointed by the Government. Their functions are merely advisory. They have no power in the management of Indian affairs." "Not a tax can be changed, not a rupee of the people's own money appropriated for any purpose, however urgent, without the consent of British officials. Even the new 'reforms' proposed by Lord Morley will effect no essential change. Lord Morley himself declares: 'If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or necessarily up to a parliamentary system for India, I, for one, would have nothing to do with it'."

Imprisonment without Trial

"Not only," it is alleged, "are the Indian people allowed no part in shaping the destiny of their own country, but even freedom of speech and of assembly are permitted only under the severest limitations and the most galling espionage, and freedom of the press has been taken away". Today fully one hundred editors are serving terms of from three to ten years in prison, many of them without trial, without having opportunity to defend themselves, in not a few cases without even having been informed of the nature of their offence. The crime almost invariably charged is "Sedition". In India the mere discussion of reforms is punished by open or secret imprisonment. There is no Indian home that is not liable at any

hour of the day or night to be forcibly entered and searched at the instigation of spying police. There is no Indian gentleman, however high his standing or unimpeachable his character, who may not at any moment be arrested and hurried away to an unknown prison. Nine such arrests and incarcerations took place recently in a single week. Even distinguished Englishmen visiting India have their mail tampered with and are shadowed by the police if they are so much as suspected of any sympathy with the Indian people.

Despotic Censorship of Press

"All telegraphic and other news from India is closely censored," it is said, "in the English interest". What is learned by the world is for the most part only the English view. But one in Mr. Roosevelt's position, the protest insists, should have adequately informed himself before undertaking to speak on a subject affecting the interests of some three hundred millions of people. Adequate information is available. The English Labour Party is taking up the wrongs of India, determined that they shall no longer be ignored. Distinguished and able Englishmen, many of them members of Parliament who have also had long service in India, are, in increasing numbers, espousing the cause of India, resolved that the truth shall be known. Sir Henry Cotton, M. P., is quoted: "Indian administration as carried on today is a system of pure Absolutism from the Viceroy downwards, as autocratic as that of the Czar of Russia." The idea that the Indian people have any real share in the Government of their own country, he pronounces "absolutely illusory".

Unjust Denial of Self-Government

The letter insists that to assert, as the President did, that India is incapable of governing herself is to "fly in the face of history. India governed herself for thousands of years. In the history of India, we find empires as illustrious and well ordered, as any in Europe". The same objections were made by the supporters of Lord North's Government regarding the American colonies—that "if left to their own direction they would speedily fall into mutual strife, anarchy and ruin". In like manner when Japan began her modern career it was generally predicted that she could not carry on a Government under modern conditions. At the time England first entered India, three hundred years ago, the old Mogul Empire was breaking up, new political and military adjustments were forming and the country was in a state of unusual turmoil, which gave the English their opportunity. But this was a temporary condition, and would have passed as similar periods in other countries have passed. For two thousand

years India has been far more peaceful than Europe. There is no record of Indian wars worse than the Wars of the Roses in England or so bad as the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and none that compare at all in loss of life with the wars of Napoleon; neither does Indian history show anything that in anarchy and violence equals the Reign of Terror in France. As to disturbances between Hindus and Muhammadans, these have lived side by side without conflict for hundreds of years at a time, it is asserted, under both Hindu and Muhammadan rulers, and there has at no time been any greater hostility between them than between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Europe.

The British are "Birds of Prey"

The letter goes on to flatly contradict the President's claim that England does not draw a penny from India for English purposes, and likens the presence of Englishmen in India to that of the "carpet-baggers" in the south. "Englishmen in India often speak of themselves as "birds of passage," Edmund Burke, that great and just Englishman, called them "birds of passage as of prey". The people thus plundered and deprived of the rights which in justice belong to all civilized men are not barbarians, obscure people without a past. They are one of the great nations of history. Many of them are Aryans, of the same race with Greeks and Romans, Germans and Englishmen. Their civilization is one of the most ancient in the world. They have given to the world two of the great historic religions and philosophies as profound as any that have proceeded from the mind of man. They have created literature which ranks with literatures of Greece and Rome, England and Germany. Lord Curzon himself said: "Powerful empires flourished in India while Englishmen were still wandering painted in the woods. India has left a deeper mark upon the history, philosophy and religion of mankind than any other territorial unit in the universe".

Exploitation by England

These are the people who year after year are forced to contribute of their poverty to England's wealth. Avenues through which this tribute is drained are enumerated as (1) Rich pensions received by retired English officials; (2) Salaries of English officials in India, the highest paid in the world; (3) Business profits sent to England by Englishmen in India—Englishmen who are charged with having deliberately destroyed Indian enterprises for the purpose of supplanting them; (4) Large remittances to England by the Indian Government for military stores, equipment and arms used in India

partly for purposes of defence against possible foes, but much more to hold the Indian people themselves surely in subjection"; 5) Interest on English investments made in India "most of them not desired by India or for her benefit"—merely "forms of exploitation".

The annual tribute thus paid by India to England is rated at from \$ 125,000,000 to \$ 150,000,000.

2,000 per cent. Salt Tax

The letter asserts that according to her ability to pay India is taxed by her foreign rulers more than twice as heavily as England and more heavily than any country in the world. The tax on salt alone has reached 2,000 per cent. of its cost price. England is burdening a starving people with the payment of wars carried on outside of India, "some of them as far away as Africa". The letter also asserts that the terrible famines in India are not caused by any lack of food, but by an abject poverty brought about by British rule. England is charged with spending on her army and strategic railways the people's own money, needed and demanded by them for education. The Government actually spends on education *not more than three per cent. per year per head*. Only one male in nine and one female in every 144 can read or write, and this after a hundred and fifty years of British supremacy.

Misuse of Indian Money

As to railroads and irrigation works in India, Indian taxes, it is protested, paid for these, that "taking India as a whole there has been a shameful neglect of irrigation" and that the railroad policy of India is controlled wholly by the prospect of strategic value and financial return to England. It is England primarily that profits by these roads, they are in the hands of Englishmen and the revenues derived from them go into the pockets of Englishmen; they are built where they will be of most advantage to the English, not where they will most benefit the people of India. "Had the Government spent on irrigation one-half the money spent on railways which the country did not need or a quarter part of that has been squandered in military expenditure, famine might have been today a thing unknown in India".

"Reform in India", the letter concludes, "is England's great and pressing duty and cannot be much longer evaded or deferred."

Copies of this letter in full will be furnished free on application to Myron H. Phelps, 42, Broadway, New York.

VI

**MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO AND BRITISH
GOVERNMENT**

MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO AND BRITISH GOVERNMENT

[The real nature of the brave fight that was given by this distinguished ruler of Baroda against the suzerain power still remains undisclosed to a large extent. Maharaja Sayajirao (B. 1861-D. 1939) ruled over the state for over 50 years and his fight for independence, personal and administrative, begins early in the nineties of the last century.

The following extracts from the Baroda State Records and from the famous memorandum prepared by the Government of India (1911) show how courageously and under what physical and mental strain and even harassment he passed through the ordeal. His aim was "to establish better standards of administration for the rulers of British India." And he was out to show it and wanted to assert his independence to do it. For this purpose he had collected very able and distinguished men (like Aravind Ghose, Romeshchandra Datta, Mr. Seddon, Sir Madhavrao, Manubhai Mehta, Khaserao Jadhav, K. G. Deshpande) who worked to make the administration successful. This was perhaps misunderstood and also disliked. The officials tried to trifle with his scheme and the arrogance of the Political department was confronted by a very powerful champion of his own rights. It was a question of asserting his own legitimate rights which the British officials were used to ignore and even insult. The Maharaja would not brook this. He was not prepared to concede the position of equality to the Viceroy and had suggested even to Lord Minto "to let him have a note on the subjects in advance on which His Excellency wanted to discuss". (G. S. Sardesai—his articles in the weekly—Swaraj—1956). The officials believed that "his behaviour was openly suspicious, that he was in sympathy with the extremists". The struggle for asserting each other's position and prestige reached its climax during Lord Curzon's regime. The Government desired the Maharaja to be present on the occasion of the Royal visit of the Prince of Wales to India (1907). This the Maharaja was not prepared to promise, and he was bent on seeing through his planned trip to foreign countries. The talks between the Maharaja and the Resident on this point ended in bitterness. One of his (Maharaja's) personal records states "if His Highness left India the Government of India could not of course take him prisoner, but very unpleasant consequences might follow". This was the gist of what the Resident hinted. The Maharaja asks: "Am I to be considered a servant? If that is the intention let it be said so and I can see how to shape my course" (25th March, 1905). But the Maharaja left the country according to his plan. The officials had found it "impossible to deal with such a suspicious, parsimonious, insincere

ruler and bitter against Government of India." They have reported again and again that "the Maharaja has in no way abated his policy", practically on all the issues they had yielded upto 1905. The Government of India had also instructed their officials to "obtain his confidence and friendship", as they thought that "the Maharaja's reluctance may be partly due to his early training (which he had received under his tutor Mr. Elliot) and partly due to "somewhat vexatious policy of Government of India." The Maharaja, it appears, had felt sufficiently hurt. He wrote to Major Pritchard "I hope the Government will not interfere with my movements in the future." He wrote to his Diwan (4th September 1906) "I will like to return to India but I feel partly unhappy to do so owing to the strange treatment I have received at the hands of Lord Curzon's Government. My health can now no longer stand annoyance and interference in my movements." That was the strain that he was passing through. His personal records which are voluminous and well kept (but which have not yet come to light) might throw more light on this side. On the other hand, the officials constantly remained irritated and chafing and have recorded that their "efforts to break down his obstructive and critical attitude had signally failed". This statement itself is a tribute to the tact and courage the Maharaja had employed in dealing with the official encroachment. Between 1908 and 1910 the whole country was in a flare. The Maharaja in spite of the advice of the Political Department had allowed the Press to function freely in his state. The continued publication of the paper "Pudhari" and the other publications of the revolutionary Narsibhai Patel, who was for the time in the service of the state, had exasperated the Resident. Further the police attempted to connect the Ahmedabad bomb incident to Baroda activities, but that could not be proved. And after these efforts to "break" the Maharaja had failed they prepared a full case, in the form of a memorandum covering about a hundred printed foolscap pages against him. These extracts reveal a number of things which have remained unknown up till now. His meetings with some of the reputed revolutionaries were, it appears, exploited by his opponents to present him as the supporter of the Revolutionaries. Sardesai has described how Madam Cama intruded in the drawing room of the Maharaja in Paris and how the Maharaja evaded her. But the police reports show that the Maharaja had met the revolutionaries on several occasions. He had met Taraknath Das at Vancouver and had received an Address from him. He also had talks with P. M. Bapat. These could not be mere accidents, whatever the motives of the Maharaja might have been. In the days of the Bengal partition agitation the Maharaja wrote to his Diwan (June 1907) "It is a logical outcome of certain forces. What India requires is

more liberal government. I think we need take no steps in our state to pacify the exaggerated feelings of uneasiness. Our attention should be concentrated on progress in our Raj." The Maharaja wanted to be free from any outside control in his efforts to look after the interests of his people and he advised his subjects to cultivate properly the democratic spirit and build up democratic institutions. His address to his Lokasabha (1912) clearly gives his correct views. Since 1906 he had introduced a number of social and political reforms which it took long for the British Government to introduce in their administration.]

BARODA RESIDENT ON NATIONAL CONGRESS

(FROM BARODA RESIDENCY RECORD.)

Confidential.
Immediate.

THE RESIDENCY :

Baroda, 25th December 1889.

My dear Sir,

In reports of the National Congress Meeting at Broach on the 1st December 1889 I observe the name of "Rao Bahadur Mahadeo-lal Nundlal, Judge, Suddar Court, Baroda" and in that of the 8th December 1889, is the name of "Rao Bahadur Harilal Hurshadrai Dhruva, Judge, Baroda Territory" among the delegates to the Congress from Broach and Surat respectively.

I would take this opportunity of explaining to you that in the opinion of H. E. the Viceroy, it is undesirable for Native Chiefs to be connected in any way with political agitations amongst Her Majesty's subjects, outside their own territories. His Highness the Gaekwar's position, as he himself would be last to deny is quite different from that of even the wealthiest Zemindar and British subject in Territory, and there would be something incongruous, in a Chief's mixing himself up in such matters in any way, by subscribing to the Congress or to Sir Sayed Ahmed's Patriotic Association.

I am quite sure that His Highness quite concurs in the sentiments of H. E. the Viceroy and I believe that His Highness would not approve of his officials appearing as delegates, so I request that you will at once (as the Congress meets tomorrow) take the

orders of H. H. the Gaekwar regarding the desirability of permitting his officers to take a part in the Congress in any capacity except that of spectators.

Believe me
Yours faithfully,

(Signed) H. N. PRENDERGAST.

Baroda, 26th December 1889.

Dear Sir,

Till the receipt of your confidential D. O. of yesterday, I was not aware that Messrs. Madhavlal and Harilal were going as delegates to the Congress from the British Districts of Broach and Surat. Since the receipt of your letter, I made enquiries and was told that they had already left on leave. I did not know yesterday where they were and could not communicate with them. I have however made arrangements that they should not appear as delegates but simply as spectators.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) LAXAMAN JUGANNATH.

To

GENERAL SIR H. N. PRENDERGAST,
K. C. B., V.C., R.E., etc.
Baroda.

SAYAJIRAO RESENTS RESTRICTION ON HIS TRAVEL, 1904

[HUZUR POLITICAL OFFICE FILE (ENLISTED CONFIDENTIAL) REGARDING
HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA SAHEB'S TRIP TO EUROPE, 1905,
IN THE BARODA RECORDS OFFICE.]

(In September 1904 His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao wrote to the Resident that it was necessary for the sake of his health that he should have a long change and rest in Europe, that his idea was to return to India at the close of the next cold weather; and that he should therefore do what was needed to secure that end. The Resident wrote back to His Highness that if he intended to leave India for reasons of health he should first obtain the permission of the Government of India as laid down in their circular of July 1900.

Maharaja Sayajirao's annoyance and personal feelings on the subject are reflected in the following notes he dictated to Romesh Chandra Dutt and in His Highness' two personal letters addressed to the Resident at Baroda and to the Dewan.)

Friday Evening,
24th March 1905.

Maharaja went to the Residency according to a suggestion contained in Colonel Meade's letter of 24th March. Resident enquired if His Highness could give it in writing that he would do his best to return by the 1st October so as to meet Their Royal Highnesses. Maharaja said whatever he had to say had been already said in his letter. If Colonel Meade pressed him further His Highness would make a statement about returning which would not be sincere, but would be telling a fib, which he would rather not state. Colonel Meade said that of course he did not want such a statement. His Highness said that if he kept away it was not because he did not wish to receive the Prince of Wales, but because of His Highness' health.

Colonel Meade said His Highness might procure a medical certificate at the last moment against which nobody would be able to press His Highness' return.

His Highness showed unwillingness to follow this course.

Colonel Meade said it would be better in the interests of His Highness' return to receive the Prince of Wales, and that his health was not so bad as to prevent the return. If His Highness promised to return, Colonel Meade would see that every thing was made all right though the difficulties about the administrative arrangements would be the same if His Highness left again for a long period.

And if His Highness persevered in his idea of being away for an indefinitely long period as now proposed the Government of India which holds itself responsible for the peace of the Empire of which Baroda is only a part had asked him to make proposals as to arrangement for carrying on the administration and that he would make proposals somewhat on the lines followed in 1887 and 1893.

Colonel Meade then said His Highness could not leave India without the sanction of the Government of India and until the

administrative arrangements were settled, the letter about which had been sent by us after long delay. If His Highness left India, the Government of India could not of course take him prisoner, but very unpleasant consequences might follow.

His Highness said in reply to all this that His Highness did not know his own position whether he was a servant or a master. His Highness did not know what to say and he did not see why his personal liberty should be controlled in any way. The letter which had been sent about the administrative arrangements was final so far as His Highness was concerned. It was for the Government of India to decide how to deal with it, as in such arrangements His Highness felt that his own wishes carried very little weight.

Colonel Meade said that His Highness' wishes would be considered. Colonel Meade knew that His Highness felt all this very much and suggested that His Highness would consider the matter for a day or two then he would come and have a talk so as to settle matters.

In the course of this conversation Colonel Meade also asked whether His Highness could not postpone his visit this year. His Highness said he could not, as the marriage of his daughter would probably take place next year, and would prevent his going away for any long period.

After leaving the office room His Highness and Colonel Meade came to the drawing room where Colonel Meade talked on the subject to Shrimati Sampat Rao who urged the necessity of His Highness' taking rest for the sake of his health.

(The above note was dictated by His Highness to Mr. Dutt in my presence today and has to be kept on the records connected with the subject of His Highness' proposed visit to Europe this year.)

27th March 1905.

(Signed) KERSASP RUSTAMJI DEWAN.

SAYAJIRAO'S STAND AGAINST GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE

Memo of instructions given by His Highness regarding matters to be urged before the Resident in the interview that is to come off to-day at the Residency.

I am placed in an awkward position. I don't want to displease the Government of India, but I am forced. My arrangements for departure to Europe are completed, and I am asked to stop. There should be no interference with the departure. It is getting warm and under any circumstances I should leave Baroda for the sake of my health for a cooler place. I have put off the departure as far as I can, because the interests of State are dear to me and I had to attend to them.

2. I do wish to welcome the Royal visitors. I have no idea of opposing the Government in the matter because of any recalcitrancy. But my health prevents and I have said so frankly. It cannot be desired by any body that my health should be impaired. It is wanted for the proper discharge of my duties to my people. Every thing turns on my health, and things would come alright if I were left to myself.

3. How the treatment given to me has worried me is well-known. It has told upon my health and if there is no change it will become worse. For this and other reasons a long change is needed and if my health is restored fully the first thing I would think of is return to my State.

4. I have already said my say on the whole subject. There is nothing to add. I have proposed arrangements. It is for Government to accept them or not. I am not allowed a voice in the decision. Then why should departure be interfered with? If Government have anything to communicate, I shall always be within reach of such communications. There is the Minister to transact business with. He has to keep the Resident informed of what is passing.

5. I don't understand the present position. I know that—

1st. I have to be loyal to the British Government and that

2nd. I should look after the interests and well being of my subjects.

I am trying to fulfil my duties in connection with these matters and no fault has yet been found in regard to that. But the demand of Government for application for leave, and their cancellation of it after granting it etc., create a novel situation and one not easy to comprehend. Am I to be considered a servant? If that is the

intention let it be said so, and I can see how to shape my course, and to consider the all important question whether I should completely sacrifice my health.

25th March 1905.

(Signed) KERSASP RUSTAMJI DEWAN.

SAYAJIRAO'S LETTER TO THE BARODA RESIDENT

PALACE HOTEL, INVERNESS :

4th September 1906.

Dear Major Pritchard,

Your letter of the 17th August 1906 concerning my return to India just to hand.

I am sorry I could not answer your other letter on same subject earlier.

I shall not be in Baroda in the next cold weather.

The interests of my subjects prompt me to be back but the harsh treatment I have received at the hands of the Government of India discourage me to do so.

I hope the Government will not interfere with my movements in the future, which will conduce to my happiness and to welfare of my people.

Had I been left to myself I should have probably returned earlier.

I enjoyed immensely my visit to Free America.

There is great freedom there which makes people contented and loyal.

I am looking forward to make your acquaintance.

Yours Sincerely,

(Signed) SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAD.

To

Major C. PRITCHARD,

Resident at Baroda, Baroda.

SAYAJIRAO ANNOYED BY GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE

INVERNESS :

4th September 1906.

My dear Dewan Saheb,

There is a letter from the Resident of Baroda. He had written to me before but for various reasons I could not answer it up till now. Tell him that I shall be in Baroda about November.

I like to return to India but feel partly unhappy to do so owing to the strange treatment I have received at the hands of Lord Curzon's Government. My health can now no longer stand such annoyances and interferences in my movements.

Yours Sincerely,

(Signed) SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAD.

To

Dewan Bahadur KERSASPJI RUSTAMJI,

Baroda.

SAYAJIRAO'S VIEWS ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN STATES 1906

To

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN MORELY, M.P.,
Secretary of State for India.

Dear Sir,

I have recently returned from my visit to America, and propose to leave England on the 2nd October for India. I am glad to say that our visit to Europe has done much good to me and to Her Highness the Maharanee and also the children. And at the same time I have been able to see something of the educational institutions of the Western Countries which will help me much in improving the system of education in my own State.

When we met last, you were so good as to make some enquiries concerning the administration of Native States in India. I have caused a few notes to be prepared on the subject which I take the liberty of forwarding herewith *informally*; and I shall feel very glad if they lead to any good results. The notes are by no means complete, and do not exhaust the matters which require consideration in the present relations between the British Government and the Native States in India. They touch only on a few of the more important points, and have been made as brief as possible, so as to convey only a general idea of the subject.

To my mind it appears that a greater degree of autonomy is needed to secure the natural and healthy development of Native States in India. It was not intended that these States should be

reduced to a subordinate position; and it is not desirable that the power of initiative, and all distinctive features of administration should be crushed out of them. And yet the present system of interference and control and needless restriction is calculated to lead to this unhappy result.

It is the right of man to have good Government; and in the present day, the people themselves demand it.

But so long as the Native States of India satisfy this primary condition, and are decently governed, they should I think, be left to themselves. For without such independence of action and without a greater degree of trust and confidence being placed in Indian Princes, they find it difficult to advance the interests and the welfare of the people placed under their care; and any real progress of the Native States according to methods best suited for them becomes impossible.

There has been an idea for sometime past of forming a Council of Indian Ruling Princes. If such a Council were framed on correct principles, and entrusted with sufficient powers, it would, I believe, be productive of much good. Questions relating to Native States might be dealt with and disposed of by such a council with a practical knowledge of their actual requirements. Such a procedure would naturally give satisfaction and inspire confidence in the Princes themselves, and fill them with a healthy emulation to discharge properly the high duties imposed on them. It would give the Princes a substantial interest in the security and welfare of the Empire. And lastly it would give them an opportunity of coming in friendly contact with each other, and of discussing details of administration in their respective States, to the benefit and general improvement of all States.

I should like very much, before I leave this country, to have the pleasure of seeing you once more, either in London or in any place near London, if that be convenient to you. Any date this month will suit me, as I have kept myself free from all engagements.

I am,

Sir,

C/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Sons,

Lugate Circus, E. C.

September 21, 1906.

Yours faithfully,

SIGN MANUAL,

Gaekwar of Baroda.

SAYAJIRAO ON SEDITION 1907

(HUZUR POLITICAL OFFICE CONFIDENTIAL FILE NO. 422 IN THE BARODA RECORDS OFFICE, BARODA.)

Reproduced below is a letter dated 14th June 1907 written by His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao in his own handwriting to his Dewan, Kersaspji Rustamji.

My dear Kershaspji,

I was glad to hear from you and to learn that the rest had done you all good. I am afraid you will find Baroda pretty warm after your stay in cooler climes.

I don't attach much importance to the sense of restlessness in India. It is a storm in a tea pot, a logical outcome of certain forces. To realise them one must visit other civilised countries. What India requires is a more liberal Government. I think we need take no steps in our State to pacify the exaggerated feeling of uneasiness. Our attention should be concentrated on progress in our Raj. The progress should be carried on with tact and wisdom.

The order of allowing the Antyaja people to enter public judicial offices is not earnestly carried out by all. I think you might tactfully enforce the proper execution of the order of the Varishta Court. The principle of liberal treatment should be, if it is not already, extended to revenue and other public offices. I like this liberal treatment in the interest of humanity and I wish you to give effect to it with prudence and rational boldness.

If necessary a hundred places of constables should be reserved in the police force for these poor and they should be so employed at least to start with as to cause least hubub which some people try to raise. In the Huzurat Paga these people were employed as swars.

I think Dutt is very likely to get into the India Council and he will be a fit man there. Kindly remember me to him and to your family members.

It is beginning to rain here now. I shall be leaving this in the middle of July and be in Baroda about the end of that month.

The weather here has been very pleasant. We are all well and I hope same is the case with you all.

Yours sincerely,

Doty, 14th June 1907.

(Signed) SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAD.

SAYAJIRAO ON REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS 1907

(HUZUR POLITICAL OFFICE FILE NO. 149/42-A IN THE BARODA RECORDS OFFICE.)

The Baroda Legislative Council was created in 1907 for the purpose of advising the Government of the State in the work of legislation. Its constitution was characterised by a marked proportion of popular representation—a proportion which was in future to develop into a clear preponderance over the official one. Of its 17 members only 8 were officers of the State, 6 elected representatives of the people and 3 were members nominated by Government to represent interests otherwise unrepresented. With certain reservations Government referred its Bills to this Council. The Non-official members had the right of interpellation and of introducing private Bills.

Maharaja Sayaji Rao paid a visit to the State Legislative Assembly on 26th October 1912 when it was in session. The following is the speech delivered by His Highness on the occasion :—

I have not come with any idea of making a speech and speaking only on the spur of the moment. Institutions like these are not new things of today, but they flourished even in ancient times in India. They denoted the confidence reposed by the kings in their subjects and to my mind their effect was certain. The present form of our institutions is adopted for a European standard, but I would not digress on that point, or speak at length on the character and growth of representative assemblies. My advice to you is that you should not consider yourselves as representing any separate or conflicting interest, or a separate party, but represent only truth as embracing every party and look upon yourselves as brothers and representatives of one and the same community. No party spirit should be allowed to prevail in the consideration of questions of public interest. There are occasions of temptations to stand up for or oppose public questions from a sectarian or communal point of view. In such cases you should be guided by moderation, love of truth and fellow-feeling. To give more or less rights depends on various questions, social, intellectual and political. When rights are conferred on a people and they do not understand their responsibility, the result is simply ruinous; but if they recognise their responsibilities and faithfully discharge them, much social good is brought about in consequence. I have started these institutions and I wish that they should progress. They are not only for your own welfare, but they are also a source of strength to the State. As long as you

intelligently carry out their object, success is bound to attend your labour. As to rights if you show yourselves more worthy, time will come to give you more; but if you do not show yourselves worthy you will lose and the responsibility must then lie on you. But I hope such a contingency will never occur. Efficiency of administration does not depend solely on legislative measures, but on many other causes. To achieve that, recognise your duties as citizens and as human beings. The conditions of our State are peculiar and you are intelligent enough to understand them. I would not say more about it, since time does not permit me to do so. But let me say that you would render great service if you will help the social, moral and educational progress of your fellow brethren. If you do it with moderation, love of truth and perseverance, great benefit will be reaped not only by the present generation but also by posterity. Also devote your energies to elevate the position of those of your fellow-brethren who are lagging behind and whom you call degraded or untouchable. Have courage, true courage, for their educational and other reform. By trying to remove moral evils existing in our society, you will please not only yourselves, but would confer a great boon on society.

It is a pleasure to me to hear the speeches delivered today. My ministers, I am sure, guide you with sympathy, repose confidence in you and will receive greater help from you. My advice to all of you is that you should try to promote the interest of society and must not be too anxious for power. Power is good if it is well used, but at the same time it is dangerous if abused. It is good only if it is used in a guarded way and sympathetic spirit. Power carries a load of responsibilities in its trial. Try to promote the moral and material welfare of all your fellow subjects. Get rid of social and moral evils which hinder your progress. As soon as you do that, you will surely rise.

BARODA RESIDENT'S CHARGES AGAINST SAYAJIRAO

(FROM POLITICAL FILES OF THE BARODA STATE RECORD.)

I have recently had three* personal interviews with Mr. Seddon, the Dewan of Baroda at which the principal subject * 25th, 27th and 30th August, discussed has been the growth of education in this State, the inadequacy of the steps taken to check it, and the dangerous impasse at which matters have now arrived.

The points upon which I laid special emphasis are as follows :—

(i) The legislative enactments, in the State dealing with sedition as directed against the King or the Governemnt of India are totally inadequate.

(ii) Following upon (i) and (ii) this State is being used as a Alsatia in which sedition is allowed to flourish with practical impunity.

(iii) Even where, as the result of representations made by the Residency, prosecutions could and should have been instituted under the existing laws, such as they are, action has not been taken.

(iv) Amongst the principal officials of the state are men who are admittedly extremists and who use their official position to promote their political views.

(v) This condition of affairs, which constitutes a menace not only to the State itself but to its neighbours including British India, cannot be tolerated indefinitely.

2. Mr. Seddon, I should observe, during the year I have been Resident, has not hitherto given me the support in these matters which I had a right to expect from a member of the Indian Civil Service. His views, moreover, on the seditious movement in India as evidenced by letters in my records, are distinctly unsound if not dangerous.

But during the last three months (if I neglect certain interludes of fitful petulance) the pressure of events, my own strong representations, and the knowledge that, before many months are over, he will be returning to duty in his own province, have caused him to veer slowly round, and I now observe a change for the better. And this change has been particularly noticeable during the past week and since his return on 25th August from leave.

Thus while at the second of these interviews (27th August) he argued hotly that all he intended to do and all that it was necessary to do in order to put down sedition in Baroda was to secure the Maharaja's assent to the new Press Bill, he told me at the last interview (30th August) that he now means to try and get substantive additions to the Durbar's Penal Code as well as an amended Arms Act. And when I urged that an Explosives Act was equally necessary, he assented. What an advance is indicated by this rapid change of front will be more easily recognised when I explain

that on 27th August Mr. Seddon maintained that the earlier sections of Chapter VI of the Indian Penal Code including sections 124A are seldom, if ever, used now in British India thanks to the revised Press laws of 1909. I then asked him how he proposed to deal under the new Baroda Bill—

- (a) With Secret societies and conspiracies ;
- (b) With seditious meetings and plots ; and with
- (c) the manufacture and possession of bombs.

To this, of course, he was unable to reply.

3. In brief, the Durbar's hands have been forced, and they realise that game of polite incredulity and concealment is played out. An army of facts has slowly been arrayed against them. They can now no longer deny the existence of sedition in their midst. And they are reluctantly forced to admit both its presence as well as their helplessness to cope with it. Thus a big step forward has been made. This, however, is not enough.

The Durbar may hastily frame and pass enactments as the Minister now proposes to do. But unless the laws are rigourously applied and enforced with the mutual co-operation of both the Durbar's executive and judicial officers no valid results will follow. And still less, as Mr. Seddon frankly admits, can we, hope for success unless and until His Highness the Maharaja completely changes his extraordinary attitude.

It is ideal to conceal the fact that the anti-British sentiments which have infected in some degree all classes of His Highness's subjects are merely the reflections of the Chief himself. Except actual criminality there is no phase of sedition, both secret and overt, which the Maharaja has not himself patronised. And his hatred of the British-Indian Government, his intolerance of all control, his resentment of all advice, coupled with the immunity enjoyed, has developed in him a measure of self-conceit which can only be characterised as dangerous megalomania. So patent is this condition of affairs that Mr. Seddon himself in conversation with me openly admits it ; and at our last interview informed me that he has little hope of getting His Highness's assent to the legislative changes he is now recommending. When I enquired what course he would pursue in that eventuality, he replied that he intended to resign his post and to inform Government in writing of the reasons which necessitated this action. And those reasons will be precisely the ones which I have enumerated above. In these circumstances it will be admitted, I think, that the policy of drift which has slowly

brought us to the present state of affairs cannot be continued. Equally futile, in my opinion, is a policy of conciliation. For it too has been tried and has failed. There remains only the policy of vigorous action, and the application, if need be, of *force majeure*. We must strike at the head of the anti-British movement in Baroda, and the head is the Maharaja himself.

GOVERNMENT'S CHARGESHEET AGAINST SAYAJIRAO

[The following is an extract from Calcutta Records 4, 1912, of the Government of India, Foreign Department. It is a collection of Notes and Memoranda exchanged between the Baroda Residency, Government of Bombay and Government of India. It is designated as "Unsatisfactory attitude adopted by His Highness Gaikwad of Baroda relative to the inception and growth of sedition in his state and his opposition to the policy of the Government of India". The following is the secret memorandum sent to the Secretary of State for India by the Government of India, covering a summary of the details covered by all the notes and memoranda included in the file. It gives all the charges levelled against the Maharaja by the Government of India.

This file was made available to the Bombay Committee for a History of Freedom Movement by one of its members Shri D. V. Potdar, who was also a member of the Central Board of Editors for a History of the Freedom Movement in India.]

No. OF 1911

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

Secret.
Internal.

To

THE MOST HON'BLE THE MARQUIS OF CREWE, K.G..

His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Simla, — November 1911.

My Lord Marquis,

We have the honour to address Your Lordship on the subject of the attitude adopted by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda relative to the inception and growth of sedition in his State.

2. The circumstances in which the present Gaekwar, Sayaji Rao, succeeded to the gadi in 1875 are well known and need not be recapitulated, but before proceeding to discuss more recent developments, we consider it desirable to review the relations which have subsisted between the Government of India and His Highness since his investiture with ruling powers in December 1881. The exaggerated idea of his own importance and of the position of his State with which the Gaekwar was imbued partly as a result of the injudicious training and advice of his tutor, Mr. F. A. H. Elliot, of the Bombay Civil Service, found early expression in an impatience of all control by the Government of India and in a tendency to put forward pretensions to equality with the British Crown in which it was impossible to acquiesce. This attitude resulted in a chronic antagonism between the Gaekwar and the Government of India which was accentuated during the period of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, and has culminated, as we shall shortly show, not only in a refusal to co-operate with Government in its attempt to suppress the forces of sedition and anarchy, but in words and actions which can hardly be interpreted as other than actively disloyal.

3. Your Lordship will find in the memorandum* which accompanies this despatch a brief summary of some more important cases in which the Gaekwar came into conflict with the Government of India during the period prior to 1905. They serve at once to illustrate his character and to portray the obstructive policy which has distinguished his administration. The main points of contention it will be observed centre round His Highness's continued and prolonged absences from his State, and his refusal to join the Imperial Service movement which received the support of nearly all the leading Chiefs in India. Lord Curzon's Government in paragraph 4 of their Secret despatch No. 134 (Internal), dated the 13th July 1905, characterised his attitude on the latter question as unreservedly hostile while the Gaekwar's frequent visits to Europe have called forth remonstrances both from His Majesty's Government and from successive Viceroys.

4. It has been asserted that the Gaekwar's conduct is partly to be attributed to the influence of his early training, to the want of tact which has been displaced by the officials posted to Baroda, and to the somewhat vexatious policy of the Government of India.

Though we admit that his education by Mr. Elliot was far from satisfactory and that the Residents who from time to time have been posted to Baroda may not always have been conspicuous for

* Enclosure No. 1.

tact and judgment, yet it is significant that all these officers, men differing widely one from another in character and ability, have formed the same conclusion as regards the Gaekwar, and all with one exception, have found him impossible to deal with, suspicious, parsimonious and insincere, bitter against the Government of India in proportion as they thwarted the attainments of his ideal of perfect independence. Colonel Biddulph indeed charged the Gaekwad with being disloyal both in thought and action. The one exception was Colonel Martelli. The Gaekwar liked him because as His Highness himself expressed it—"He let me alone".

It may also be true that, prior to 1905, there was a tendency to intervene overmuch in Baroda affairs, although in estimating the amount of interference which may be legitimate in the case of Baroda, too much stress cannot be laid on the peculiar conditions which make interference in numerous cases necessary and multiply in proportion the possibilities of friction. The map of Baroda will show this at a glance. It consists of innumerable small blocks of territory separated from one another by intervening districts of the Bombay Presidency and scattered among the numerous States of Kathiawar. The difficulties to which this interlacing jurisdiction gives rise are accentuated by the existence in Baroda and Kathiawar and in the neighbouring British districts of Mahi and Rewa Kantha of numerous petty Chiefs and Zamindars known as Girassias and Watandars, who owe fealty to the Gaekwar as suzerain, but the maintenance of whose rights are guaranteed by the British Government. The history of the past 50 years exhibits a series of disputes between the Durbar and the Residency on the subject of these Giras and Watania rights, a final settlement of which it is well nigh impossible to secure.

It is further obvious that the geographical position of the State has had much to do with the trouble which has arisen over railway questions. It has naturally not in all cases been found possible to reconcile Gaekwar's attempts to develop a forward railway policy in order to open communications between the various scattered portions of his territories with the opposing interests of the Paramount Power and the Empire as a whole.

But, since 1905, there has been an important modification in the policy of the Government of India towards Native States. In pursuance of this policy, the keynote of which is the recognition under certain limitations of autonomy in local affairs, the Gaekwar has been treated with marked consideration. The points which were at issue between His Highness and the Government of India prior

to 1905 have been decided in nearly every case in his favour. He has not been pressed to contribute to Imperial Service Troops. The decision that Ruling Chiefs shall be required to obtain the permission of the Government of India before leaving their States has been practically waived. Considerable concessions have been made in connection with jurisdiction over Railway lines ; and Durbars are now permitted, under certain conditions and within certain limits, to construct telephone lines in their States without obtaining the prior permission of the Government of India. It is now the recognised practice to consult Durbars before conferring honours on their subjects or employees. The rules regarding the employment of Europeans by Indian Chiefs and regulating their emoluments have been considerably relaxed. *Pari passu* with these concessions particular care has been taken in selecting officers for the difficult post of Resident in Baroda and these officers have been instructed to regard it as their primary object to change as far as possible the Gaekwar's attitude of opposition by obtaining his confidence and friendship and by explaining to him frankly, as opportunity offers, the real character of the policy of the paramount Power. They have been further informed that it is their business to look at matters from the point of view of the Gaekwar as well as of the Government and to make it clear to His Highness that Government is anxious that his powers and dignity should not be impaired.

It might have been expected that these indications of the desire on the part of the Government of India to remove all legitimate grounds of complaint would have resulted in the adoption of a more correct and decorous attitude on the Gaekwar's part. But this is far from being the case. His Highness has in no way abated his opposition to the policy of the Government of India and every effort to break down his obstructive and critical attitude has signally failed. The most striking illustration of this attitude is afforded by His Highness's conduct in relation to the State forces in Baroda. As your Lordship is aware, the British Government claims the absolute right to determine the strength of the armed forces of Native States. Against the exercise of this right in the case of Baroda the Gaekwar has never ceased to protest, while every endeavour has been, and is being, made to promote the efficiency of the armed forces of the State. Retired officers of the Indian Army have been appointed to posts of importance to train the State forces and we have received several applications for the services of non-commissioned officers for the same purpose. In 1909 the Gaekwar admitted that he had actually been negotiating with certain officers of the Swiss Army with a view to their entering his service.

5. These facts taken by themselves, we should not be disposed to regard as of much importance were it not that, during the past few years, proofs have accumulated that the Gaekwar has recruited in the service of the State known opponents of British rule, has permitted the publication by the Native Press of articles rabidly anti-British in character, and has personally associated with some of the leading spirits in the revolutionary movement. To this line of conduct we are compelled to attribute the development of the state of affairs regarding which we have now found it necessary to address your Lordship.

We shall now proceed to place before His Majesty's Government such information as we possess regarding the growth of sedition in Baroda and to invite attention to the attitude which His Highness personally, and His Highness's Government, have adopted in reference to it.

6. Prior to 1901, when the noted extremist Arabindo Ghose arrived in Baroda, there is little or no evidence on the subject, but that efforts were being made at an early period by the disaffected in Bombay to influence the Maharaja, seems probable. For in 1895, Colonel Biddulph, then Resident, wrote as follows regarding the tendency of Maharattas in Poona and Bombay to interest themselves in Baroda affairs :—"This has been so marked that I cannot avoid the suspicion that there is a settled policy among the disloyal Poona Brahmins to use Baroda as a focus of opposition to the British Government. It is remarkable that no other class except Mahrattas have shown any desire to interfere in Baroda affairs. The most important offices in the State, with one or two exceptions, are in the hands of Mahrattas, and recent events have shown to what length they are prepared to go in order to retain predominant authority in the State. Their constant interference in Baroda affairs, the continued irritation kept up in the Gaekwar's mind against the Government of India, the great pains taken about the army, the constant glorification of the Gaekwar by the Mahratta press, all point to a concerted object. The improper support afforded by the Gaekwar to the National Congress can only be due to the instigation of these men. This feature in Baroda affairs requires careful watching as there is the possibility of much trouble in it. It is probable that the Gaekwar is himself unconscious of the use that is being made of him, but his belief that he is the foremost Chief in India and therefore the natural head of the Mahrattas, his assumption of a royal style, and his arrogant claim to sovereignty over the Kathiawar Chiefs and many of the Gujarat Chiefs, all point to political aspirations of a dangerous nature". Subsequent events have proved the truth of this opinion.

7. In 1902, Arabindo Ghose entered the Gaekwar's service, for a time acted as His Highness's Private Secretary and, subsequently, held an appointment as Vice-Principal of the Baroda College, where his lectures on political subjects led eventually to his leaving Baroda. There can be no question but that his employment in the State gave a great impetus to the anti-British movement. Several Baroda State officials were his close friends, notably one K. G. Deshpande, Assistant to the Sar-Subha of Baroda, who was the prime instigator of a movement to establish national schools. There is ample evidence that the teaching of one of these schools which was originally established at Ganganath on the borders of Baroda and British India and later removed to Baroda, is nationalist and anti-British in character, and that it is closely associated with the extremist party.

In the same year the Resident received information of the existence of secret societies in the State, notably one founded in connection with an Akhara maintained by a Mahant named Manek Rao and of a number of instances in which sedition had been openly preached in Baroda city without any opposition from the State Police. The Durbar whose attention was drawn to the matter, while not admitting that the speeches had been seditious, virtually asserted that they could not be expected to take active steps against individuals trying to excite disaffection against the British Government unless similar action was taken in British India against persons speaking against the Gaekwar or his Government. The Dewan at the same time admitted to the Resident that many officials of the State, especially among the Mahrattas, were extremists.

With the exception of the receipt of threatening letters by the Resident and his Assistant at Amreli, there is no definite indication of the development of the movement during the next few years, until, in 1909, seditious inscriptions were found on the notice boards and walls of the Baroda College and ultra Nationalist speeches were reported to have been made at a social gathering at the Kala Bhavan institute and at the Ganpati celebration at the Ganganath school.

8. Further evidence of the prevalence in the State of a feeling strongly anti-British in character was supplied by the utterances of the Native Press.

In 1909, the Durbar sanctioned the publication in Baroda of a paper named "The Pūdhari". Its extremist views were pronounced from the first and it is impossible to believe that the Durbar were not aware of the character of Mr. V. P. Sathe, its editor. In March and

April 1909, the attention of the Durbar was drawn by the Resident to the objectionable articles with the result that the editor was warned. This action was ineffectual and, in March 1910, protests had again to be addressed to the Durbar against this paper.

The editor was then summoned by the Durbar and again warned. The warning, similarly, had little effect as objectionable articles continued to appear so virulently anti-British in character that Lord Minto's Government were forced to instruct the Resident to move the Baroda Durbar to take more effective measures. The only result was that the editor received a further warning from the Durbar. Subsequently, information was received that two seditious plays of which the editor of the "Pudhari" was the author, and which had been printed and published by him in Baroda, had been proscribed and forfeited by the Bombay Government. The action which the Durbar took on their attention being drawn to this matter was to issue an order that V. P. Sathe had contravened the State Rules and that his Press should be closed till further orders. In September 1910, the Government of India were informed that the "Pudhari" had been permanently stopped. The noticeable feature in the case is that continued protests on the part of the Resident were necessary before any effective action was taken against a paper, the articles in which were of a flagrantly seditious character.

In August 1910, objection had to be taken to the "Chabuk", another newspaper of similarly objectionable type which had been started in Baroda. Seditious articles continued to appear and it was only after considerable pressure had been brought to bear on the Durbar that, in December 1910, the Government of India were informed that the permission to publish the "Chabuk" had been withdrawn.

So lately, however, as January last the attention of the Government of India has been drawn to an objectionable article on the subject of His Majesty's proposed visit to India which has appeared in the "Baroda Gazette", a paper which also has on previous occasions been the subject of complaint, but so far as we are aware no action has as yet been taken.

We enclose, for Lordship's information, copies* of the articles in "Pudhari", "Chabuk" and the "Baroda Gazette", to which we have referred above.

* Enclosure No. 2.

9. Throughout, the general attitude of the Durbar has been (a) to deny the existence of the information furnished by the Residency on the subject, (b) while professing willingness to assist the Resident, in practice to take no action desired of them without the maximum of pressure and to give no information required except grudgingly and of necessity, (c) at times to afford direct support and encouragement to individuals and institutions of which the Residency had expressed suspicion. Thus, in October 1909, the Dewan maintained that the only signs of sedition in Baroda had been (a) the preaching of occasional itinerant preachers from elsewhere who were always "watched", (b) one or two indiscreet articles in newspapers whose editors were warned, and, in a letter addressed to the Resident subsequently on the subject of the Ganganath school, while asserting that there was no evidence of sedition in the institute, he acknowledged that, if there was a tendency in the education imparted towards the creation of a class of men not likely to be very actively loyal in the old-fashioned way, "it were best" to recognise the inevitable and meet it with such tact and sympathy as might be possible." In a further letter he wrote acknowledging that the Ganganath institution aimed at Nationalist development and idea incompatible with acquiescence in the present form of British rule, but asseverating that "no good can be done by attempts at suppressing this growth". So far from suppression, in 1910, permission was given to the Principal to open a Printing Press.

10. Consistent with this attitude is the refusal of the Durbar to make any satisfactory provision for the prevention or punishment of acts of sedition or disloyalty in Baroda as against the British Government and in declining to follow the example of other States in introducing or improving Explosives and Press Acts in view of the growth of unrest.

When in 1908, the introduction of an Explosives Act, was suggested to them both the Gaekwar and his Minister professed to consider such a proposal indicative of want of confidence in them and expressed the opinion that no action was called for. A similar attitude was observed in relation to the question of a Press Act and Arms Act. The State Arms Act, which was enacted in 1900, is ineffective for all practical purposes as it contains no provision prohibiting possession or sale of arms without a licence. When the Government of India advised the inclusion of sections to this effect the Durbar replied that it was unnecessary and that their enforcement would be attended with difficulty and danger. One further instance of the reluctance or the inability of the Durbar to co-operate with Government of India may be quoted.

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In 1910, one VasANJI Dayalji Ganatra, a noted extremist, who had been prosecuted in British India in connection with a paper called "Hind Swarajya" arrived at Baroda and with the permission of the District Magistrate, commenced publishing a Magazine known as "Dharma Pradip". The Durbar were informed by the Resident of his antecedents, but it was only after great pressure and after it had been clearly proved that he had obtained permission by false pretences that the licence was withdrawn, the continued publication of the journal being allowed though under another editor. The Dewan admitted his inability to prosecute VasANJI and the result is that the Magazine is still published for all practical purposes under VasANJI's editorship.

11. Not less significant is the marked way in which the Gaekwar personally has disregarded the advice of the Resident as to his dealings with individuals known or believed to belong to the extreme party. Two instances may be noted. The first is that of a man named Shankar P. Wagh known to be an extremist and a great friend of G. D. Savarkar. On its being reported in 1908 that this person was in the service of the Gaekwar's son, Sivaji Rao, Colonel Meade, then Resident at Baroda, asked the Dewan to speak to His Highness about him. The result was that Shankar Wagh was, after a time taken into the personal service of the Gaekwar in whose suits he visited England and America. The other case was that of one Saint Nihal Singh, who has been responsible for numerous anti-British speeches and writings. The Resident personally warned his Highness as to this man's antecedents, but, despite the warning, the Gaekwar invited Nihal Singh to stay as his guest in order to write a life of His Highness.

12. In 1909 His Highness visited the Sarvajanik Sabha in Poona. This Sabha the Government of Bombay have declined to recognise. The Vice-President, Anna Sahib Patwardhan, and the Secretary, N. C. Kelkar, are notorious extremists and political agitators, the latter having been committed for contempt of court in the Tilak case. His Highness's speech to the Sabha was characterised by the Government of Bombay as "a thinly veiled disparagement of British rule". A remonstrance from the Government of India resulted in a disclaimer being published by the Gaekwar in a Maharashtra newspaper to the effect that in case his visit to the Sabha might create an impression that His Highness sympathised with the extremists it was desired to correct it.

13. Further interesting evidence is afforded by a comparison between the speeches delivered by Chiefs whom the late Viceroy visited and that delivered by the Gaekwar on a similar occasion

in 1909, and also between the Gaekwar's reply to His Excellency's Kharita on the subject of sedition and that of other Chiefs. As regards the former, on receiving a draft of the intended speech, Mr. Bosanquet, then Resident at Earoda, drew attention to the marked absence of any allusion to co-operation with the Government of India, and to an implied distinction between loyalty to the crown and loyalty to the British Government. The Gaekwar explained in conversation with the Resident, that he thought that in an after dinner speech only general expressions of cordiality were looked for, but that he was only too glad to give expression to the sentiments of loyalty and of the desire to co-operate with the Government of India which he really felt. He further referred to the necessity of trusting to the support of the Chiefs and giving them more power. The speech was subsequently altered to avoid creating the impression, as His Highness explained, that he was "sitting on the fence", but even then such references to loyalty as it did contain were vague and half-hearted.

14. It is hard, in the absence of any explanation, to reconcile such verbal expressions of loyalty with the Gaekwar's conduct on his tour to America, Japan and Europe in 1910. At Vancouver he received an address from Babu Tarak Nath Das, the moving spirit of the "Free Hindustan" a notoriously violent revolutionary publication. His Highness could hardly have been ignorant of the character of so notorious an agitator as Babu Tarak Nath Das or of the construction which must inevitably be put on his association with him. There is further the strongest ground for believing that the Gaekwar met the most prominent of the Indian revolutionaries, including Madame Cama, at a soiree near Paris in November 1910. On this occasion the Gaekwar is reported to have said that he had no intention of being in India when the King-Emperor visited the country as he did not wish to pay His Majesty the customary servile homage. Whether this be true or not, it is admitted that the Maharani whose opinions are well known to be extreme and whose influence with His Highness is considerable, when at Vichy in the summer of 1910, established close relations with Madame Cama, associated with her publicity and exchanged visits, while, as Your Lordship is aware, His Highness's second son, Sivaji Rao, has adopted and expresses openly the most extreme Nationalist views. His Highness himself has recently admitted to Your Lordship that when in England he made a donation to the notorious agitator, Bepin Chandra Pal.

15. Even if it be urged that so far as the Gaekwar is concerned there is no evidence of active disloyalty, his words and actions

evinced a sympathy with the extremists, which is inconsistent with his duty to the British Crown and incompatible with the interests of our Indian Empire. It is significant that a very general belief of the existence of such sympathy prevails, both within and outside of the Nationalist fold—a belief of which His Highness must be aware (indeed he has practically admitted as much), but which he has never made any attempt to dispel, though attention has frequently been drawn to it in the assertions of extremist agitators and though his picture has more than once appeared among portraits published by the extreme party of Nationalist heroes, etc. It is not without significance that he is the only prominent Chief so favoured.

16. We now desire to invite Your Lordship's attention to the Letter from the Government of Bombay, dated the 29th September 1911 with enclosures. correspondence noted in the margin in which the Government of Bombay and our Resident at Baroda, report the circumstances in which certain seditious publications have been proved to emanate from Baroda.

Letter from the Resident at Baroda, No. 10930, dated the 11th October 1911, with enclosures.

(Enclosures Nos. 3 and 4.)

In the spring of this year violently seditious literature was found in circulation at Bombay. Circumstances seemed to point to Baroda as the distributing centre. A clue was obtained and, as the result of a sudden visit paid by the Bombay Police, between five and six hundred copies of a book euphemistically called "Vegetable Medicines" were found concealed in a well at Naosari, the head quarters of one of the four divisions constituting the Baroda State. This book, which contained such phrases as "To slay white officials is a merit, not a sin", was being systematically distributed in Bombay by means of agents (since tried and convicted) employed by one Abba Sahib Ramchandra, a notorious seditionist and ex-convict, who with another well-known bad character, named Madhava Rao, and assisted by a gang of 34 others, some of whom are known to the British Police, had settled down at Billimora, a place a few miles from Naosari, and were working a press "Commercial Press of Billimora". At the time of the discovery of these books, and as the direct result of strong representations from the Resident, both Abba Sahib and Madhava Rao were already under arrest; the first for his unauthorised management of the "Commercial Press", the registered proprietor of which had proved upon investigation to be a non-existent or fictitious personage; the other for conducting a swindling lottery, with wide ramifications in British India, in which high Baroda officials, including K. G. Deshpande, a well-known extremist, and the

District Magistrate of Naosari were closely concerned, and one of the objects of which was to support the Ganganath school referred to in paragraph 9 above.

Following upon the find of these books the Government of Bombay suggested a joint enquiry on the part of their own and of the State Police, so as to determine, if possible, who was the author of the book and where it had been printed. In deference to the Resident's advice the Durbar consented to this enquiry which was concluded at the end of August last. The result has been to establish (1) that the author of the book is a clerk named Narsingbhai Patel, in the employ of the Durbar; (2) that the book was printed at the Shikshak Press at Mehsana, the head-quarters of the Kadi Division of the Baroda State; and (3) that a pleader, named Punjabhai, living in the Kaira District, Bombay, had financed the book's publication.

Punjabhai has been suitably dealt with in the Court of the District Magistrate, Kaira, but Narsingbhai Patel, the author, having committed no offence against the State laws, cannot be proceeded against.

Such in brief is the outcome of the joint enquiry, a result which in itself is gravely compromising to the good name of the Baroda State. But these facts in themselves, strong as they are, by no means represent the full force of the indictment against the Durbar. And, in order to form a correct view of the position, the following additional facts must be taken into consideration.

In the first place, Abba Sahib and his past record and character were brought to the notice of the Durbar in April 1910.

Similarly, warnings in regard to Madhava Rao and his dishonest conduct of the lottery were conveyed to the Durbar on several occasions in the latter half of 1910. In spite of this no action was taken by the Baroda Government until June 1911, and then only in consequence of the strongest pressure from the Residency.

Even more remarkable are the facts in regard to Narsingbhai Patel, the author of "Vegetable Medicines" and of a seditious life of Garibaldi which was also printed at a Baroda Press. For, early, in 1909, the Resident informed the Durbar that Narsingbhai had published and circulated in British India a Gujarati translation of the speeches of Arabindo Ghose. This pamphlet was also published at the Shikshak Press at Mehsana, which was then the joint property of Narsingbhai and his brother. The Durbar promised to prosecute Narsingbhai, and there so far as the Residency

was concerned, the matter terminated. But Mr. Cobb, the present Resident, has recently learnt that this promise was never fulfilled. Narsingonai has thus been left free to continue unmolested his campaign of sedition against the British Indian Government, to utilise the same press, and to remain in the Durbar's service. The Durbar's breach of faith in this matter is directly due to the influence of K. R. Yadhav, a relation of the Gaekwar who is the District Magistrate of Mehsana.

As to the character of the so called "joint" enquiry it is significant that, though the fullest co-operation was promised by the Durbar, Mr. Vincent, the British officer employed, met with much passive and some active opposition on the part of the Durbar's own officials. In referring to this point our Director of Criminal Intelligence writes as follows:—"The Baroda authorities allowed the British Police to make enquiries in this case because, I am convinced, they thought they would be fruitless. When it appeared they might be successful almost all pretence of co-operation disappeared and Mr. Vincent had to put up with obstruction and insult."

It may be argued that the facts narrated in the preceding paragraphs scarcely warrant any general indictment of the Durbar's methods and policy. But it must be remembered that this is the only instance where there has been an opportunity of employing British Police. Mr. Cobb is of opinion—and his views are supported by a multiplicity of other corroborating facts that only the fringe of the seditious movement in Baroda has so far been touched and that could the operations of our police be extended other and far more serious disclosures would follow. In this connection two further points may be mentioned.

Firstly, out of 167 seditious books and publications which have been proscribed in British India no less than seventeen have admittedly been published in Baroda presses. Though this significant fact has been twice brought to the Durbar's notice by the Resident, no steps during the six months which have since intervened seem to have been taken by the Durbar either to proscribe the books themselves or to bring their authors or publishers to account.

Secondly, statements have been received from several quarters that secret societies of the most dangerous type exist in Baroda, but without independent enquiry on the part of our own police, it is impossible to verify them.

17. The facts related in the foregoing paragraphs appear to us to establish indisputably that a movement dangerously anti-British in character exists in Baroda, with which the State laws as they exist at present are inadequate to cope ; that the Durbar, if they have not openly encouraged the movement, have declined to frame the legislation which the circumstances require, and that such action against sedition, as they have taken, has been taken grudgingly and only as the result of continual pressure from the Resident. The responsibility for their attitude must rest primarily with the Maharaja. It has been clearly shown that His Highness and his family openly associate with extremists ; that he deliberately employs in the State service persons of whose extremist views he is aware ; that he alone, of all the ruling Chiefs in India, has failed to co-operate with the British Government in the suppression of sedition ; and that open expressions of loyalty, if they have been made at all have been given reluctantly and unwillingly.

18. With this evidence before us of the state of affairs in Baroda, we find ourselves unable to account for the attitude of the Gaekwar and his Government on the supposition that their loyalty is genuine. The plain testimony of facts must be accepted as superior to all verbal professions of loyalty. We fully concur with the Bombay Government that the circumstances are such as to demand prompt and decisive action if further and more serious trouble is to be averted. Had we taken steps at an earlier period we might have been accused of undue precipitation and of refusing to allow the Maharaja a reasonable time to take the measures which the situation demands. Such is not the case. A policy of conciliation has been tried and has failed while forbearance has been pushed to the extreme limit of safety. His Highness now stands without excuse. It was open to him to clear himself of all suspicion of infidelity by doing his manifest duty, but, instead of following the example of the Rulers of other Native States in adopting legislative measures for the suppression of sedition, he has persistently disregarded the advice of the Government of India and the warnings of the Resident, has shown both in word and deed his sympathy with the enemies of the British Crown and has afforded them indirect assistance which may be but the prelude to some more open measures of co-operation.

19. It may be urged in defence of His Highness that he has taken into his employ and even admitted to the highest appointment in the State officers lent to him by the British Government and that he cannot be held responsible if the action taken by his executive officers is inadequate.

We regret we cannot endorse this view. The authority which the European officials exercise is superficial, not real. The powers of Mr. Seddon, the present Minister, are restricted in many ways and his facilities for interference are extremely limited under the system of delegated authority which prevails in the State. He is carefully kept in ignorance of any currents below the superficial work of the various departments. The real and only authority in the State is the Maharaja acting through his Indian Council. Mr. Seddon himself, who for sometimes had maintained that no action was required now admits that the position is serious and that there is no hope of success until His Highness the Maharaja changes his extraordinary attitude. There can be no doubt as to the relevancy of this opinion. The Bombay Government have emphasised the point in paragraph 7 of their letter* and in this opinion we entirely concur. No legislation will have any effect, no measures directed against sedition will be of any avail unless it is clearly demonstrated both to the public and to the officials that the Maharaja himself is determined to stamp it out.

20. The position having thus been made clear we turn now to consideration of the measures which we consider desirable to adopt. In his letter† of the 11th October, Mr. Cobb has analysed exhaustively the provisions contained in the existing laws for dealing with sedition against the Paramount Power and has indicated the extent to which they are deficient for the purpose. We agree generally in his conclusions, but, in asking the Durbar to remodel their laws, we consider that the legislation which they should be required to undertake should be not necessarily on British Indian lines but similar to that which loyal and well-administered Native States have already adopted. The enforcement of the laws, when enacted, must be secured.

To this end we propose to expound the position in a letter to the Gaekwar from the Foreign Secretary and to require him to accept the following conditions :—

(1) That at a special Durbar convened for the purpose he will make a speech condemning in unequivocal terms all and every form of sedition directed against the British Crown and the British Government of India.

This speech which will receive our approval before its delivery will be published in the Durbar's official Gazette and communicated to the Press.

* Enclosure No. 3.

† Enclosure No. 4.

(2) That he will remodel on the lines of similar laws in force in loyal and well administered Native States elsewhere the Baroda laws dealing with sedition, the Press, and the possession of arms and explosives.

(3) That he will place the State Police force under a British Officer lent by us for the purpose.

(4) That certain of the Baroda officials who are notorious for their extreme and anti-British views will be called upon to resign and required to quit Baroda territory for good.

21. Drastic though these measures may appear we are convinced that no policy more lenient than that which we propose will provide an effectual remedy. As we have already pointed out in paragraph 17 of this despatch and this is a point which we desire to emphasize we are of necessity ignorant of the actual extent of the seditious movement in Baroda. Were we at liberty to pursue our investigations unhindered the result would not improbably be to demonstrate the existence of a state of affairs even more dangerous than that which has hitherto been disclosed. Our recommendations have been made after the most anxious consideration and with a full appreciation of the serious importance of the step which we contemplate. But, when a Ruling Chief, in the position of the Gaekwar, so far from fulfilling his clear obligations to the Paramount Power, constitutes himself directly or indirectly the patron of sedition and permits his State to become a refuge for the enemies of Government and a base for their operations against British India, further forbearance would be fraught with the gravest danger to our administration in India, would be interpreted as a sign of weakness, and would afford a direct encouragement to other Ruling Chiefs in India to follow his example.

22. These considerations have forced us to the conclusion that a vigorous exertion of the authority of the Paramount Power can no longer safely be delayed. We trust that His Majesty's Government will agree with us in our estimate of the gravity of the position and will accept our recommendations which it will be observed have the strong support of the Bombay Government to whose administration the existing position in Baroda constitutes a most serious menace.

We are disposed to think that the Gaekwar, if the question is brought to a definite issue, will comply with our requests rather

than hazard an open rupture, and we need not assure Your Lordship that we shall use every endeavour to arrive at an amicable settlement. Indeed, if the Gaekwar is genuinely anxious to co-operate, he can have no reasonable ground for objecting to the action which we propose. But, should His Highness adopt a different course or suggest abdication, a possibility at which the Bombay Government hint in paragraph 20 of their letter, we should not hesitate in the one case to recommend even more forcible measures, while in the other we should be prepared to face with equanimity any hostile criticism which such a step might evoke.

23. In conclusion we would add, with reference to paragraph 1 of the letter from the Bombay Government that we are not prepared to recommend the reconsideration of the question of the retrocession of the Baroda State to that Government, nor in our opinion is there anything in recent developments which render such a step necessary or desirable.

We have the honour to be,

My Lord Marquis,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
humble servants,

(Signed) HARDINGE OF PENSHURST,

(Signed) O. M. CREACH,

(Signed) GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON,

(Signed) J. L. JENKINS,

(Signed) R. W. CARLYLE,

(Signed) S. H. BUTLER,

(Signed) SAYED ALI IMAM,

(Signed) W. H. CLARK.

SAYAJIRAO AND THE POLITICAL SUSPECTS ABROAD, 1914

HUZUR POLITICAL OFFICE, BARODA, CONFIDENTIAL FILE NO. 321 IN THE
BARODA RECORDS.)

[The following is the relevant extract from the Government of India, Foreign Department, letter furnished to the Dewan of Baroda by the Resident with his d. o. letter dated 8th April 1914. It shows the policy of the British Government to keep the Indian Princes visiting Europe away from certain groups of Indians in Europe.]

Extract

In view of His Highness's impending visit to England, we asked Sir C. Cleveland to furnish us, if possible, with a complete list of extremists and undesirables abroad. The list sent is not exhaustive, nor does the inclusion of a name in the list mean that the individual is under Police surveillance.

His Highness may also be told that there are certain groups of Indians in Europe who busy themselves with spreading lies and incitements against the British and occasionally join such plots as these that resulted in the murder of Messrs. Jackson and Ashe in India. Perhaps the most prominent among these people are Madam Cama, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Edward Holton James, Shyamji Krishna Varma, S. R. Rana, Sir Walter Strickland, Champakraman Pillai, Edward Delgado, Niranjan Pal and Zafar Ali Khan. Any friends or associates of the above should be avoided. It would not be necessary, I dare to say, that all the friends and associates are revolutionary plotters or traducers of the British Government, but the majority certainly are and attempts at discriminating might be unsuccessful. There are also in the Continent a group of discontented Egyptians who are thinking of making a common cause with the Indian malcontents and who in their paper "La Patre Egyptienne" have glorified Dhingra and Ch. Savarkar and others, who have in the name of Indian politics committed serious crimes. The Egyptians should be avoided. There are also many other desperadoes and adventurers all willing and anxious to exploit any exalted personage for their own advantage. In Europe, reliable introductions should be the only passport to acquaintanceships. It is important to impress upon His Highness that the Government of India will expect him before he associates with Indians in Paris or abroad to assure himself that they are not friends of Madam Cama or any of the persons named in the list. They will also expect similar precautions to be taken in the case of his suite.

ROWLATT ACT AGITATION IN BARODA STATE 1919

(POLITICAL FILE FROM THE BARODA RECORD OFFICE, BARODA.)

The unrest which spread all over India as a result of the passing of the Rowlatt Act in 1919, had a contagious effect on Baroda State as well. Meetings were held at Amreli, Navsari, Vyara, Baroda, etc. to protest against the Rowlatt Bill, to wish success to the Satyagraha movement. Meetings were also convened by merchants and chambers of commerce to criticise the food control policy of the Government (vide Police Commissioner's Report, dated 16th April 1919).

The Minister, Mr. Manubhai N. Mehta, recorded the following minute on the Police Commissioner's report.

"The Amreli Suba should be asked to impress upon the local public that the Rowlatt Act in no way affects them and the Head Master of the High School should clearly explain the tenor of the Act to the schools and leave no misunderstanding.

No strikes on the occasion of arrests of people in British India should be tolerated.

The Police Naib Suba, Navasari should be asked to keep under control men like Tamankar, Dayalji Nanubhai and Dajibhai Rudarji, so as to see that any attempt to create trouble is nipped in the bud 17th April 1919".

REPORT OF HAPPENINGS

(FROM POLITICAL FILE OF THE BARODA STATE RECORDS.)

Meeting at Amreli.

Confidential.

On the 6th instant an open-air meeting was held at Amreli to protest against the Rowlatt Bills and to wish success to the Satyagraha movement. About 300 persons attended. Nothing objectionable was said.

A strike was observed on the 12th and 13th, on receipt of the news of M. K. Gandhi's arrest. About 60 students of the High School wore black bands on their arms. A meeting, attended by about 500 persons was held on the evening of the 13th to pray for M. K. Gandhi's release.

The meeting of the 6th was convened by Nagarshet Tribhovan Parnanand, Rajratna Hiralal Govindji Vakil, Chatrubhuj Jagjivandas Vakil, Jamnadas Vamanji Vakil, Seth Tribhovan Motichand, Seth Suleman Arbi, Seth Amad Dada, Seth Musa Mahmad and Seth Musa Abharam, whose names appear on the leaflet printed at the "Ranolaya Press", Amreli. I think, that the Suba might be asked to warn these persons that they will be responsible for any evil effects of the movement they are starting and to point out to them that the Rowalatt Bills concern them even less than the people of the Bombay Presidency, where they will not be applied. The Headmaster of the High School might enlighten his students in the same way.

At Vyara.

The P. N. S., Navsari, reports that a strike was observed at Vyara on the 12th, engineered, as he is informed, by Dajibhai Rudaraji. (This is possibly the last Editor of the "Chabuk", now on the staff of the "Vafadar").

Tamankar's efforts to start a strike in Navsari were defeated by the stand made by Mr. Brijbhukandas.

Yesterday Balyogi was bound down by the Suba for six months to refrain from public speaking and writing to the Press. I have not yet been able to obtain the names of Bal Yogi's supporters who held the meeting in the Hind Vijaya Press on the 14th, at which they determined to start a strike if Bal-Yogi were arrested.

After discussing the situation with the Sar Suba, it was decided that he should call up Messrs. Haribhakti, Samal Becharwala and Chimanlal Girdharlal and enlist their support. The Suba thinks that no action can be taken at present under the Press Act against the "Hind Vijaya".

Baroda, 16th April 1919.

R. G. HIRST,
Commissioner of Police.

THE DIWAN'S ORDER

Confidential.

Police Commissioner's Office
Baroda, 16th April 1919.

No. D. 584.

Forwarded with compliments to H.E. the Dewan Saheb, for favour of information.

(Signed) R. H. HIRST,
Commissioner of Police.

The Amreli Suba should be asked to impress upon the local public that the Rowlatt Act, in no way affects them and the Head Master of the High School should clearly explain the tenor of the Act to the Schools and leave no misunderstanding.

No strikes on the occasion of arrests of people in British India should be tolerated.

The Police Naeb Suba, Navsari, should be asked to keep under control men like Tamankar, Dayalji Nanubhai and Daji Bhai Rudarji, so as to see that any attempt to create trouble is nipped in the bud.

17th April 1919.

(Signed) MANUBHAI N.

DIRECT PEOPLE TO ABSTAIN FROM MOVEMENT

Strictly confidential.

HUZUR POLITICAL OFFICER :
Baroda, 13th April 1919.

No. M. 5320.

To

M. H. R. Suba Saheb, Amreli.

My dear Sir,

It appears from a report of the Police Commissioner that on the 6th instant an open air meeting was held at Amreli to protest against the Rowlatt Bills and to wish success to the Satyagraha movement, that a strike was observed on the 12th and 13th, on receipt of the

news of Mr. Gandhiji's arrest, that about 60 students of the High School wore black bands on their arms, that a meeting was held on the evening of the 13th to pray for Mr. Gandhiji's release. The meeting of the 6th seems to have been convened by Nagarsheth Tribhovan Parmanand, Rajraja Hiralal Govindji Vakil, Jamnadas Vanmali Vakil, Chaturbhuj Jagjivandas Vakil, Seth Tribhovan Motichand, Seth Suleman Arbi, Seth Amad Dada, Seth Musa Mamad and Seth Musa Obharam.

H. E. the Dewan Saheb directs that you should call these and other leaders of the public and impress upon them and through them the local public, that the Rowlatt Act in no way affects them and that they should refrain from any such agitation. The Head Master of the High School should also be called and asked to clearly explain to the students of the schools, the tenor of the Act and to allow no misunderstanding on their part on the subject.

H. E. the Dewan Saheb further directs that no strikes on the occasion of arrest of people in British India should be tolerated.

You will, please, arrange things tactfully and see that any attempt to create trouble is nipped in the bud.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed).....

Political Secretary.

HANDLE THE SITUATION CAREFULLY

No. M/5337.

Huzur Political Office :
Baroda, 19th April 1919.

Dear Sir,

The Rowlatt Act does not affect the Baroda Raj and it is not desirable that the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb should express their sympathy with the agitation that is being carried on in British India against the said Act. You should therefore, watch the public feeling on the subject and when necessary explain to the leading citizens, informally the intentions and scope of the Act and its inapplicability to the Raj and try to remove any misunderstandings on their part. You should also try to impress upon them, also informally, the undesirability of observing strike, on account of the arrest of any agitators in British India or in consequence of any action the British Government may take with

regard to them. You should bring home to them the deplorable consequences of strikes and their inevitable tendency to go beyond the control and anticipations of the originators. Strikes are always fraught with evil results and in these days of scarcity and shortage of food supplies the consequences would be disastrous and interruption of communications and of carriage of supplies of food and fodder would mean death by starvation to hundreds of men and beasts. H. H.'s Government trust that you will handle the situation tactfully and manage to prevent any complications.

S.D. V.D.

19th April 1919.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) M. N.,
Dewan.

AMRELI SUBA'S REPORT

Strictly confidential.

SUBA OFFICE :

Amreli, 27th April 1919.

To

THE POLITICAL SECRETARY,
Baroda.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your office communications Nos. M./5320 and M/5339 I have the honour to inform you that as reported by the Police Commissioner, a meeting was held on the 6th instant in Kamnath Temple to offer prayers for Gandhi's release and to express regret for his arrest. I was not present on that day in Amreli but was on tour in Kodinar. The members of the meeting as I learnt on my return had waited upon the Police Naib Suba who had allowed them to meet on condition that they should speak nothing against the Rowlatt Bill nor they make any observations concerning the British Government. Thus the meeting was held and was confined only to the offer of prayers without any speeches of a Political character. The shops were closed on the 12th and 13th keeping open certain shops to meet the requirements of the people and that some students had worn black bands and moved in the town is also a fact. There was a public meeting held on the 13th with the permission of the Police Naib Suba who had warned them not to make any political

speeches and the meeting was confined only to speeches praying for Gandhi's release and long life. There was no word spoken about Satyagraha or Rowlatt Bill. I came to know about this meeting also after it had taken place. The meetings were quiet and not disturbed by any rowdiness or violence or false enthusiasm. No apprehensions should be entertained about any agitation or disturbance occurring in this district. I had already taken precautions to ensure that nothing unallowed happened. However in compliance with His Excellency's orders I had called the leaders of the Mahajans and persuaded them not to initiate such occurrences in future and also warned the Head Master to keep the boys under strict control so that they may not take part in such occurrences in future. There are no such persons in this district who are likely to lead people astray by their political preaching or in any other way. You will kindly place these facts before His Excellency the Dewan Saheb for his informations.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) N. K. ALANI,

Suba, Amreli District.

Seen

(Sd.) Manubhai N.

VICEROY SENDS GOVERNMENT'S RESOLUTION

VICEREGAL LODGE :

Simla, 17th April 1919.

My Honoured and Valued Friend,

I desire to forward for your Highness's information a copy of resolution issued by the Government of India regarding the serious disturbances which have arisen out of the agitation against the passing of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Bill. The disturbances have been specially grave in the British Districts which lie between portions of the Baroda State. I am glad to think that I can always rely on your Highness's support and co-operation in the suppression of such outbursts of lawlessness.

I desire to express the high consideration which I entertain for your Highness and to subscribe myself.

Your Highness's sincere friend,

(Sd.) CHELMSFORD.

His Highness

Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar Bahadur,
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., of Baroda,

THE GAZETTE OF INDIA

EXTRAORDINARY.

SIMLA :

Monday, April 14, 1919.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

No. 549, dated Simla, the 14th April 1919.

RESOLUTION.—By the Government of India, Home Department.

The present situation arising out of the agitation against the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act (commonly called the Rowlatt Act), renders it imperative on the Governor General in Council to define the attitude of the Government on the subject of that agitation and the serious disorders which have resulted therefrom, and to indicate the nature of the concerted action which it is now necessary to take for the preservation of law and order.

When the Bill was under discussion, its opponents publicly stated that if it is passed into law, a campaign of agitation against it, on a scale hitherto unattempted, would be organised throughout India, and a section of them indicated that they would support that campaign by resort to what is known as "passive resistance". No one cognisant of the conditions of India could have been ignorant at the time of the dangers of initiating a widespread movement of this

nature. They were clearly pointed out by many public men of moderate views, and the representatives of Government did not fail, during the debates of the Bill, to emphasize the serious consequences to the public peace which would follow from an agitation such as was then threatened.

These warnings were unheeded, and to the agitation which has succeeded the passing of the Act, must be directly attributed the open breaches of the public peace, the defiance which have lately been witnessed in certain parts of India. The agitation has followed a double line of action, namely direct criticism of the Act by means of public speeches and publications, and the initiation of the threatened movement of "passive resistance". The latter movement was ushered in by a demonstration consisting of the observance of a day of fasting, and the closing of shops and places of business. Such a demonstration was not in itself illegal, but there is ample evidence to prove that in more than one place those locally responsible for this organisation overstepped the limits of lawful persuasion, and resorted to direct interference with the business of many who were not interested in the movement, and to forcible obstruction of the traffic in the public streets. But the indirect consequences of this aspect of the agitation have been far more mischievous, in that it promoted a sense of unrest and of excitement which was bound to react, and has reacted, on the more ignorant and inflammable sections of the population. The campaign of criticism has involved in many quarters the use of most flagrant misrepresentations regarding the character of the Act. It is clear that large numbers of ignorant people have been deliberately led to believe that the new law gives the police unfettered authority to interfere with public meetings not only of a political, but of a religious and social nature, and to arrest summarily persons engaged in political work, and that it empowers the executive authorities to imprison without trial any person criticising the action of Government.

The Governor General in Council thinks it necessary to reiterate here the following salient facts concerning this Act. It is specifically directed against revolutionary and anarchical crime, and can only be brought into force in any locality when it has been proved to the satisfaction of the Governor General in Council that such crime or movements tending to such crime exist. It has not so far been brought into operation in any part of India. Its first part merely provides for the speedy trial of certain grave offences, in the second and third parts provision is made for preventive action (similar to but much more restricted in scope than that now provided by the Rules under the Defence of India Act) against persons suspected of

revolutionary or anarchical crime. Action cannot, however be taken against any individual without the previous order of the local Government. There is nothing therefore which can justify the wide spread rumour, for which the promoters of the agitation must be held responsible, that unusual, or even extended powers have been given to the police, nor is there anything which need cause fear or apprehension to any person other than the revolutionary or the anarchist. Not only do the terms of the Act definitely exclude its use in any case not falling within the definition of anarchical or revolutionary conspiracy, but Government has given the most categorical pledge (which the Governor General in Council takes this opportunity to reiterate) that the tenor and intention of the Act will be scrupulously safeguarded should occasion arise to put it into operation.

The Governor General in Council considers it unnecessary to detail here the deplorable occurrences resulting from the agitation against this act. The offences which have occurred at Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Lahore have one common feature, the unprovoked attempt of violent and unruly mobs to hamper or obstruct those charged with the duty of maintaining order in public places. At Amritsar and Ahmedabad they have taken a far graver form, a murderous attack on defenceless individuals, and a wholesale, and wanton destruction of private and public property. The Governor General in Council thinks it right to state that at Amritsar the loss of life might have been greater but for the protection afforded by unofficial Indians to those who were threatened by the mob, and he takes this opportunity of expressing the gratitude of Government for this conspicuous example of loyalty and humane feeling.

It remains for the Governor General in Council to assert in the clearest manner the intention of Government to prevent by all means, however drastic, any recurrence of these excesses. He will not hesitate to employ the ample military resources at his disposal to suppress organised outrage, rioting or concerted opposition to the maintenance of law and order, and has already sanctioned the application of the State Offences Regulation, 1804, in a modified form, to certain districts of the Punjab. He will further use all preventive measures provided by the Statutes to check disorder at its source, and in Regulation III of 1818, and the corresponding regulations applicable to Bombay and Madras and in the Rules under the Defence of India Act, he has powers which will enable him to deal effectively with those who promote disorder. He has sanctioned the extension of the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act to the districts of Lahore and Amritsar in the Punjab, and will

authorize a similar extension to other areas in which local Governments see reason to require it. The Police Act of 1861 enables local Government to quarter additional police to any locality which is guilty of organised offences against the public peace, at the charge of the inhabitants, and to levy from the latter compensation for those who have suffered from injury to their property. The Governor General in Council will advise local Governments to make use of these provisions where necessary.

The Governor General in Council feels that many of those who inaugurated this agitation must regret the lamentable consequences which have ensued, the loss of life and property, and the damage to the reputation of India. He now appeals to all loyal subjects of the Crown, and to all those who have an interest in the maintenance of law and the protection of the property, both to dissociate themselves publicly from the movement, and to exert themselves in quieting unrest and preventing disorder. To all those who render such assistance to the cause of the public and the State, and to those servants of Government who are charged with the onerous responsibility of suppressing excesses against public peace and tranquillity the Governor General in Council extends the fullest assurance of countenance and support.

ORDER.—Ordered that the Resolution be published in the Gazette of India and communicated to all local Governments and administrations and all Departments of the Government of India.

(Signed) J. H. DUBEULAY,
Secretary to the Government of India.

SAYAJIRAO'S REPLY TO VICEROY

Laxmi Vilas Palace,
Baroda, 28th April 1919.

To

His Excellency The Right Honourable Sir Frederic John Napier
Thesiger, Baron Chelmsford, P.C., G.C.M.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E.,
G.B.E.,

Viceroy and Governor General of India, Simla.

My honoured and valued friend,

I have duly received your Excellency's letter dated the 17th instant forwarding for my information a copy of Resolution No. 549

dated the 14th Idem regarding the serious disturbances which have arisen in consequence of the agitation against the passing of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act.

I was very sorry to learn about the disturbances which were reported to be specially grave in the British District in Gujarat adjoining the Baroda State.

I am glad to inform Your Excellency that, so far as I am aware, the contagion has not spread to my territories. Your Excellency may certainly count on my full support and co-operation in the suppression of outbursts of lawlessness and I am thankful for your Excellency's expression of confidence in me in that regard.

With an expression of the high consideration I entertain for Your Excellency, I beg to subscribe myself,

Your Excellency's sincere friend,

SIGN MANUAL,
Maharaja of Baroda.

THE DIWAN'S CONFIDENTIAL MEMO

Confidential Memo.

The Rowlatt Act, otherwise known as the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes, Act passed by the Government of India, has no application to the Baroda State. It is the express desire of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb that the Baroda subjects should not participate in or show sympathy with, the violent agitation that is being carried on in British India against the passing of the said Act. If the British Government take any action in British India against the agitators, the Baroda subjects should refrain from expressing any views of disapproval etc. with regard to the same. There should be no strikes in Baroda territory in consequence of any arrest of the agitators in British India, business-men, shop-keepers, etc. should follow their avocations as usual without interruption.

The District Officers should therefore call the leaders of the people, informally, and explain to them the desire of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb. They should be enlightened about the true scope and object of the Rowlatt Act as explained in the Government of India Resolution No. 549 dated the 14th April 1919, and attempts should be made to remove any misunderstanding of the public on this subject. The Head Masters of Schools should be taken into confidence and it should be impressed upon them that the student class, as a body, should abstain from taking part in this uncalled for agitation.

The Officers should make it clear that any sort of agitation in this connection will not be tolerated by His Highness's Government and they should take immediate steps to nip in the bud any movement in that direction. They should carefully keep a strict watch over the public feelings and the endeavour of mischievous people to foment trouble and should any emergency arise, handle the situation tactfully but firmly and take such precautionary and remedial action as the exigencies of the occasion may require. All untoward occurrences should be promptly reported.

Copy of this should be sent to the Subas of the four Districts and to the Police Commissioner and to the Educational Commissioner for doing the needful.

Proper guard should at once be placed at Telegraph Officers, Stations, Banks and Treasuries if there is any presentiment of approaching trouble.

Huzur Cutcherry,

Baroda, 28th April 1919.

(Signed) MANUBHAI N. D.,
Dewan.

(Signed) V. D. S.

No. M/5537
29th April 19 .

Copy forwarded to M. R. R. the Suba Saheb, Navsari, for information and guidance.

(Signed) V. D. SATGHARE,
Political Secretary.

NARSINHBHAI PATEL AND SEDITIOUS BOOKS IN BARODA STATE

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT No. 7 OF 1912.)

Both the seditious books were translated from Bengali works, and enquiries elicited the fact that both Punjabhai and Narsinh had studied this language, and that the latter was very proficient in the same. Proof was obtained that this "respectable" pleader Punjabhai was on terms of intimacy with the swindler Abba Saheb and also had the support of Mohanlal Pandya and other State officials, including Mr. K. G. Deshpande, the Suba of Naosari. Working on these lines, the Sub-Inspector of the Bombay C. I. D. was able to gain the confidence of Punjabhai, and became the intermediary between him and Narsinh in certain communications and letters which passed with a view to the supply of some of these seditious books. His mission was successful and resulted in the delivery of books by Narsinh, on the direct and personal representation of Punjabhai, who paid a visit for this purpose to Mehsana. Action was there and then taken against Punjabhai under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, in the Court of the District Magistrate, Kaira, and resulted in his being bound over. At this trial Narsinh gave evidence on behalf of the Crown, and though he spoke to the main facts leading upto the delivery of the books, he tried to shield himself as to his share in their production.

A this was the main point of the enquiry, further enquiries were made in Baroda, Bombay and Naosari. Certain entries were found in account books leading to enquiries at the Shikshak Press at Mehsana. This press was in the possession of one Gangadhar Sakharam Joshi, who undertook therein the printing of Narsinh's educational magazine, the Shikshak. The press had previously been run by Narsinh and his brother.

These further enquiries proved that the book "Vanaspathini Davao" was printed at the Shikshak Press, and Narsinh made full admission before the Resident of Baroda, and later in the day before the then Dewan, Mr. Seddon, as to his connection with the books of which he was the author. The State instituted a case against the proprietor of the press for breach of the Press Regulations the only charge under which, with its admittedly defective laws against sedition, they were able to take action. The case

rested on Narsinh's evidence corroborated by two employees of the press, a compositor and a binder. Meanwhile the conviction of Punjabhai by the District Magistrate, Kaira, has unfortunately been quashed by the High Court and a re-trial ordered to take place before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay. Punjabhai's ability to engineer this was due to the enormous support he received from Baroda State subjects.

The laws of the State were such that Narsinh could not be punished for publishing and writing the vilest calumnies and the most virulent sedition against the British Government. When it was seen that it was proposed to make use of him, his supporters and admirers rose up in arms and the enquiry was hampered in every possible way. Narsinh, though a free and voluntary witness, was said to have been abducted and on his side were ranged officers of the State of such position as Mr. Khaserao Bhagwant Jadhav, the Subha of Mehsana, under whom Narsinh was employed. One of the results of this campaign of hostility against an enquiry into sedition in the Baroda State was that the case against the owner of the press broke down hopelessly, Narsinh and two others of the Chief Prosecution witnesses having turned round. The higher officials of the State were convinced that this failure of justice was the result of the direct pressure of the extremist element. With their hands strengthened by the return of His Highness The Gaikwar from England, disciplinary measures were taken, as a result of which Mr. Jadhav was transferred to the Forest Department, Mr. Deshpande was forced to resign, the Shikshak Press was confiscated. Narsinh and Abba Saheb were deported from Baroda territory and, in pursuance of enquiries made by the State Police, Mr. Mohanlal Pandya has also been made to sever his connection with the State. Meanwhile the re-trial of the case against Punjabhai came on in the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay. Narsinh's evidence was necessary, but he ignored all summonses to attend, attendance not being imperative on a State subject. On his deportation from the State, advantage was taken of the situation, and he was served with a warrant of arrest on which he was brought to Bombay for the purpose of giving evidence. Here he distinguished himself by an extraordinary contradiction of facts which have since led to his prosecution for perjury. This Narsinh, school-master, educationalist, clerk and atheist, imbibed his ideas of independence and hostility to Government at the time when Aravindo Ghose was flourishing in Baroda, and his future movements and activities will require vigilant surveillance. He is a dangerous specimen of the Patidar community, which has rather an unenviable reputation for criminality and the subversion of justice and order.

VII
SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

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SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

[The idea of Swadeshi was clearly expounded with its economic implications, in the forties of the last century by the penetrating genius of Lokahitawadi. It was, however, scientifically propounded by Justice Ranade about 1872-73. The propagation and organisation of the idea were carried on methodically under the auspices of the Sarvajanik Sabha by Sarvajanik Kaka (Shri G. V. Joshi) about 1875 and onwards by opening Share Capital Shops at different places. The Commercial aspect of it was seen and understood by men like Ambalal Sakarlal, Premabhai Himabhai, Manibhai Jashbhai of Cutch, Ranchodlal Chotalal and others who formed the Swadeshi Udyam Vardhak Mandali (1876) at Ahmedabad. The Maharaja Sayajirao of Baroda has always encouraged Swadeshi industries. It is interesting to know that as early as the seventies of the last century a leader like Sarvajanik Kaka took a vow to put on hand spun and hand woven khadi.

Swadeshi became a political weapon after the partition of Bengal and was followed by its counterpart, boycott of foreign goods. This created a rift in the Congress leaders. Not that the moderates did not appreciate the efficacy of this weapon but perhaps they were not prepared to displease the rulers to that extent. But the Bengali moderates, it appears, differed from them slightly. At Surat Surendranath had declared that "Swadeshi was boycott and boycott was Swadeshi", thus assuring that the principle of boycott was acceptable to them as a political weapon.

The extracts given here include one important letter published by the Hon. G. K. Gokhale (June 1894) as the Secretary of the Sarvajanik Sabha calling a meeting to protest against the Government policy of excluding foreign textile goods from duty. Mr. Gokhale in his letter called upon his friends to take a vow not to purchase Manchester articles until at least duty was imposed on them. The "Kesari" had reproduced this letter (5th February, 1907) when Gokhale was found unwilling to support the boycott movement as a political weapon. The other important extracts show how the wave of this agitation had reached to the remote corners and how the students had taken a prominent part in the demonstration. Kolhapur again came in the forefront when the High School pupils refused to accept for writing the answer papers which were of foreign make. They walked out of the school (September 1905) and boycotted the examination. Prof. Vijapurkar, the staunch propagator of Swadeshi, was made to leave the College and a large number of students were

punished. The Gokak incident also shows how the young students organised the processions and threw away the sweetmeats in the street distributed to them by the Collector. In Ahmedabad they had offered to coach students from other provinces like Bengal in the arts of weaving, carding etc.

The bonfire of foreign cloth was a more powerful and also aggressive aspect of this agitation. It is note-worthy to find that a bonfire of English clothes was made at Ahmednagar as early as 1896. Shri S. K. Jog, pleader, had taken lead in organising this. They had organised public meeting to protest against cotton duty. They advocated boycott of English goods and on the Holi day they burnt their English clothes in the fire. This bonfire must be among the earliest of its kind in the country. Poona organised a bonfire of cloth and other articles of foreign make (October 1905) and the initiative, it appears, was taken by Shri V. D. Savarkar and his friends. Such bonfires were organised at Nasik, Belgaum and other places also.

The constructive part of this movement is found in the text of the vow of Swadeshi which includes propagation of "The meaning of Swaraj". They had opened an Industrial school at Dharwar. A cap factory for preparing fur caps for muslims who had taken the vow of Swadeshi, was started in Poona. The newspaper extracts show with what unanimity all of them had accepted this weapon.]

SWADESHI MOVEMENT (1905 to 1909)

[FROM BOMBAY PRESIDENCY POLICE ABSTRACT OF INTELLIGENCE,
1905 TO 1909.]

The following extracts give an idea of the intensity and extent of agitation for Swadeshi Movement during the period from 1905 to 1909 :—

KOLHAPUR STUDENTS CANED

Kolhapur, 16th September 1905

(Page 283, paragraph 927.)

The students of the Rajaram High School, Kolhapur, assembled for the Preliminary Examination for candidates for Matriculation, had issued to them the usual foolscap paper. By what was evidently preconcerted action, they refused to use it as it was of British manufacture and tore the paper up, clamouring for a native-made

article. On Mr. Lucy, the Principal, remonstrating with the boys and attempting to restore order, he was insulted. Mr. Lucy declined, therefore, to allow any of the malcontents to take part in the examination unless they testified their penitence by submitting to corporal punishment. After a while, persuaded to that end by Mr. Vijapurkar, the Professor of Sanskrit, they gave in and accepted their canings. Mr. Vijapurkar is a fire-brand and a great supporter of the Swadeshi movement. It is generally believed that he instigated the insubordinate behaviour of the boys, but when he found the result was serious beyond his expectations, used his influence, which immediately allayed the trouble”.

THE POLITICAL AGENT OF KOLHAPUR WRITES

Kolhapur, 23rd September 1905.

(Page 291, Paragraph 944.)

“In continuation of my report last week on the insubordinate behaviour of the boys of the Rajaram High School in refusing to use paper of British manufacture for their examination, I understand that about 50 boys were implicated and all received canings on the hand. The outbreak was clearly pre-concerted, and none of the masters, of whom all were present, gave the slightest assistance to the Principal or Vice-Principal in maintaining order. The temperate action of Mr. Lucy has not been appreciated, and there is still a spirit of insubordination abroad in the school. The *emeute* commenced by a boy holding up a piece of paper and drawing the attention of the others to the fact that there was a crown on it; he then tore it up, as did all the others.

“Having regard to the disloyalty to Government displayed, I have cancelled my undertaking to preside at the prize-giving ceremony, which was to have taken place to-morrow, and have requested Mr. Lucy to inform the school that, as the representative of Government at Kolhapur, I decline, under the circumstances, to do them, that honour. There will be no prize giving this year. His Highness is much incensed at the behaviour of the boys and masters and has dispensed with the services of Professor Vijapurkar as a person not fitted to be the guide of the youth. Other masters will, I understand, be removed or transferred. Mr. Lucy informs me that he has told the rebellious students, who want to appear for the Matriculation Examination, that they have rendered it impossible for him to grant them the certificate of good moral character, without which they are unable to appear. This will, I think, have a good effect”.

TILAK TO MEET WATCHA

(Page 292, paragraph 944.)

Bal Gangadhar Tilak arrived in Bombay on the 18th instant, put up with Mahadev Rajaram Bodas at Girgaum Back Road and returned to Poona on the 20th idem.

The object of his visit to Bombay was, it is said, to interview Dinshaw Edalji Watcha for the purpose of asking him to exert his influence with the Bombay Mill-owners with a view to encouraging the Swadeshi movement by supplying Bengal merchants with dhotis produced at the mills of Bombay at a moderate rate. It is said that a private meeting of some of the mill-owners was held at the residence of Mr. Watcha, in which the question was discussed. The mill-owners, however, looked at the question from a purely business point of view and declined to supply any goods except at market rates.

The undernoted mills have agreed to supply dhotis :—

- (1) Swadeshi Mills (Agents, Tata and Sons), Coorla.
- (2) Khatau Mankanji Mills, Haines Road.
- (3) The Bombay United Spinning and Weaving Co. Ltd., Charni Road ”.

MEETING AT POONA

Poona, 9th October 1905.

(Page 322, Paragraph 984.)

At 6 p.m. on the 1st instant a mass meeting of the students was held in Joshi Hall under the presidency of Narsinha Chintaman Kelkar, who addressed the meeting. He said that the action of the students in support of the Swadeshi movement was justifiable and condemned the actions of the Amraoti and Kolhapur school authorities in punishing the students who supported it in these places, and the dismissing of Professor Vishnu Govind Vijapurkar. After this several students spoke, among them one Savarkar spoke strongly urging his countrymen to despise everything that is English, and to abstain from purchasing foreign goods. He suggested that all

students should burn their clothes made of English and foreign cloth on Dassera day at Lakdipool. The following resolutions were passed :—

(1) That the Students of Poona fully sympathise with the students of Amraoti and Kolhapur for the injustice done to them by the Educational Authorities.

(2) That after the annual examination is over the students should work as volunteers of the movement.

(3) That all English and European-made clothes now in use be burnt in a fire to be specially created for the purpose at Vithal Mandir near Lakdipool on Dessera.

Ex-Professor Paranjpe and the President in eulogizing the student-speakers said that the effect of their speeches would be far-reaching in their effects on the minds of the people. Subsequently Shankar Ramchandra Deodhar, a student in Sub-Overseers' class in the College of Science, sang songs specially composed by him, advising his countrymen to be resolute in supporting the movement. A vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the meeting to a close at 3 p.m.

Later on a suggestion was made by the president that the clothes instead of being burnt should be given to the poor, and this was agreed upon. Some 800 people were present.

A PUBLIC MEETING

At 10 p.m. on the 4th instant a public meeting of Shastris, Puraniks and students, numbering about 300 was held in the Onkareshwar temple to discuss the Swadeshi movement. Ram Shastri Joshi, Krishnaji Karmarkar, Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe and two school-boys made speeches. The general theme was that the poverty of India was due to the British rule and consequent extinction of indigenous industries which were not encouraged by the Rulers. To resuscitate these industries it was necessary to support the Swadeshi movement.

ANOTHER STUDENTS' MEETING

At 4 p.m. on the 7th instant the students of the New Preparatory School (Otherwise called Maharashtra Vidyalyaya) held a private

meeting in their school to discuss the steps which should be adopted for the burning etc., of the European-made clothes. After collecting all the clothes and other articles, such as umbrellas, velvet caps, lead pencils, buttons, etc., from those who were willing to destroy them, all the students, headed by Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe marched down to Tilak's Wada and thence joined the procession through Lakdi-pool to Phulachiwadi, in Haveli Taluka, near the Fergusson College. At 7 p.m. Shankar Ramchandra Deodhar and Shankar Pandurang Mahajan, the former, a student in the Science College and the latter, a teacher in the New Preparatory School, sang some Marathi songs sarcastically referring to the worship of the "Shami" plant which is said to be an emblem of independence. They advised the public to destroy the thorns (referring to those who are opposed to their views) grown in their fields where seeds of independence are sown.

BONFIRE OF FOREIGN CLOTHES

After this Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe in addressing the meeting explained the object thereof and said that they did not intend to be rowdy or disorderly, but to be disciplinary and constitutional as constitutional agitation was sure to be crowned with success. The crowd then proceeded to a spot where European clothes, etc., had been heaped, and the speaker told them to set fire to it. He said that the wave of the Swadeshi movement which originated in Bengal had travelled over the length and breadth of the Peninsula and was nowhere so warmly welcomed as in Poona, adding that Indian minds are gradually being enlivened by patriotic feelings and urged his countrymen to be resolute in their action. Bal Gangadhar Tilak in echoing the same sentiments said that although it had been proposed to give the European clothes to the poor instead of destroying them by fire, still it was not right to do so from the point of patriotism and religion, as what is bad for one is bad for all. The clothes were then burnt. In conclusion he said that the agitation was not new to Poona having been started thirty years ago by the late Ganesh Wasudev Joshi and supported by Babu Sisir Kumar Ghose, the brother of Motilal Ghose, editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika of Calcutta. At the present time also the movement has the full sympathy of the Bengali students here, and in informing the public that the boycott had created anxiety in Lancashire and Manchester, advised the students and others present there to be resolute thereafter in purchasing Swadeshi articles and to cherish at heart the gravity of the celebration. The crowd dispersed at 8 p.m. with cries of Shivaji and Ramdas Maharaj ki Jai etc. About 5,000 persons mostly Brahmins, were present.

(The Inspector-General of Police was present with the idea of hearing the speeches, but nothing was done until he had left when the leaders remarked that now that the cloud had passed they might begin).

LADIES' "HALAD KUNKU"

On the 6th instant between 5 and 6 p.m. about 120 high-caste Brahman ladies assembled at Natu's temple, Shunwar Peth, for the "Halad Kunku" ceremony.

Parvatibai Bapat presided, and essays on the Swadeshi Question were read by Saraswati Bhanu and Miss Bhatkhande. It was resolved that the purchase of glass bangles and similar articles of European manufacture should be discontinued.

IN THANA DISTRICT

Thana, November 15th.

On the 5th instant Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe, Editor of the *Kal*, and Bhaskar Balwant Bhopatkar, Editor of the *Bhala*, arrived at Umbergaon. A meeting was convened at 4-30 p.m. in a mandap. The following proposals were then made by Keshav Karulkar :—

1. To encourage swadeshi articles.
2. To raise a fund for Swadeshi articles

Bhopatkar then rose and said that there was nothing disloyal in taking part in the Swadeshi movement, that if any one had told them it was untrue, and every one must enlist in the movement for the sake of religion, national interests and lastly for their own interests.

PARANJPE'S SPEECH

This was followed by a speech by Paranjpe, who said : "It is the duty of the Government to encourage native industries, but since they had failed to do so, we must shift for ourselves as strenuously as we can. If any one thought Government was encouraging native industries, they were greatly mistaken. If it had been true, why should the Government of Bengal have issued the circular against

students taking part in the movement? The Government were leading them astray, and the Times of India had just started an agitation in favour of the mill-hands. The meaning of all this was unmistakable. We must exert ourselves. Orders for cloth on Manchester and Lancashire to the extent of six crores of rupees were usually sent every Dassera, but as no orders were sent this year a considerable agitation was going on in Manchester which proves the truth of the Marathi proverb "when you press the nostrils you cause the mouth to open". I, therefore, urge every one of you to use country cloth. Lord Curzon has done no good to India. If here and there he has done something it has been far outweighed by the mischief he has wrought during his regime. Secretly the Bengal Chamber of Commerce had convened a meeting to raise funds for the erection of a memorial to Lord Curzon, but none of us should join. Lord Curzon had benefitted Europeans who were welcome to raise a memorial. The Police who were so eager to carry tales to their superiors should remember that they are natives of India and ought primarily to serve the interests of the country and secondarily those of their rulers. Antaji Damodhar Kale, the founder of the "Paisha Fund" and Vinayak Shivram Pimpulkar then proposed to raise a paisha fund to start a sugar manufactory, the sugar being made from toddy.

I heard the other day in Thana that the Khatau Mills in Bombay were bleaching the marks off the Manchester clothes, stamping them with their own stamps and selling them as their own and swadeshi, the reason of this being their inability to turn out sufficient cloth in their own mills to meet the demand. How far this is correct I am unable to say, but I was given to understand that it was a fact, but the owners of the mills were denying it. (Page 373, Paragraph 1014)

A SWADESHI BAZAR AT MATUNGA

(FROM BOMBAY PRESIDENCY POLICE ABSTRACT OF INTELLIGENCE, 1906.)

Bombay, 7th May 1906.

On the 6th instant between the hours of 1 and 7 p.m. a Swadeshi Bazar was held at Gopi Talao, Matunga. About 30 stalls were erected where country-made sugar, matches, soap, cloth, caps and umbrellas were offered for sale. One Kaikhusrao Sohrab Joshi of the firm of Sohrab H. Joshi & Co., Silk manufacturers, Surat, had a stall for the sale of country-made silk. He also exhibited a hand-loom shuttle by means of which the silk cloth was manufactured. One Govind

Dinkar Datte, a Chitpawan Brahman, distributed sweetmeat and pan supari to the visitors. The number of people at the fair at no time exceeded 300. (Paragraph 342, page 160)

A SWADESHI EXHIBITION

An exhibition of Native articles is to be held in Baroda City on the 26th instant. The Hindu Temples in Baroda now use only sugar made in this country and a resolution to this effect has also been passed by the residents of Sankheda and Bahadarpur in His Highness the Gaekwar's territory. (Page 319, paragraph 646b)

SWADESHI AT AHMEDABAD

Ahmedabad, 4th September 1906.

The Criminal Investigation Department report :

"On the 11th August a gathering of some students numbering about 50 was held in a building known as "Dolabrao' Dohla" situated on the Richey Road, Ahmedabad, at which some 15 Bengalis took part. It is said the meeting was convened at the instance of the Bengalis to celebrate the birthday of the Swadeshi Movement. The National Bengali Anthem, Bande Mataram, rendered in Gujarathi verse was first sung by the Gujarathi students to the accompaniment of a harmonium. The Bengais then sang Bande Mataram in their own language and this was followed by a song which was rendered at the Barisal Conference. Mr. Jivanlal Varajrai Desai, Bar-at-Law who attended the gathering, then delivered a short speech praising the spirit and perseverance of the Bengalis in connection with the Swadeshi movement and offering his assistance in this cause whenever and wherever needed. After three cheers (Bande Mataram) the meeting dispersed. Two weaving Masters of the Mills at Ahmedabad—(1) Chunilal Narayan and (2) Keshavlal Mahasukhram who attended the last Congress held in Benares offered during the Congress to instruct Bengalis and any natives without charge in weaving, carding and the like. The Bengalis who are at present in Ahmedabad have accepted the offer and are under instruction. They arrived in Ahmedabad at the beginning of the current year soon after the Congress was over". [Page 319, paragraph 646(c)]

A SWADESHI MEETING IN DEKAWADA

The C. C., Viramgam, reports that a meeting was held at a village called Dekawada on the 22nd August. The meeting was attended by the village people of Dekawada and some 5 to 7 Baniyas of Gunjala. They gave out that foreign sugar was bleached with the blood of bullocks and pigs. They got the people to then resolve to use only Deshi sugar. This matter of only using country sugar seems to be now very general in the Viramgam Taluka. On the 23rd August another meeting was held at Mandal when one Shravik Sadhu named Dayasagar, who had come from Bombay some time ago, got up and said that the saffron used by Baniyas, etc., in religious ceremonies (mostly received from Spain) was artificial and not vegetable saffron and was mixed with blood and spirit. The Mandal Shraviks have now offered saffron from Amritsar and, it is being sold to the public. [Page 349, paragraph 714]

THE PANDHARPUR INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION

Sholapur, 6th November 1906.

The Pandharpur Industrial Exhibition was opened by the Chief of Miraj on the 20th October. The Chief delivered a speech exhorting the people to shake off their lethargy and emulate other countries in their efforts to foster home industries. The Honourable Mr. Gokhale, B. G. Tilak and Achut Bhaskar Desai were present, but did not speak. Financially the exhibition is a complete failure and I look upon it as a pretext for assembling in Pandharpur a host of speakers to carry on a propaganda in Tilak's interest. Some of the exhibits are very good specimens of Native handicraft, but in the majority of cases the material used is not of country manufacture. Nearly every stall displays pictures of Shivaji and in the Fine Arts Gallery I counted seven paintings describing episodes of his life including Afzul Khan's death depicted, of course, to suit the Brahman version of the incident. The Agricultural exhibits excited no interest whatever as far as I was able to judge. Some Gondhalis from Kolhapur sang the ballad of the Rani of Jhansi in the Ave Theatre, and Narayan Shivram Barve at the request of the audience, delivered a lecture on the Swadeshi movement urging his hearers to use sugar of country manufacture only and eschew the use of all foreign made goods. [Page 438, (paragraph 887 (c))]

SWADESHI PLAY

Bijapur, November 15th.

The Swajan Hitaishi Sangeet Natak Mandli gave two more performances of their swadeshi play here on the night of the 3rd and 7th instant. [Page 462, paragraph 934(c)].

SAWANTWADI

(FROM BOMBAY PRESIDENCY POLICE ABSTRACT OF INTELLIGENCE, 1907.)

Belgaum, March 16th.

The Swadeshi movement which appeared to be dying out in this State has recently been revived by the local pleaders. These men are endeavouring to induce the merchants and shop-keepers in Wadi town to stop importing and dealing in English goods altogether. Some of the merchants refuse to be persuaded and are, therefore, threatened in various ways. The people as a rule make little distinction between Swadeshi goods and those of foreign manufacture, but some of them allow themselves to be induced by the above-named pleaders and others in order to avoid being mentioned in the Sardesai Vijaya newspaper, which has become an organ for vindicating private grudges".

The District Magistrate writes :—"The Belgaum pleaders are doing all they can to keep the Swadeshi agitation alive. Constant speeches are delivered. During the Holi festival the effigy of a "native traitor" dressed in European clothes was carried in procession by school-boys amid cries of "Curzon" and "Edward" and burnt. Mr. G. B. Deshpande, a pleader who was recently elected to the municipality by means of the most discreditable practices, was present, and delivered a little speech. It is reported that some of the school-boys afterwards received medals from Mr. Natu".

(Page 100, paragraph 235)

THE DISTRICT INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

Dharwar, May 20th.

The District Industrial Conference was held in the Darbar Hall in Dharwar on the 11th and 12th instant, with the Honourable Daji Abaji Khare in the chair. The speeches were all Swadeshi-cum-Boycott and it was resolved to establish an industrial school, towards the maintenance of which a sum of Rs. 1,500 (The D. M. was told that Rs. 60,000 of which Dharwar and Belgaum were to find Rs. 25,000 each in four years' time and Bijapur Rs. 10,000. Object for a Technical School at Belgaum to be taught by Japanese trained teachers) should be contributed by Dharwar, Karwar, Bijapur and Belgaum.

[Page 232, paragraph 914(c)]

SWADESHI VOW

(FROM BOMBAY PRESIDENCY POLICE ABSTRACT OF INTELLIGENCE,
FOR THE YEAR 1908.)

Dharwar, January, 23rd.

Enclosed is the translation of a pledge which the Extremis Coterie of Dharwar endeavours to get people to sign.

Bande Mataram.—“With respect to the Almighty and the Motherland I swear to make it a point to help the Swadeshi movement, to explain to the public the true meaning of Swadeshi, to spread boycott to promote the growth of national education, to look to the public health and to spread the meaning of self-government. I further swear that I will neither purchase nor use any kind of foreign manufactured goods, whether dear or cheap.”

[Page 53, para. 83 (6)]

REACTION OF THE SCHOOL BOYS TO SWEETS MADE OF FOREIGN SUGAR

Belgaum, January 23.

The Gokak Sub-Inspector reports that on 6th January 1908, the District Magistrate (Mr. Brendon) distributed the prizes to the Marathi schoolboys in the Anglo-Vernacular School, Gokak, Mr. Artal, District Deputy Collector being present. Afterwards Mr. Brendon gave the boys some sweets and left in the evening for Dhupdal, some eight miles off. Next day the boys had a procession through the streets and some of the sweets were stuck together to form a garland and stuck on a pole and paraded through the town with cries of Bande Mataram, Shivaji Maharaj Ki Jai and “burn foreign things”. The rest of the sweets were thrown at the garlands and left on the ground untouched. It is said that the garlands were made at the instigation of one of the teachers by name Venkappa, who belongs to the Kolhapur State.

I am told that last year Mr. Brendon gave a treat to some 250 Belgaum High School-boys, and took them to Gokak to see the falls, giving them refreshments and sweets. It was then the intention of the boys to throw away the sweets had they been made of foreign sugar, but the Mamlatdar hearing of this, brought sweets made of country sugar. I mention this to show the signs of the times and to the extent kindness may be abused. I hear on this occasion some of the teachers refused to go to Gokak and that they, the absentees, may have coached

he boys as to how they should act. On the last occasion the sweets were thrown away, as they were made of foreign sugar.

[Pages 58-59, paragraph 83(c)]

A STRONG SWADESHI PARTY IN A SMALL VILLAGE

East Khandesh, November 15.

The Inspector tells me that there is a strong Swadeshi party in Mehunbara in Chalisgaon Taluka. In this small village they take in the Kesari, Kal, Bhala, Rashtra Mat and Bombay Vaibhav. This fact speaks for itself.

[Page 1080, paragraph 1670 (b)]

A FACTORY OF SWADESHI CAPS FOR MUSLIMS, POONA

(FROM BOMBAY PRESIDENCY POLICE ABSTRACT OF INTELLIGENCE, 1909.)

Bombay, March 31.

The C.I.D. report: N. B. Deshpande, Manager of the Bande Mataram Camp Factory, Budhwar Peth, Poona, is distributing hand-bills in Poona, stating that as the Muhammadans in Poona have decided to follow the lead of their brethren in the Punjab and use swadeshi caps, the factory has been making caps at their request".

(Page 288, paragraph 687, S.B.)

A SWADESHI MINT

Satara, August 7.

The District Magistrate writes.—“An extraordinary story has reached me to the effect that there exists, at Bellary or somewhere in the district of that name, a swadeshi mint which issues Swadeshi coins. These coins, it is said, pass current among the local devotees of Swaraj, and their use has spread as far as Calcutta.

[(Page 730, paragraph 1641)]

BOYCOTT FOREIGN ARTICLES

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING
6TH SEPTEMBER 1902, PAGE 24, PARAGRAPH 32.)

Arunodaya of 31st August 1902.

Let the native of India reflect coolly upon his present condition and the number of evils he is labouring under. On mature consideration he will realise that he is surrounded by too many enemies in

the shape of articles of foreign manufacture which he is required to buy for house hold use. It would be difficult to count the number of these thieves, so to speak, who have entered his house and are plundering his property. It will not do to fight them all at once. His energies will then be dissipated in a desultory struggle with too many foes carried on simultaneously. It is meet, therefore, that he should pursue one thief at a time and expel him from his house. Let him first endeavour, say, to boycott foreign fabrics worn by him at present and attempt to get enough food to eat. For want of salt and nutritive food, our countrymen are not as able-bodied as their ancestors. What little strength we do still possess should, however, be turned to good account. We should concentrate our energies to oust foreign fabrics from the country. It is no use depending for guidance upon our educated brethren in the matter, because they have shown themselves to be too supple and subservient and are seen to accept with alacrity the slavery of Government service." (In another article, the paper writes :—The Indian Military authorities indented recently upon a leather manufactory at Cawnpore for a fresh supply of boots because the articles supplied by it on a former occasion were found satisfactory. The English leather merchants, however, have waxed furiously indignant over the matter and openly question the propriety of the course adopted by the Indian Government. Should not our people take an object lesson from this and endeavour to stop the drain of India's money caused by the purchase of English Goods? We should even send a deputation of our representatives to wait upon the authorities with a request that all the clothing required for the use of the Civil and Military Departments in the country should be purchased as far as possible in the country itself).

SWADESHI ASSOCIATION AT AHMEDABAD

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING
24TH JANUARY 1903, PAGE 29, PARAGRAPH 50.)

Proja Bandhu of 18th January (English Columns).

"There is now a consensus of educated public opinion in India on the importance of granting protection to our growing industries; and in the absence of our Government making any effort in this direction, it is, in our opinion, the bounden duty of every Indian to afford voluntarily what protection lies within his power to the industries of his country..... It is with a peculiar delight, therefore, that we hail the formation of an Indigenous Articles Protection Association

in our city. Even to those who take a vow to use only home-made articles, it is a matter of no small difficulty to obtain information about the manufacture and the place of sale of such articles. To such people, a mart like the Indian Stores of Calcutta is a great help. But in the absence of such a mart, the local Association 'shall keep the members informed of the places where home-made articles of daily use can be brought.' We are glad to find our views tally exactly with the aims and objects of the Association..... We are not of course sanguine of immediate success, for in the case of such movements time is an important factor. But the formation of the Association marks a new era, a new development in the history of our country. It means awakening, and it means action. We hope the movement is not the outcome of fleeting enthusiasm; but that it will live and endure through years and eventually grow into a mighty effort."

STUDENTS AND THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING
30TH SEPTEMBER 1905, PAGE 25, PARAGRAPH 32.)

Maharatta of 24th September, *Kesari*, 26th September 1905.

"It pains us to see that students 'guilty' of a natural partiality for the Swadeshi movement should be treated so harshly as they have actually been in some places. The case of the Amraoti students has already come to the notice of our readers. We now learn that modifying the recommendation of the Head Master of the Amraoti High School for their expulsion, the Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces, has ordered the ring-leaders to be absolutely rusticated for one year and their followers for a like period in case they do not re-join the Boarding-house. The boys so punished are, moreover, not to be admitted in any other school in the Central Provinces. In another case the affair has ended with severe caning. The boys of the Kolhapur High School, who had prayed for Swadeshi paper being supplied to them during their Preliminary examination, found on the last day of the examination that the paper was of foreign manufacture. They thereupon flared up with discontent, indignantly tore the paper to pieces then and there and left the hall notwithstanding the orders of the Principal to the contrary. As a result each boy, irrespective of his age and physical condition, received a uniform caning, in which the European Principal and the Parsi Vice-Principal actively assisted. In a big private school at Poona,

again, things had very nearly come to this pass, but the teachers discreetly enough maintained the school discipline by acceding to the humble and reasonable prayer of the students to be allowed only Swadeshi paper for writing their answers on. In the present crisis when the tide of popular feeling in favour of the Swadeshi movement is very high, boys might be expected to behave no better or no worse than boys. We pray the teachers to remember that 'there are some faults so nearly allied to excellence that we can scarce weed out the vice without eradicating the virtue,' as Goldsmith says. A boy at school is naturally in a stage of life when the mind is very impressionable. Though the breadth of his mind is necessarily limited at the time, still there is nothing to prevent him from being animated with the same glow of high principle and noble impulse as mark out his elders as public-spirited men or even patriots. Consequently even a school-boy may often exhibit an attitude of mind towards his teachers, which may dangerously border on insubordination. But just as in the larger world outside the school premises, an illegal act can possibly be a highly moral one, so also within the school itself a student may often feel an impulse to do acts which, though likely to transgress the technical limits laid down by a severe code of discipline, may yet deserve to be secretly admired and dealt with only by a gentle hand to save appearances before the public. Supposing that the school-boys asked to be supplied with only Swadeshi paper for writing their answers on, where is the prejudice to school discipline and where the harm to public policy, if their wish were gratified?.....When it is a standing rule of Government that paper for office use, among other stores, should, as far as possible, be taken from paper factories within the country, when a whole mill like the Reay Paper Mill of Poona counts Government as its largest and most constant customer, we fail to see how it should be regarded as culpable in a school-boy to say that he would like to have Swadeshi paper to write upon, if possible. Is not the repression of such eminently reasonable and laudable impulses inconsistent with the boast that the object of all education is or should be the formation of character?" (The Kesari learns that as a sequel of the case of breach of discipline among the students of the Rajaram High School, Kolhapur, Mr. Bijapurkar, Professor of Sanskrit at the Rajaram College, has been dismissed from service and that 65 students have been refused permission to appear at the ensuing Matriculation Examination. The paper ironically expresses its astonishment that scandals like the the above are not of more frequent occurrence in a Durbar, which is animated by an inveterate desire to carry favour with Europeans and to anticipate the wishes of Political Officers. It considers the whole affair as a striking proof of the decadence of the country.)"

SWADESHI SPIRIT IN NATIVE ARMY

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING
11TH NOVEMBER 1905, PAGE 27, PARAGRAPH 33.)

Gujarati of 5th November 1905.

The Swadeshi movement is gathering greater strength every day. It is not, therefore, surprising that the Swadeshi spirit should have permeated the ranks of the army. It was recently reported in the newspapers that the soldiers of some regiments in Bengal requested the Military authorities to allow them to wear native-made cloth. This report has been officially contradicted from Simla, but we know how to take such contradictions at their true worth. We for one have not the least doubt as to the correctness of the original report. The native army is no doubt under the control of Government, but it is Swadeshi at heart. Government servants, too, of all ranks, whether employed in the Police, Railway, Post or Telegraph Departments, are actuated by the same spirit. It is incumbent upon Government in the interests of the country, which it is pledged to protect, to foster and not put down the Swadeshi spirit among its employees. If Government fails to do so, it becomes guilty of treason against the country. Another lesson to be learnt from the spread of Swadeshim in the army is that the existence of the British Indian Empire depends solely upon the will of the people and not upon the strength of the army. The authorities in England should, therefore, put an immediate end to the policy of reaction and repression, which has been inaugurated by Lord Curzon and which has done so much to widen the gulf between the rulers and the ruled.

SWADESHI MEETINGS

Kesari, 10th October, *Karnatak Vritta*, 10th October 1905.

On the Dasara day a third monster meeting in connection with the Swadeshi movement was held at Nasik under the presidency of Mr. Daji Saheb Ketkar. Speeches were delivered and a bon-fire was made of clothes of British manufacture. At Poona the work of taking the signatures of those who desire to take a pledge to use country-made goods as far as possible, is going on at three different places. Last Wednesday a meeting of students of the priestly class was held at which a resolution was passed in favour of using country-made goods as far as possible. On Friday, the 6th instant, about 125 Deccanni women met at the Mahadeo's temple belonging to Bala

Saheb Natu for performing the usual ceremony of Haladkunku. Speeches were made and essays read and it was resolved not to use English-made articles, such as bangles, rock-oil chintz, children's toys, glass utensils, etc., as far as possible. (The Karnatak Vritta gives a report of a Swadeshi meeting held at Hosur, Belgaum).

BONFIRE OF FOREIGN ARTICLES—1905

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING
14th OCTOBER 1905, PAGES 39/40, PARAGRAPHS 62/63.)

Bhaala, 11th October, *Daily Telegraph*, 10th October, *Bombay Samachar*, 10th October, *Jame-Jamshed*, 12th October, *Dnyan Prakash*, 9th October, *Sudharak*, 9th October, *Samarth*, 11th October, *Parikshak*, *Dharwar Vritta*, 12th October 1905.

This year's celebration of the Vijayadashmi festival at Poona was attended with unprecedented enthusiasm. A hand-bill was distributed in the morning announcing that a bon-fire of English goods would be made during the festival, and the people of Poona rejoiced at the prospect of being able in some measure to emulate their ancestors, who were accustomed to inaugurate great undertakings on the occasion. A large concourse of people having assembled in the court-yard in front of the Maharashtra Vidyalaya at the appointed hour, a procession was formed. The procession was accompanied by a cart carrying the English goods destined to be offered as a sacrifice, and many passers-by added their quota to the heap as the procession wended its way. Some native drummers sat in the cart, and the sound of their drums seemed to ring the following appeal into the ears of the processionists :—"O descendants of Shivaji, kick out English goods from your homes and take them to the place of sacrifice." By the time the procession reached the Chatorshingi maidan, the sun had set, going, as it were, to inform Shivaji in heaven of the wonderful spectacle he had seen. A funeral pyre of English goods was prepared and drenched with kerosene oil, and a torch was applied to the heap. When it burst into flame, the eyes of the spectators sparkled with patriotism, and their prolonged impotency having been destroyed by the bon-fire, their breast throbbed with hopes of future greatness. Mr. Tilak then delivered a speech, in the course of which he defended the action of the processionists in making a bon-fire of English goods, and declared that, if the sacrifices commenced that day were persevered in, India was bound to see better and more prosperous days. He then called upon the people to walk three times round the bon-fire, apply the ashes to, their temples and take an oath never to purchase English cloth even at the risk of having to go about naked. Three cheers having been given for Shivaji at

the conclusion of this speech, the aforesaid oath was taken by those assembled, and the meeting dispersed. (The Daily Telegraph reports : The men forming the procession were robed exclusively in orthodox Indian dress. At 3 p.m Mr. R. B. Stewart, Inspector-General of Police and Mr. F. H. Vincent, Assistant to the Inspector-General, drove up in a motor car to the Lakdipool Bridge and awaited the arrival of the procession, but no demonstration occurred while they were there. Soon after they left at 7 p.m., however, the processionists made a great bon-fire of all the European materials, including cloths, shirts, collars, etc., and then followed a spirited address, in Marathi, to thousands of the processionists, urging a determined attitude in favour of the Swadeshi movement. This occurred in the Haveli Taluka a few miles beyond the City." The Poona correspondent of the Bombay Samachar adds the following details regarding the demonstration :—The assemblage at the Maharashtra Vidyalaya was presided over by Mr. Paranjpe, editor of the Kal. Mr. Savarkar, a student of the Fergusson College, who took a prominent part in the movement and was the mover of the proposition brought forward at a previous meeting in Poona for burning foreign goods, called upon the audience to cast away all foreign articles in their possession. This appeal was quickly responded to and caps, coats, umbrellas, etc., began to pour in on all sides from the audience. The articles were collected in a heap and a procession was formed. Nearly 2,000 students and 3,000 adults, including Messrs. Paranjpe, Tilak and Shrimant Bala Saheb Natu, took part in the procession. Soon after crossing the Lakdipool stirring songs suited to the occasion were sung. At this stage Mr. Paranjpe made a stirring speech, explaining the objects of the Swadeshi movement and exhorting the audience not to forego their ancient manners and customs. On reaching the place of sacrifice, Mr. Paranjpe again addressed the processionists as follows :— "The loyalty of the Indians is well-known and it is creditable to our rulers that though belonging to an alien race they are making strenuous efforts to develop our arts and industries. Government use native goods as far as possible and we have met today to do what Government have long since been doing. It is our bounden duty to render every assistance to Government in their task of resuscitating Indian industries. We have so far been committing a sin in using foreign articles and in order to expiate it, it is necessary that we should make some sacrifice." A bon-fire was then made of the heap of foreign articles. As the pile was burning, Mr. Paranjpe uttered some appropriate verses and made another impressive speech praising the processionists for their orderly behaviour. Mr. Tilak then delivered a speech, in the course of which he accepted the fatherhood of the movement. Mr. Paranjpe having again spoken, the proceedings terminated. The Bengali

students of the College of Science had joined the procession. The proceedings were throughout conducted in an orderly and peaceful manner and the Police were not put to any trouble. In noticing the above proceedings, the Jam-e-Jamshed, the Sudharak, the Samartha, the Parikshak and the Dharwar Vritta made caustic comments on the thoughtless and foolish conduct of the processionists and their leaders in making a bon-fire of foreign articles. They consider the whole affair as a silly and purposeless demonstration only calculated to widen the gulf between the rulers and the ruled.

SIGNS OF NATIONAL AWAKENING

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING
6TH JANUARY 1906.)

Kal of 5th January 1906.

The *Kal* refers to the signs of national awakening which are now visible in various countries such as Russia, China, Ireland and South Africa, and remarks :—After looking at the efforts of the people of the various countries above to throw off foreign yoke and to achieve their political emancipation, it is likely that the minds of some Indians may be filled with despair when they turn to the present condition of their own country. But there is now no cause for absolute despondency. We have found a remedy to improve our political and material condition, and it is the Swadeshi agitation and the boycott movement. This double-remedy has proved considerably effective during the last four months. Our people have begun to think of the causes of their degraded plight. The Swadeshi agitation and the boycott movement have secured the approval of our national assemblies, which met at Benares. Mr. Gokhale quoted some figures about the outturn of cotton piece-goods in the country and remarked that if new mills and handloom factories are started in India, we shall soon be able to produce sufficient cloth to meet our requirements. In that case we shall have stopped an annual drain of 40 crores of rupees to foreign countries. Government have made the principles of Free Trade applicable to India with a view to benefit the cotton manufacturers of Manchester and Lancashire. They have also ruined our indigenous industries and imposed heavy countervailing excise duties on cotton goods of Indian manufacture. In spite of these obstructions placed by Government in the path of the cotton industry in India, some of these concerns are found to flourish in the country. We need not, therefore, give ourselves up to despair, but persevere steadily in promoting the growth of industries in our midst. Mr. Dutt says in his inaugural address at the Industrial Conference that we ought to resort to boycott not merely

as an extreme remedy, but avail ourselves of it to the fullest possible extent. It is only in this way, he observes, that the Swadeshi movement will prosper and our material condition improve.

SWADESHI DISCUSSED AT BENARES

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING
6TH JANUARY 1906, PAGE 14, PARAGRAPHS 8 AND 9.)

Kesari of 2nd January 1906.

The last week was a week of great bustle and excitement in the holy city of Benares. A number of Congresses and Conferences, social, political, religious and industrial held their sittings there during that period. One would think that the Congress has by this time got an unwieldy appendage of these minor Conferences round it. There is a disadvantage in crowding too many Conferences in a single week. The subjects dealt with do not receive the close attention they deserve, and those who assemble to discuss them feel greatly distracted by the multiplicity of matters brought forward for discussion. However varied the activity manifested at the different conferences, we can discern one common feature which pervaded them all. This feature was the spirit of Swadeshism. It was discernible in the presidential addresses as also in the deliberations of the various gatherings. The Swadeshi movement was discussed at Benares in three different aspects. In its political aspect it loomed large in the deliberations of the Congress. The President alluded to it in his cogent and vigorous address, and it was recognised by the delegates that the attitude taken up by the Bengalís, after they had found all their protests against the partition of their province to be of no avail, was the only proper attitude that could be taken against a high-handed administration. It is not manly to resign oneself to one's degraded position or to sit weeping in the house like women, but it is our duty to strive strenuously to remove the causes of our misfortunes. The boycott agitation is thus a move in the right direction, and the Bengalís have acted wisely in resorting to it. The President approved of the agitation in his address, and a resolution passed by the Congress also declared boycott to be a legitimate weapon in our political armoury. The President, of course, pointed out that boycott was an extreme remedy, and that there were obvious risks in its failure, but we beg to observe that in spite of these risks, we should not hesitate to resort to it. Though it may not have the support of the whole country, and though for want of such unanimous support, it may not completely realise its aim, it does not follow that it should not be resorted to at all under these circumstances. The boycott agitation, though not

universally supported, is bound to produce some effect, and so far it must be declared to be successful. Let us now turn to the industrial aspect of the Swadeshi movement. There are those among us who are sceptical about the success of our political agitation, but who strongly recommend that every endeavour should be made to resuscitate the dying industries of the country. They advocate protection to the infant industries of the country, but the Government is not prepared to give up its policy of Free Trade. Mr. Dutta pointed out the advantages of a Protectionist policy for India and cited the examples of France, Germany and the United States in favour of his contention. He exhorted the people to form a fixed resolution to patronise indigenous industries in spite of some slight loss or inconvenience. The third aspect of the Swadeshi movement related to the practical action that our countrymen should take to promote the growth of new industries in the country. Mills and handloom factories should be started everywhere, and from the proceedings of the Industrial Conference it seems that the attention of our leaders has been attracted in a considerable measure towards this third aspect of the Swadeshi movement.

BOYCOTT OF GOVERNMENT

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING
26TH MAY 1906, PAGE 19, PARAGRAPH 18.)

Vihari of 21st May 1906.

The Boycott movement had originated in the country more than twenty-five years ago, but it failed to secure adequate support from the people and died soon after its inception. The intolerable oppression recently exercised upon the people by their alien rulers, however has helped to give a fresh lease of life to the movement. The next step after a boycott of British goods is a boycott of the Universities founded by Government and the establishment of a National University. This has been done by the Bengalis. Babu Surendranath Bannerji has gone a step further and boycotted the Government itself. He has resigned all honorary posts held by him under Government, and his example has been followed by many other Bengalis. This ought to have been done long ago. If the people determine not to accept titles or Government service, nor to send their boys to Government schools, their action will not fail to produce some effect upon the authorities. However much Government may ignore public opinion, it must not be forgotten that its existence depends upon the good-will of the people. If, therefore, the people boycott Government, the latter must become crippled.

Government may establish law-courts or schools, but these would be useless, if the people refused to seek justice from the one or send their boys to the other. In short, the administration of a country can go on smoothly, only if the people and Government act in concert. If the two are opposed to each other, confusion will ensue. The Government imagining itself to be omnipotent may ignore public opinion for some time, but when the people become united, their power exceeds that of Government.

PROGRESS OF SWADESHI MOVEMENT

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING
20TH APRIL 1907, PAGE 23, PARAGRAPH 33.)

Kesari of 16th April 1907.

It was so long the fashion among Anglo-Indian scribes to jeer at the promoters of the boycott and Swadeshi movements and to question the utility of their propaganda by pointing out that in spite of it the textile industry in England had flourished famously and that many new cotton mills had been recently erected in England. These writers should have known that new movements are not expected to make their influence felt all at once and that a year or two is not enough to produce any material impression upon the course of British trade, when it took England a hundred years to destroy Indian trade and industries. If the number of mills has recently increased in England, the export of cotton goods to India and China should have proportionately advanced, but we find a considerable decrease in it instead. More mill machinery was no doubt exported from England last year, but this cannot be for the good of Lancashire, since the product of the mills erected abroad must necessarily compete with that produced in England. Already fears are entertained about the trade of Lancashire receiving a heavy blow, if the losses of the past half year are not made good during the next six months. There is a complete lull in the transactions of Manchester goods in Bombay. If more direct evidence be wanted of the vigorous spread of the Swadeshi movement, it can be found in the figures quoted by the President of the Allahabad Industrial Conference. He pointed to the establishment of 15 Native banks with an aggregate capital of 3 crores and 67 lakhs and to the starting of 5 steamship Companies with a capital of a crore and twenty-one lakhs in the course of the last year. Besides these, 22 new cotton mills with a capital of one crore and 80 lakhs, a glass factory with a capital of 70 lakhs and a number of factories and mills for the manufacture of sugar, oils etc., were started during the same period. Is it not creditable

to the promoters of the Swadeshi movement that they should have been able to show such progress in various directions in spite of the serious disadvantages under which they labour?

BONFIRE OF FOREIGN CLOTHES—DHARWAR

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING 28TH MARCH
1908, PAGE 44, PARAGRAPH 66.)

Hindustan Samachar of 23rd March.

Nagesh Shankar Nargundkar of Hombal (Dharwar) writes to the *Hindustan Samachar* "The Swadeshi songs published in your paper were publicly sung by Gundabhatta Pujari, before a large audience on the night of the Holi, when a number of people took off their foreign articles of clothing and threw them into the bonfire. In the evening a meeting was held at the temple of Shankarlinga, and the people assembled solemnly took a vow not to use foreign goods in future.

SWADESHI & MILLS IN ENGLAND

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING 3RD OCTOBER
1908, PAGE 17, PARAGRAPH 17.)

Kal of 2nd October, *Rashtrammat*, 3rd October 1908.

The crisis in Lancashire has thrown a hundred thousand people on the streets and many of them have taken to rioting. It is to be noted that in their case the Police have only used batons, while the Bombay mill-hands were fired upon, though they were comparatively quite innocent. The foreign trade of England has greatly decreased during the last year. The Swadeshi movement in India, the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland and German and American competition are all having their effects on British commerce. The Almighty was sure to see justice done to the English merchants who have increased their trade by crippling the Indian artisans. England has also destroyed Irish trade by passing preferential laws in her own favour. The same experiment was tried in America; but fortunately she escaped from the clutches of England and is now ready to deal a death-blow to English commerce. Mr. Dutt has given a fine description of the savage attempts of Englishmen to destroy Indian trade. The Swadeshi and the boycott movements had in reality frightened Englishmen from the very beginning, but they assumed a nonchalant attitude till now. Now, however, they cannot but howl. The Bengalis are mad with joy and have held a meeting to express their satisfaction at the news that hundreds of mills have stopped working in England. But we for our part should stick manfully to our programme and spread the Swadeshi agitation in every nook and corner of India. The brutal

military strength of the English is powerless before our perfectly constitutional agitation. We should concentrate all our forces on the Swadeshi movement and make it a success. (The London correspondent of the *Kal* makes similar comments. The *Rashtramit* avers that the Swadeshi movement in India is already making itself felt in England).

BOYCOTT MOVEMENT—1909

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING 14TH AUGUST,
PAGE 21, PARAGRAPH 27.)

Karnatak Vritta, 10th August 1909.

No wretch can be found in the whole of India who has forgotten the 7th of August on which day mother India presented us with "Boycott". It was on this day that the canine habits of subservience and singing praises gave place to self-reliance and devotion to one's own duties. It was on this day that we learnt that Englishmen were but men like ourselves and that they possess the vices incident to human nature, that they had conquered India for their own benefit and not for our good and that it would be folly to sit quiet trusting to their liberalism. All our efforts by means of petitions and deputations to draw the attention of Englishmen to the wretched condition of Indians were fruitless. We became quite despondent of the future, witnessing as we did the sufferings of our countrymen who were ground down by a succession of famines. While India was in such a low condition, Lord Curzon stabbed the Bengalis by the partition of Bengal and branded the sore. But the benignant God smiled on the Bengalees and incited them to "Boycott". Boycott is the magic ointment to be applied to the eyes of the bureaucrats. It is the drum that will awaken the authorities who are feigning sleep. It is the constitutional weapon of a subject-race. There is no other way to salvation. It is cowardice to put up with the autocratic administration of the bureaucrats. But it is blamable to resort to outrages, enraged by the autocracy. We should follow only the policy of passive resistance. We should obstruct the administration within legal limits. Boycott is the central plank of passive resistance. Its chief principle is to do unto others as they do to us. It is mean to follow those who do not care for us. Boycott includes every constitutional means available for adoption by a self-respecting nation. Swadeshi means boycott. National education means the boycott of Government and aided schools. Arbitration means the boycott of Government courts of justice. Organisation of volunteers means boycott of foreign Police. To sum up, boycott means the firm resolve not to look up to others for what we can do ourselves.

BOYCOTT OF ANTI-INDIAN ALIENS

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING 22ND NOVEMBER
1913, PAGE 19, PARAGRAPH 15.)

Indu Prakash of 22nd November 1913.

“Plain words” writes to the *Indu Prakash*:—“India has been called the grazing ground of England. In truth it is the grazing ground of all Europe, and the hunting ground of even anti-Indian aliens..... India does recognise the indispensability and the balance of beneficence in favour of British rule, and in return for the great work that England has done and is doing for her, she has offered her unflinching loyalty and welcome all members of the ruling race to discreetly enjoy all the material and economic advantages which India offers. We, however, must all decline to subscribe to the theory that Indian loyalty should be extraterritorial, that it should extend, to all non-descript European races.....India protests against continuing to be made a pasture for the free grazing of all and sundry who may choose to come here We would impose heavy disabilities on all colonial enterprises in India, including Life Assurance Companies, and on the commercial enterprises of all those nations to whom the Indians are coolies and who are determined not to show them even ordinary human regard. If there is the abominable £ 3 tax on ex-indentured Indians in South Africa, why should there not be a similar poll tax on all South African colonists desiring to enter and trade in India ? If the British Government wishes to keep Indian politics above party exigencies, why not also give India the right, which is only her due, to adopt a policy of retaliation in economic and commercial matters against the enemies of her interests independently of England’s internal and international trade policy ? If the colonies are allowed to adjust their internal economy in defiance of the interests and rights of Indians, why should not India be allowed to adjust her own internal economy in the way she pleases ?.....We should go so far as to suggest that some Councillor should put a question to Government at the next sitting of the Viceroy’s Legislative Council as to the number of non-British and non-Irish foreigners in the service of India. And a detailed reply should be demanded, so that the number of colonial-born Government servants and of other European Government servants hailing from anti-Indian European countries could be distinctly known. The information should be utilised to open a vigorous campaign against the admission into Government service of colonial-born and other Indian-hating Europeans. The Indian States should also be approached and asked to

follow the policy of weeding out from their service the men specified above. I would also ask some enterprising Indian firms to print a directory containing full information as regards the number and nature of colonial trading and commercial enterprises in India. The people of India should be men enough to utilise this information for a vigorous boycott. (Commenting on the above the paper writes :— "In South Africa, there is the Africander party. The Colonies say we will only have White Colonists. All right, sirs; we will have in India only those who become Indians in the true sense of the word or who give to Indians the same rights as India gives to them. That is the only reply. If the Empire has self-governing colonies that raise walls of race-prejudice and India is to continue in the Empire, that can only be by allowing India also full self-Government so far at least as questions of racial and economic barriers are concerned."

मँचेस्टरच्या कापडाचा बहिष्कार.

(केसरी ता. ९ फेब्रुवारी १९०७ मध्ये सार्वजनिक सभेच्या कागदपत्रावरून उद्धृत केलेला उतारा)

वि. वि. कांहीं महिन्यांपूर्वी हिंदुस्थान सरकारचे कायदेकौन्सिलमध्ये आयात मालावरील जकातीचा कायदा पास झाला व त्यांत हिंदुस्थानबाहेरील देशाहून येणाऱ्या ज्या मालावर जकात घावयाची म्हणून जे ठरविले आहे त्यांतून सुती कापड आजिवात वगळून टाकिलें ही गोष्ट सर्वास माहीत आहेच. हिंदुस्थानांत बाहेरून येणाऱ्या किरकोळ जिनसांवरसुद्धां सरकारनें जकात बसविण्यास मार्गेंपुढें पाहिलें नाहीं, व मँचेस्टरहून येणारे सुती कापड हा हिंदुस्थानच्या तिजोरीस तूट भरून काढण्यास एवढा महत्त्वाचा माल मिळत असतां निव्वळ पक्षपातानें व आपमतलबीपणानें मँचेस्टरचें कापडावर जकात बसविली नाहीं ही गोष्ट सरकारनें अतिशय अन्यायाची व हिंदुस्थानचे लोकांस नुकसानकारक केली आहे. ह्या अन्यायाच्या वर्तनावद्दल आपल्यास जो तिटकारा आला आहे तो नुसता जाहीर सभा भरवून अगर अर्ज पाठवून दाखवून आपण स्वस्थ बसावें अशा प्रकारचा नाहीं, असें पुष्कळांचें मत आहे. या पक्षपाती वर्तनाची सत्यता सरकारास कळणें इष्ट आहे अशी बरेच मंडळींनीं इच्छा प्रदर्शित केल्यावरून सरकार लँकाशायरहून येणारे सुती कापडावर जकात बसवोपर्यंत तें कापड वापरणार नाहीं अशा शपथा घेऊन त्याप्रमाणें वागण्याचा निश्चय करावा व ही गोष्ट सिद्धीस जाण्यास काय तजवीज करावी याचा विचार करण्याकरितां ता. १४ माहे जून सन १८९४ गुरुवार रोजीं सायंकाळीं ६ वाजतां जोशी हॉलमध्ये मंडळी येणार आहेत, त्यावेळीं आपण अगत्य येण्याची मेहरवानी करावी.

अप्रतिहत व्यापारासंबंधानें व देशी कापड वापरण्यासंबंधानें कोणाची कांहींहि मते असली तरी ती या वेळीं एकीकडे ठेवून निदान मँचेस्टरच्या कापडावर जकात बसें तों

पर्यंत ते कापड वापरणार नाहीं असा मनाचा निर्धार करून सर्वत्र ठिकाणीं बरीच चळवळ करून लोकांचीं मनें ह्या उघड अन्यायाविषयीं जागृत केलीं पाहिजेत, असें येथें बरेच मंडळीस वाटत आहे. यांजकरितां त्याचा विचार करण्यासाठीं मंडळी जमणार आहेत, त्यावेळीं येण्यास आपण अनमान करणार नाहीं अशी पूर्ण आशा आहे. कळावें ही विनंती.

ता. १३ जून १८९४ बुधवार,

गोपाळ कृष्ण गोखले,
आ. सेक्रेटरी, सार्वजनिक सभा, पुणे.

प्रतिज्ञा लेख.

आम्हीं खालीं सद्या करणारे अशी प्रतिज्ञा करितों कीं, आजपासून आम्हीं स्वतः-करितां व घरांत लागणारे एकंदर कपडे जितके मिळतील तितके ह्या देशांत तयार झालेलेच वापरत जाऊं. विजायतेतील कापड खरेदी करणार नाहीं. यांत अंतर होणार नाहीं. ता. २३ माहे जून सन १८९४.

नीळकंठ जनार्दन किर्तने, शांताराम मोरोबा वायंगणकर, विठ्ठल वामन वैरागकर, आबाजी विष्णु काथवटे, विष्णु मोरेश्वर भिडे, गोपाळ कृष्ण गोखले, रघुनाथ रामचंद्र आगस्ती, दत्तात्रेय दामोदर सोनटके, कृष्णाजी रघुनाथ केळकर, वामन बाळकृष्ण रानडे, रघुनाथ नारायण पंडीत, गोपाळ रामचंद्र साने, विष्णु बाळकृष्ण सोहोनी, रंगनाथ बापुजी मेलग, विष्णु हरी करंदीकर, गणेश नारायण घोठबडेकर, विनायक नारायण आपटे, रामचंद्र मोरेश्वर साने.

आम्हीं खालीं सद्या करणारे अशी प्रतिज्ञा करितों कीं, आजपासून आम्ही स्वदेशीच कपडे वापरीत जाऊं. परदेशांत तयार झालेला कपडा वापरणार नाहीं.

ता. २७ माहे जून सन १८९४.

वासुदेव बापुजी कानिटकर, बळवंत बापुजी फडके, भालचंद्र त्र्यंबक आपटे, सखाराम रामचंद्र फडके, के. जी. नातू, विष्णु बाळकृष्ण सोहोनी, दामोदर जनार्दन गोखले, नारो भास्कर देवधर, महादेव ब्रह्माळ नामजोशी, के. बी. मांडे, के. आर्. रानडे, वाय्. एन्. जोगळेकर, विष्णु मोरेश्वर भिडे, बळवंत रामचंद्र नातु (ह्याप्रमाणें आमचा लेख पूर्वीपासूनच आहे.) वासुदेव कृष्ण भट, के. पी. गाडगीळ, व्ही. ए. पटवर्धन, अनंत वामन बर्वे, नारायण विष्णु बर्वे, महादेव सखाराम वैद्य, नीळकंठ जनार्दन किर्तने, एच्. पुराणिक.

[The above extract taken from the Records of the Sarvajanic Sabha giving a circular letter, written by G. K. Gokhale, Secretary of the Sabha, dated 13th June 1894, requesting people to attend a meeting called for taking the Swadeshi Vow with a view to boycott foreign cloth was published in the Kesari, dated 5th February 1907.]

VIII

SUPPRESSION OF SEDITION



SUPPRESSION OF SEDITION

[Section 124 (A) of the Indian Penal Code has become notorious because of its associations with the prosecutions of eminent Indian patriots and journalists. This section, it was assured by the Government at the time of the reconstitution of the Code (1860), would not be used for curtailing freedom of the press. But they violated the promise and used the section for suppressing the newspapers. "Bangawasi" (Calcutta—1891) was its first victim. Kesari—Poona was the first on this side to be punished under this section (1897). Government did not stop at using this section for suppressing the newspapers; but it is well-known how Justice Strachy "stretched the scope of the section to make it applicable to the writings of the Lokmanya". The prosecution of nationalist newspapers like Bhala (1906)—Kal (Poona—1908) and the Pamphlet published by Chetumal Hariram (Sakkar—1919) under this section are well-known. And so are the prosecutions of a number of patriots. These prosecutions show how the section was abused.

The following extracts show how the Government was anxious to curtail or cripple the freedom of press. They also show how the officials used to vacillate when they were out to abuse their power. They appear to be anxious to strike, strike quickly and also hard, but at the same time they wanted to appear thoroughly constitutional.

Some of the extracts deserve special mention. The review taken by Mr. A. C. Logan, Commissioner, Central Division, Bombay, of the seditious activities in the presidency gives a picture of Tilak's activities in 1897-96. This report shows that in the districts of Thana, Kolaba etc., Tilak's agitation had "ousted the jurisdiction of the Forest Department". They also show that the Thana District agitators had "Flooded them with literature against payment of land revenue (1896-97). The correspondence between Bombay Government and the Government of India extending over a long period of five to six years on the issue of the prosecution of the "Kal" weekly—Poona, shows the extent of Government's vacillation. During the course of the correspondence the Government of India seem occasionally to be exasperated. They wrote, "such delays do not encourage the Government of India to sanction a case... which is so belated". The extracts also contain a letter from the Government of India in which they have expressed disapproval of the policy of The Bombay Government in getting translations of articles from the "Kal" published in the Times of India. The prosecution, in the opinion of the Government of India had "in any case been rendered highly inexpedient by the unfortunate circumstance" created by the comments in the Times of India, etc. The correspondence exposes the attitude of the Government. A glance at the list of the cases

under this Section between 1905 and 1911 will show how young most of the patriots and writers were; a number of them were below twenty-five. But their writings, and more than that, their sufferings made great impression on the minds of the people which added immensely to the progress of public awakening.

The other important extracts show how the stage or dramas helped to awaken the people and how Government banned the staging of the dramas under the Dramatic Performances Act of 1876 and how they punished the authors and actors under sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. The Government note shows that a play called "Shiva Chhatrapati Vijaya" was prohibited as early as 1898. The writer A. M. Joshi was a Government servant. Another drama which was prevented from being staged was "Lokamat Vijaya" (by Anant Vaman Barve, Poona—1898) which allegorically described incidents which preceded and followed the Jubilee night murders at Poona. The other prohibited dramas include "Bandha Vimochan" (by Gopal Govind Soman, a clerk in the Thana Engineer's office—1898), "Khara Rajput" (by Shankar Sitaram Chitnis, Panvel—1898), "Vijaya Toran" (by Ramchandra Mahadeo Mhaskar, Sholapur—1909), "Danda Dhari" (by D. V. Newalkar, Poona—1909), "Drauni Mani Haran" (by G. A. Kane—typist—Political Dept.—Secretariat, Bombay, 1910), "Rana Bhimadeo" (by Wasudeo Raghunath Shirwalkar and Vinayak Trimbak Modak—1892), "Kalicha Narad" (by K. H. Dixit, Belgaum—1910). So also, the performances of the dramas (1) Swadeshi (1887), (2) Sangit Rastrodhar (1907), (3) Bhava Durga (1907), (4) Keechak Vadha (1910), (5) Shri Krishna Shistai (1910) were banned by the Government of Bombay. The dramatists or artists also had their share of sufferings and the proprietor of the Muhad Manoranjan Natak Company, Shri Laxman Vithal Oak and his fourteen artists were "bound over to be of good behaviour under section 102, C. P. C. to execute a bond of Rs. 200 each for one year (1910)". It is also interesting to note what action Government took against the writers, some of whom were Government servants.]

PROSECUTE LAW BREAKERS

Measures for the suppression of the dissemination of seditious and of the promotion of illwill between classes

Nos. 1269-1279.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
HOME DEPARTMENT, PUBLIC :
Simla, 3rd June 1907.

RESOLUTION.

"..... and he (Governor General in Council) is unable to tolerate the publication of writings which tend

to arouse the disorderly elements of society and to incite them to concerted action against the Government.....
.....Accordingly, in supression of previous orders on the subject, His Excellency in Council empowers local Governments to institute prosecutions in consultation with their legal advisers in all cases where the law has been wilfully infringed.....

(Signed) H. D. RISLEY,
Secretary to the Government of India.

THANA RIOTS, 1897-98

The Hon. Mr. A. C. Logan, I.C.S., Commissioner, Central Division, wrote a lengthy communication to the Government of Bombay on this recent order of the Government of India. In the course of his letter Mr. Logan cites his experience of the riots of 1897-98 in the Thana District. The following extract gives some idea about the disturbances :—

“It was to me that the suppression of disturbances of 1897-98 in the Thana District was entrusted.....
The story is worth a brief recapitulation. The grievance which started the troubles was confined to a few hundred forest people, who at great damage to the forests supplied the Brahmin and other wealthy inhabitants of Bassein and other coast villages with cheap firewood. This trade was suddenly interdicted, and the forest people, incited by their customers, defied the interdict, overpowered the forest guards and brought their loads to Bassein with riotous demonstrations. No effectual steps were taken by the then Collector to punish the offenders to prevent a repetition of the offence and this open triumph of a few wild folk and their Brahmin allies produced a contagion of lawlessness which soon infected the whole district. The forest tribes though in general unconnected with the particular trade described, rose every where, and for a while ousted the jurisdiction of the forest department: even the European Officers were assaulted and had to be withdrawn to headquarters. The Koli fishermen, who had absolutely nothing to do with the forests and who owing to their trade in Bombay are an exceptionally prosperous class, rose to the cry of free liquor and free salt, and stormed a Deputy Collector's

camp demanding (and getting) orders from him to the liquor shop-keepers to supply liquor gratis. The Agris or cultivating class became turbulent and threatening in demands for various concessions, and all the guards of the sub-divisional officers had to be posted to secure their personal safety. In the meantime a plot, no doubt under skilled guidance, was being formed for the advance of three mobs from different directions on the headquarter town and occult symbols flew from village to village. One of these mobs, consisting of several thousand persons, rose before its time and attacked the town of Mahim with the intention of plundering the treasury. Happily the Deputy Collector had the courage to order the police to fire and the assailants dispersed after a few had fallen. At this juncture I arrived, and with the aid of several extra assistant Collectors and a very large force of punitive police was able to cope with and finally to suppress the disturbances. But owing to the arrival of the plague and a partial failure of the rain the lawlessness received a new stimulus. The Kolis of the north sailed out and committed piracies on passing grainboats, and those of the south raised a riot against plague measures in which a Mamlatdar was only saved from death by the gallantry of Mr. Hudson who cut his way through the mob with the wounded man on his horse and shortly afterwards dispersed it with the aid of the Bombay Light Horse. The Native Christians who shared the Koli discontent at the price of liquor emulated them in disorder, and (sometimes headed by their priests) burnt down every plague hospital in their parishes as soon as it was erected. Meanwhile Bal Gangadhar Tilak, through the agency of a seditious Sabha at Umbargaon was flooding the country with proclamations against payment of land revenue and urging resistance to any attempt to collect it. And in the midst of all these troubles there was a partial mutiny among the police and one of them deserted with a drill book and after arming and drilling a small number of confederates went off to the Ghats to raise the hill Kolis for an attack on Matheran. I may add that throughout these troubles the village officers were almost invariably active or passive connivers with the disturbances of peace.....”.

After this Mr. Logan sent a translation of an article in Kesari dated 4th June 1907, under the heading, “The extremist and Moderate parties of Russia”. He also sent the summary of a speech by Narayan Shioram Barve of Nagpur in front of Nana’s Wada, Kasaba Peth, Poona on 10th June 1907, wherein he preached that all people should take physical exercise with a view to resist all oppression. At this time there were 98 athletic associations or Talimkhanas in the city of Poona and some of these, in which drill and fencing were taught to Brahmins and Marathas, were believed by the police

to be training schools for the purposes of violence against the authorities. Barve probably recruited for some of these.

It was further pointed by Mr. Logan that S. M. Paranjape of Kal and Barve were about to start a course of lectures in the towns of Maharashtra.

GOVERNMENT'S CIRCULAR

As a result of these happenings and opinions collected by Government from members of Council, Government issued their Circular No. 4061, Judicial Department, dated 13th July 1907. The circular can be summarised as under :—

1. Public speeches of a seditious character are being increasingly delivered by agitators.

2. As soon as the Magistrate of a district finds a seditious writing published in any newspaper, he should take steps to institute proceedings under section 108, Cr. P. C., or section 124A, I.P.C. The Governor was of opinion that for first prosecution Section 108 should be resorted to, thus avoiding giving the glamour of martyrdom to the writer of seditious articles. Persons who will stand surety to these offenders under Section 108, would themselves see that no more crime is committed by the offender. If, however, the offender repeats his crime, he would be tried under 124A and given a deterrent punishment. The District Magistrate should, however, abstain from all interference with anything that can be construed to be reasonable freedom of speech.

GOVERNOR GENERAL ON SUPPRESSION OF SEDITION

(FROM J. D. VOL. 235 OF 1910.)

The following letter gives the views of the Governor General on suppression of sedition :—

From

THE HONOURABLE SIR HAROLD STUART, K.C.V.O., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India ;

To

THE SECREARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,
Judicial Department.

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL) :
Calcutta, the 4th March 1910.

Sir,

I am directed to address you on the subject of the present

political situation of the country and to review for the consideration of His Excellency in Council some of the causes of and the remedies for sedition.

2. It is desirable at the outset to explain the nature and extent of the spirit of disaffection towards the British Government which now undoubtedly exists in many parts of India. Nowhere is any considerable proportion of the population imbued with that spirit. It is confined, with a few negligible exceptions, to the literate middle classes. It is not the expression of revolt against excessive taxation or oppressive laws. It may have some slight economic basis, but in the main it is an intellectual sentiment and not founded on any material grievances though those engaged in sedulously propagating the nationalist views are quick to seize on ephemeral circumstances of that character to advance their cause.

We have then a party, small in numbers, but of considerable influence and inspired by convictions strongly and even fanatically held, who are opposed to the continuance of British Rule. This party may be broadly divided into two classes, though the line of division is not a sharp one nor of a permanent character. The first class consists of those, who desire autonomy, but seek to obtain it by such methods as passive resistance and the continual sapping of the foundations of loyalty by means of attacks in the press, on the platform and on more private occasions. The members of this branch of the party of disaffection are not ordinarily prepared to advocate a resort to violence though many of them secretly sympathise with outrage and assassination and all alike are unwilling to assist in the suppression of political crime.

The second class comprises those who advocate and practice the methods of terrorism, directed not only against public servants, European and Indian, but also against all persons who come forward and assist the cause of justice, with information or evidence. This class consists for the most part of youths who are still at school or college, and of young men who have not long passed that period of their lives. These active revolutionaries are most prominent in Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Bombay. Their movement has spread to the Central Provinces and Berar and to the Punjab, and is found even in some of the Native States. It has made but little headway in the United Provinces and Madras but there are danger spots in both of these provinces which require very careful watching. The Government of India have received no information of its existence

in Burma or on the North Western Frontier. These youthful terrorists are bound together in societies, but how far these associations are under any central control, it is not yet possible to say. There are indications of such a control, but these do not at present amount to much more than surmise, and in any case it seems probable that, if any central authority exists, it does not exercise a very close direction over local activities.

The distribution of the less violent form of sedition is, as might be expected, very much the same as that of the terrorist movement, and there is no doubt a close connection between the two, for the persistent preaching of sedition has a marked effect upon the youth of the country and thus creates a favourable recruiting ground for the party of revolutionary violence, while there are some reasons for suspecting that the real leaders of the party of violence conceal themselves under the cloak of more moderate opinions.

3. The Governor General in Council believes that the Seditious movement is in the main due to ignorance and misapprehension of the nature and consequences of British rule in India. He recognises that there exists in the ranks of those who are hostile to that rule a residuum of implacable hatred of all alien intrusion, but all the information which has been placed before him supports the view that the majority of the advocates of Nationalism have been misled by shallow arguments and prejudiced statements. They hear only the specious reasoning against a foreign rule, this is repeated again and again while the case for the other side is seldom if ever put before them. If this diagnosis of the malady is correct, it follows that the remedy is to be found in a much more thorough and close attention to the problem in all branches of the Administration. Some officers of the Government consider that their work is done when they have disposed of their correspondence or tried their cases or finished their inspections. Those are an important, but not the only important and frequently not the most important, part of their duty. The circumstances of the time require that every officer of the Government should do his best, each in his own sphere, to combat misrepresentation and to remove misapprehension regarding the character and results of British rule. The task of fighting sedition cannot be left to the district officer alone. The greatest responsibility must always lie upon him, but officers of other departments are equally under an obligation to suppress sedition within their own spheres of duty, and the Governor General in Council is convinced that he can rely upon their ungrudging and hearty co-operation.

The District Judge, for example, can do much to check the spread of sedition among the members of the local bar. If he has reason to believe that any of his pleaders hold seditious opinions, it is his duty to send for them and reason with them, and finally to point out to them that hostility to the Government and all attempts to hamper the administration are incompatible with the position of a licensed pleader of the Courts of that Government. A like obligation lies upon subordinate Judges and District Munsiffs in respect of the pleaders of their own Courts.

4. It is not necessary to deal with every department of the administration and indicate how the members of each can, in varying degrees, influence the people with whom they are brought in contact. But the Education department demands special mention as its officers of all ranks, are in a peculiarly favourable position for combating the spread of seditious views. They can effect much good by sympathetic discussion and kindly guidance, and no opportunity should be lost of impressing upon all professors and school-masters that a heavy responsibility rests upon them to guide aright the youths under their charge. Mere abstention from seditious teaching cannot be accepted as an adequate performance of duty on the part of those engaged in education. To them is entrusted the moulding of young and impressionable minds and on them rests the high obligation of directing the intelligence of their pupils to form right views. It is in the domain of history and economics that erroneous opinions are most frequently held. Lessons drawn from the history of the West are misapplied to the present circumstances of India, the broad generalisations of European writers on political science are stated without mention of their important reservations, and students, left without proper guidance, are led to believe that what is approved in the case of Switzerland or Italy must necessarily be good for India. In the region of economics the most mischievous doctrine is that which is based on the crude theory that India is drained of her wealth by her connection with Great Britain. This belief is honestly held by many young graduates who never hear it controverted. The Governor General in Council believes that the prevalence of this idea has done incalculable mischief, and it behoves every officer of Government, and in particular those connected with education, to study the arguments put forward in support of it and to seize every opportunity of exposing their fallacy.

Much of the harm done in schools and colleges is due to the imperfect equipment of the teachers themselves and the Government of India desire that special attention may be paid in normal schools in training colleges to the careful and adequate instruction of those

who are to teach history and economics. The Universities might also do much to ensure the inculcating of sound views on these subjects, both by encouraging the production of suitable text books adopted to the Indian conditions and by the appointment of scholars of distinction to give special courses of lectures.

5. As already stated, it is upon the District Officer and his subordinates that the heaviest labour in the task of checking disloyalty will fall. They must be ever on the alert to keep in touch with all persons of any influence whose political leanings are suspected. Remonstrance may often be a better remedy than prosecution and it should always be borne in mind that the Government desires to prevent rather than to punish. When, therefore, a district officer perceives any signs of the beginnings of a seditious movement he should promptly send for the leaders of it and endeavour to convince them of the mischievous consequences of their conduct. In all such efforts the District Officer may obtain valuable assistance from the co-operation of loyal men of influence who are to be found in every locality. A frank warning will often detach an over credulous enthusiast from the ranks of the seditious. It should be remembered that persuasion will frequently succeed where threats may fail, and that in some cases a private reproof will be most effective, while in others an open discussion will be the best way of gaining the desired end. The most suitable means in short will vary with the circumstances and the district officer must understand that the treatment to be applied in each case demands very careful consideration.

6. Complaints are not infrequently made of the want of consideration and in some cases of the want of courtsey shown by Government officers towards Indian gentlemen. The Governor General in Council believes that here also there is misunderstanding and ignorance rather than any deliberate intention to be inconsiderate or impolite ; but it is necessary that the senior officers in all departments should impress upon the junior officers, both Indian and European, the obligation that lies upon every public servant to cultivate a courteous and considerate demeanour towards all with whom they are brought in contact. Young European officers often err through ignorance and I am to suggest that it might be desirable to draw up a few simple instructions on the subject of the treatment of the Indian gentlemen, including the manner in which they should be received, the forms to be used in addressing them, the appropriate way of terminating an interview, and the like. Instructions might also be issued to all touring officers that they should invariably make it a point of seeing all men of local influence at the

places they visit and they should encourage these local notabilities to a frank and full discussion both of local affairs and of matters of more general interest.

7. In some provinces there has been great difficulty in obtaining evidence in political cases, and I am to suggest that where this exists the leading men in each district should be taken into confidence by the district officer, who should impress on them the responsibility that lies on all gentlemen of position and influence to see that the ordinary process of law is not reduced to impotence by terrorism of witnesses. It should be explained to them that the detection of violent crimes and conspiracies is seriously hampered by the unwillingness of the persons acquainted with relevant facts to come forward and depose to what they know ; and that the failure of the people to assist in this elementary way the cause of law and order must infallibly lead to the breakdown of the liberal system of administering the law which the people at present enjoy and the application of a more harsh procedure. The existing legal system rests on the assumption that all law abiding people will assist the Court of Justice, when it is in their power to do so. If this assistance is not given, and freely given, the administration of justice by open trial and conviction on proof of guilt is rendered impossible. If they through fear or disinclination or want of public spirit withhold their co-operation, those responsible for maintaining law and order must be driven to act on suspicions. Such a procedure obviously involves the risk that the innocent people may suffer with the guilty. The Governor General in Council doubts whether this danger is sufficiently appreciated by those who hold aloof, and he thinks it would be wise for District officers to impress it upon influential men of each locality. Such individuals should be urged to assist not only by furnishing information themselves but also by inducing unwilling witnesses to give evidence. In a number of cases the criminals are known and those who can prove their guilt are known, but the former escape because the latter will not testify in open Court. It is here that local men of influence can render great help by persuading witnesses to come forward.

8. It is of great importance that every consideration should be shown for the convenience of the witnesses and people who give information. The burden of attending for enquiry for giving evidence should be made as little irksome as possible. Where necessary, police protection should be freely offered to those who furnish information or render any other assistance which is likely to expose them to danger. If information is given under the seal of secrecy the confidence must be scrupulously respected.

9. Societies formed actually or ostensibly for innocent objects must not be allowed to degenerate into seditious associations. Any tendency in that direction must be at once checked by remonstrance with the manager, and if this fails by exposure and suppression. The collection of funds for charity or other unobjectionable purposes must be watched and any diversion of the money to seditious or other undesirable ends must be promptly unmasked. In some cases money has been raised for political purposes by the levy of fees on the managers of dramatic companies and circuses, upon cart owners, stall holders in the markets, and the like, and payment has been enforced by threats of boycotts. Resistance to such exactions should be encouraged by every lawful means. It should indeed be clearly understood that the Government regard all forms of political boycott with disfavour and the whole weight of official influence should be directed against such interference with individual liberty.

Much harm has been done to young men by the perversion of sacred writings for seditious purposes and the District officer should draw attention to the danger of attempting to graft politics on to religion. Those who have the management and conduct of religious festivals and ceremonies must be made to recognise their responsibility for preventing the abuse for disloyal ends of the freedom from restriction allowed on such occasions.

10. The question of the existence of sedition in the ranks of public servants themselves is one which must receive equal treatment among all departments. Public servants against whom there exist good grounds for suspicion of seditious leanings must be warned that there will be no hesitation in removing them from their appointments, if they do not mend their conduct, and it should be impressed upon all public servants alike that their responsibility does not end with their own conduct but extends to that of their sons and of relatives over whom they have influence. If a father or guardian who is in the public service has not done his best to check the seditious tendencies of his son or ward, or if when he saw that his efforts were of no avail, he failed to warn the responsible authorities regarding his relative's disaffection he will incur a severe penalty.

11. The Governor General in Council believes that there is every reason to expect success for a policy on the lines described in the foregoing paragraphs. There is much ignorance and misunderstanding on the subject of British Rule in India and thence has arisen a spirit of disaffection. That spirit has not spread far

and the wrong impressions on which it rests are capable of removal by conciliatory discussion and earnest remonstrance. Many supporters of the so called Nationalist programme have taken alarm at the development of what they regarded as a permissible political movement into the fanatical outrages of the terrorist action. The movement is favourable for detaching them from the party of disaffection and for convincing all but the most extreme of the danger to the general welfare of persistent attacks upon the foundations of the established Government. The great body of the people are entirely loyal and prepared to join with the officers of Government in this mission against disaffection. In Bengal and Madras leagues have recently been formed to combat sedition and the Government of India would be glad to see that example followed elsewhere.

12. But while sincere and continuous efforts should be made to suppress disaffection by the means that have been indicated above, against those who remain determinedly disloyal the law must be firmly enforced. It is imperative, in the public interest that the spread of sedition be stopped and if reasoning and remonstrance prove unavailing, recourse must be had to other remedies. If crime cannot be prevented it must be punished. If Government servants remain disloyal they must be removed from their offices. If sedition continues to be taught in a school or college, either directly or indirectly, the aid and countenance of the Government must be withdrawn from it. The maintenance of British Rule is necessary for the good of India and in the interest of the people entrusted to his charge the G. G. in Council is determined to suppress all attempts to subvert his authority. He desires to do this by conciliatory methods, but if these fail he is convinced that in applying sterner measures, he will have the support and co-operation of the loyal and law-abiding people who form the great majority of the population of the country.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/-

Secretary to the Government of India.

GOVERNMENT AND THE NEWSPAPER "KAL"

(FROM J. D. VOLUME No. 217-A OF 1900.)

"Proposed prosecution of the Editor, Publisher, Printer and Proprietor of the 'KAL' newspaper."

After a careful scrutiny of various articles published in Kal, the Bombay Government decided to refer the following articles to the

Government of India for permission to prosecute under section 124A, Indian Penal Code (Letter No. 3902, Judicial Department, dated 6th June, 1900) :—

Date.	Subject of article.
1. 24th November, 1899	... Why did the Puranik's case end in an acquittal?
2. 15th December, 1899	... Request of the Maharaja of Bikaner to be allowed to go to the Transval war.
3. 15th December, 1899	... The effects produced by the Transval war on the public mind.
4. 19th January, 1900	... Preservation of ancient monuments.
5. 2nd February, 1900	... Memorials and the objects of raising them.
6. 16th February, 1900	... A Council of the gods.
7. 2nd March, 1900	... An English officer's experiences in India.
8. 9th March, 1900	... Do.
9. 16th March, 1900	... Do.
10. 30th March, 1900	... Income-tax and socialism.
11. 6th April, 1900	... Legend of Rama.
12. 20th April, 1900	... An English officer's experiences in India.
13. 27th April, 1900	... Do.
14. 4th May, 1900	... Do.
15. 11th May, 1900	... Do.

PROSECUTION NOT ADVISABLE

The Government of India wrote the following reply to the above letter by the Government of Bombay :—

No. 1664, dated 22nd June, 1900.

From

J. P. HEWETT, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department (Public);

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,
Judicial Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your confidential letter No. 3902, dated 6th June, 1900, which was delivered here on

16th idem, relative to certain articles published in Kal newspaper. The Government of Bombay desire, should the Government of India approve that course, to take immediate proceedings under section 124A, Indian Penal Code, against the Editor of the Kal and any other persons responsible for the newspaper, in respect of an article published in the edition of the 9th March 1900 under the heading "An Englishman's experiences in India," which, in the opinion of the Advocate General of Bombay, comes within the section. If this prosecution is approved, the Governor in Council considers it necessary that six other articles from the same newspaper should be put in, and asks that the decision whether to base the charge solely on the article of 9th March, or also on some of the six others, may be left to the Law officers of the Local Government.

2. In reply I am to say that the Government of India have carefully considered the recommendation, but in their opinion the expressions used in the article of 9th March, though open to the construction that has been placed upon them, hardly appear to be of a sufficiently seditious or indisputable character as to justify a prosecution under section 124A, Indian Penal Code. Such prosecutions should, in the opinion of the Governor General in Council, only be instituted when there is more than a reasonable hope of conviction in the Court before which they may be brought. Judging from the tone of the articles to which attention has been called in this correspondence, the Governor General in Council is inclined to think that any measure of forbearance now shown in regard to the Kal newspaper is not unlikely to result in some further extravagance which may bring the Editor more directly within the Indian Penal Code and the jurisdiction of the Courts. The Government of India do not deem it expedient, therefore, to sanction a prosecution in the case now presented.

3. I am further to observe that the Government of India are reluctant in any case to sanction a prosecution in which there has been such pronounced and, as it would appear, needless delay on the part of the Local Government as in the present instance. The Governor General in Council considers that the Local Government might have consulted their Legal Adviser upon the article of the 9th March at an earlier date than 29th April, and, when an opinion emanated from him on the 30th April, it would seem that the Governor in Council should have been able, in a case evidently calling for dispatch, to arrive at a resolution before the 6th June. Nor is there any explanation why a letter dated the 6th June should only have been received, as it was, at Simla on the 6th

idem. Such delays, I am to say, are not only inconsistent with the dispatch of important business, but do not encourage the Government of India to sanction a course of action which, apart from other objections, is not rendered the more likely to succeed because it is so belated."

GOVERNMENT SEEKS HELP OF ANGLO-INDIAN PAPER

(FROM J. D. CONF. FILE No. 126, COMPILATION No. 1937 OF 1904.)

From the weekly reports on Native Newspapers Mr. C. J. Hill, Secretary, Judicial Department Government of Bombay came to know that the newspaper Kal was persistently writing seditious articles. He wanted to expose the harmful nature of these articles by enlisting the help of Anglo India Newspapers. He therefore wrote the following letter to Mr. L. G. Fraser, Editor, *Times of India*.

Private.

10th July, 1904.

My Dear Fraser,

I do not know whether your attention has been drawn to the articles which have recently appeared in the 'Kal' newspaper, printed by one Paranjape. They are about as bad as can be and some of them are probably objectionable.

At the same time there are as you know many objections to taking up prosecutions among the most obvious being uncertainty of conviction and the fact that prosecution makes a hero or martyr of the accused and brings him into undesirable prominence.

On the other hand there is a point beyond which it is impossible to allow things to go.

In these circumstances I have collected some fairly representative extracts from recent utterances, which I enclose. I have shown those to His Excellency, who has authorised me to consult you upon a suggestion which I made to him. My proposal was that the *Times of India* or some prominent English paper—might take

up and reproduce prominently the articles of this stamp which are published by the *Kal* and comment upon them. Paranjape, himself a miserable little *cur*, *imagines* he can publish this kind of thing (he frankly admits he does because it pays and not because he wishes to achieve the results which he adumbrates). Paranjape would be terrified if he found that his outpourings were noticed in this way, and if he felt that light was being thrown on his articles. On the other hand the majority of moderates—Gokhale and so forth—would welcome such an exposure for Paranjape's writings being disrepute upon the Congress and Moderate party.

Will you very kindly treat this as entirely personal until you have considered the matter and—if you approve of the suggestion—will you let me know whether you propose taking any action on the lines indicated?

If you do, please keep the enclosures and I can supply you with more if they continue to appear.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) C. H. HILL.

The *Times of India* eventually published translations of articles from *Kal* and wrote articles in opposition of the views expressed by the paper.

FURTHER SCRUTINY OF ARTICLES IN *KAL*.

The Government of Bombay in the meanwhile tried to investigate as to how far it would be possible to prosecute Mr. Paranjape, editor of *Kal*. They got translations of about 15 articles and referred them to the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs and the Advocate General for legal advice as to the possibility of prosecution and conviction. The following were the articles considered by the Government in the respect :—

No.	Date.	Subject.
1.	19th June 1903	... The dreadful murders in —
2.	17th July 1903	... Mr. Sweeney's impressions about India.
3.	6th November 1903	... One night in St. Domingo.
4.	13th November 1903	... Lord Curzon's visit to Patiala.

No.	Date.	Subject.
5.	27th November 1903	... Filial devotion of our elder brothers.
6.	9th October 1903	... Serving under foreign Government.
7.	8th January 1904	... Speech of Lal Mohan Ghosh.
8.	22nd January 1904	... Old corpses and new hearts.
9.	8th April 1904	... Mohrum disturbances in Bombay.
10.	15th April 1904	... An act on a lofty stage in the world.
11.	22nd May 1904	... Life of despots.
12.	10th June 1904	... Treachery.
13.	22nd July 1904	... Tolstoy on Russo-Japanese war.
14.	9th September 1904	... Shivaji's Punyah-Vachan.
15.	2nd September 1904	... Educative value of murder.

CONSULT LEGAL OPINION

The Government of India in this connection wrote to the Government of Bombay as under :—

Confidential.

Simla, the 19th September, 1904.

Dear Sir,

I am desired to invite attention to an article which appeared in the *Kal* of the 2nd September last, instituting a comparison between M. de Plehve and Lord Curzon.

2. The article in question makes the broad statement that "political murders are not like the common murders for which offenders are tried in judicial courts every day". They are declared to be laudable and to be as it were "the terrible and deafening cry uttered by the oppressed masses when the rich and the great are plunged in all sorts of gaities and have no time to listen to the grievances of the poor". Such murders are "perpetrated for the good of the world". It proceeds to state that murders are unnecessary in a free country, but that Russia is a country favourable to a revolutionary propaganda, and as revolutionary measures are now extremely popular with the middle class in Russia, there is considerable unrest there.

3. The article then turns to Lord Curzon and after quoting from an "open letter to Lord Curzon" which appeared in the paper

India for the week ending August 12, 1904 it proceeds to observe—

(a) that, in spite of the unwillingness of the people of India, Lord Curzon has determined to return to this country to promote its welfare,

(b) that the list of grievances specified in the open letters is certainly much longer than the list of M.de Plehve's acts specified in the manifesto of the Central Committee of socialists.

4. The final portion of the article is to the effect—

(1) that the list of Lord Curzon's virtues is as long as the list of grievances alleged against him,

(2) that he is both liked and disliked by the people of India,

(3) that his Tibetan policy is increasing his unpopularity, and

(4) that the English are going to plunder Tibet first by looting and secondly by an organized system of Syndicates.

5. It appears to the Government of India that in spite of the qualifying remarks alluded to under heads (1) and (2) of the preceding paragraph, the article was intended as a direct instigation to the assassination of Lord Curzon. While they recognise the undesirability of attracting public attention to the fact that the idea of assassinating Lord Curzon has been mooted at all, they feel that it is impossible to ignore numerous threats or suggestions such as are contained in the article referred to.

6. I am, therefore to request that if the Governor in Council sees no objection, the opinion of the legal advisers of the Government of Bombay may be obtained as to whether the article in question has infringed the law and whether a prosecution of the paper would be attended with a reasonable prospect of success.

I am to say that the Government of India will be glad if, in forwarding the opinion of their law officers, the Government of Bombay, will favour them with an expression of their views as to whether a prosecution is advisable in this instance.

I am to ask that in replying a full translation of the article may be sent.

7. The Bombay Government will no doubt arrange that the reference to their Law Officers shall be undertaken, and the opinion of the Local Government forwarded to the Government of India with the least possible delay.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) R. NATHAN.

In reply to the above Mr. C. H. Hill, Secretary, Judicial Department, wrote the following :—

Confidential.

23rd September, 1904.

My dear Nathan,

Your letter of 19th instant to Lamb on the subject of article in the *Kal*.

This Government took action immediately on the appearance of the article in question and the law officers of this Government are being consulted. Their opinions when received (for it has been thought advisable, in view of the importance of the subject, to consult both Legal Remembrancer and Advocate General) will be communicated to the Government of India with the opinion of the Governor in Council as to the advisability of taking proceedings.

I should explain that, in view of the extremely clever manner in which the *Kal* safeguards its connection between Lord Curzon and M. de Plehve, this Government, who have been watching the *Kal* articles for the past 2 or 3 months have decided that certain earlier articles specially selected, should also be sent to the Law officers.

As regards the practical outcome of such articles, I would suggest that you should ask Stuart to let you see a letter which I wrote to him yesterday. It describes the whole political situation. A full translation of article in question was called for on the appearance of the abstract and a copy will accompany the report of this Government.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) C. H. HILL.

INDIA GOVERNMENT DISAPPROVES BOMBAY'S PROCEDURE

After this, the Government of Bombay got the 2nd September article in Kal thoroughly examined by the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs and Advocate General and sent their report to the Government of India with a covering letter dated 15th October, 1904. The Government of India wrote the following reply to Mr. Hill:--

Confidential.

Simla, the 29th October 1904.

My dear Hill,

I am directed to reply to your letter of the 15th October, 1904, forwarding the opinion of the Advocate General and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, Bombay, on subject of an inflammatory article which appeared in the 'Kal' in its issue of the 2nd September last.

2. I am to say that the Government of India accepts the view of the Government of Bombay that it would be inadvisable to take action in respect of this article alone and they await the further letter which His Excellency the Governor proposes to send.

3. I am at the same time to point out that the delay which has occurred in dealing with the case would have tended to weaken the position of Government had a prosecution been instituted, and to suggest that on future occasions steps should be taken to expedite the reference to the Law officers and to arrange that their opinions should be given after personal consultation.

4. Apart from the legal difficulties indicated by the Advocate General a prosecution would, in the opinion of the Government of India, have in any case been rendered highly inexpedient by the unfortunate circumstance that the leading article in the "Times of India" commenting on the utterances of the 'Kal' was based on translations of the latter furnished by the Government of Bombay. The Native Press has already drawn the obvious conclusion that the Editor of the "Times of India" was assisted by the Bombay Government in the preparation of the article in question.....
.....and there can be little doubt that in the event of a prosecution, the point would be brought out and pressed home by the defence to the prejudice of the Government case. The

Government of India cannot but regard the action of the Government of Bombay in this matter as a somewhat unfortunate error of judgment.

5. I am to add that the postponement of Lord Curzon's return and the universal sympathy which the cause of it has evoked, afford, in the opinion of the Government of India strong additional reasons for not undertaking a prosecution with reference to the article of the 2nd September.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) H. H. RISLEY.

The Government of Bombay wrote a lengthy reply dated 15th November 1904 to the above letter defending their policy especially their taking the help of the Times of India. The Government of India wrote in reply to this as under :—

Calcutta, the 12th December 1904.

Confidential.

My dear Hill,

In reply to your letter of 15th November, I am desired to explain for the information of His Excellency the Governor in Council the conclusions at which after careful consideration the Government of India have arrived regarding the suggested prosecution of the Kal newspaper on account of certain selected articles which appeared in it, and other matters connected therewith.

2. The Governor General in Council is of opinion that it is clearly undesirable to institute a prosecution on account of any of the six selected articles, and this, His Excellency in Council understands, is also the view of the Government of Bombay. The Government of India have considered the suggestion made in paragraph 3 of your letter but it does not appear to them necessary to modify the orders conveyed by the Home Department letter No. 1762 of 11th August 1899. Those orders clearly contemplate that articles such as these published by the *Fal* on 13th November 1903 and 15th April 1904 (the second and fourth of the selected six) which in the opinion of the Law officers be

considered to come within the terms of section 124A, Indian Penal Code, should be referred to them at the earliest possible occasion. The reasons which led the Government of Bombay to depreciate the institution of proceedings would of course have been explained at the same time. The article of 2nd September last in which a comparison was drawn between M.de Plehve and Lord Curzon does not appear to come within the literal terms of Home Department letter of August 1899 ; but the subject matter of that article seems by itself to afford a conclusive reason for referring it for the Government of India's orders. The importance in such matters of losing no time is apparent but in the present instance the Government of India are still constrained to think that unnecessary delay occurred. They do not wish to dwell upon the point but they notice in passing that the Advocate General should certainly have replied to an important and emergent reference made to him by Government on 23rd September before the 2nd October. As the Government of India had themselves taken action, it is evident that the orders of August 1899 cannot properly be regarded as having contributed to the delay.

3. The Government of India have read with interest the account given in paragraphs 5 and 6 of your letter of the policy recently pursued by the Government of Bombay. They agree that this strengthens the grounds for refraining from a prosecution : but they are still inclined to think that it was a mistake to provide the Editor of the Times of India with Government Translation of the articles alleged to be incriminatory. If the publication of the article in that paper which was based on these translations has done good, it has also not improbably had bad effects as well. Many native newspapers have shown that they know that Government provided the Editor of the Times of India with translations of which use was made.

4. The Government of India have thought it expedient to bring these aspects of the matter to the consideration of Lord Lamington's Government though they fully appreciate the vigilant and careful policy which His Excellency's Government are pursuing with regard to a difficult question of administration. The question made at the conclusion of your letter will be carefully attended to.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) H. H. RISLEY.

PROCEDURE FOR PROSECUTION

In reply to the above the Government of Bombay wrote to the Government of India as under :—

Confidential.

10th January 1905.

My dear Risley,

In acknowledging receipt of your D. O. No. 301/Pub. of 12th December 1904, I am desired to ask you kindly to clear up one point upon which paragraph 2 of your letter leaves this Government in great doubt.

The official orders contained in Home Department letter No. 1762 of 11th August 1899, as we have hitherto understood them required in paragraph 5 that we should address the Government of India only if Government wanted to take action. The interpretation placed upon these orders by your d/o under reply appears to go a great deal further and to imply that all doubtful articles should be referred to the law officers and that these which in the opinion of the Law Officers may be considered to come within the terms of section 124, Indian Penal Code, should be referred to the Government of India for their orders at the earliest possible occasion irrespective of any consideration of whether the local -government desire or do not desire to institute proceedings, the local Government simply giving its reasons for thinking a prosecution desirable or the reverse.

I am to inquire whether your letter under reply is to be so interpreted and therefore as modifying the interpretation placed by us on the official orders of 1899.

(Signed) C. H. HILL.

The Government of India wrote in reply in their letter dated 17th February 1905 that the interpretation put by the Government of Bombay on the Home Department letter No. 1762 dated 10th August 1899 was correct. "The intention of the letter was and still is, that the Government of India should only be addressed if the local Government desires to take any action in the matter of press prosecution."

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS

COMMENTS ON THE RESULT OF THE "KAL" CASE

Indu Prakash, 8th July, *Dnyan Prakash*, 9th July,
Rashtramat, 9th July 1908

"It is impossible not to sympathise with Mr. Paranjpe, editor of the *Kal*, who has been found guilty of sedition and sentenced to nineteen months rigorous imprisonment. The Judge, who was on the whole sympathetic and fair in his charge to the Jury, thought the sentence to be lenient enough. That may be so from the point of view of the Executive, but we are inclined to agree with those who think it was too severe in consideration of the facts that this was the first offence of the accused, that Bombay Presidency has witnessed no riots or acts of violence, that the defence of the accused was manly and straightforward and was imbued with declarations that would do credit to any constitutionalist and last but no least, that the majority of the Jury had strongly recommended him for mercy. The explanation of the qualified verdict of the Jury is not difficult to find. The law must clearly have appeared to them, as it appears to us and to several others, too repressive, so that even truth is no defence. It is significant that for the first time in the history of prosecutions for sedition in India, patriotism is recognised in the Jury-box to be a ground for palliation of sedition, as defined by section 124A. Erring patriotism, if it has not produced dire results, and if it is accompanied by an attitude of manly penitence, as according to Mr. Justice Davar was the case in regard to Mr. Paranjpe, surely deserved a much lighter punishment than nineteen month's rigorous imprisonment. We will be candid enough to admit that writings of the kind of which Mr. Paranjpe has suffered have always appeared to us to be very objectionable. But all that is objectionable is not necessarily seditious and taking the incriminating article as a whole, we feel serious doubts whether in its general trend it came within the scope of section 124A..... If the existing law be rigorously applied, useful journalism is sure to have very hard times indeed." (The *Dnyan Prakash* thinks the sentence rather severe and remarks that simple imprisonment would have met the ends of justice.) The *Rashtramat* writes:—The campaign started by the Bombay Government against Indian journalists has taken one prominent victim in Mr. S. M. Paranjpe and others are likely to follow. Much comment on these proceedings is hardly called for, as those who are responsible for starting these prosecutions are likely to realise that sending a few prominent

journalists to jail will never achieve the great aim which they have in view, viz., that of rooting out the spirit of public discontent and dissatisfaction with things as they are. The paper distributes copies of Paranjpe's photo with its issue of the 9th July and styles him Deshabhakta (patriot)."

COMMENTS ON THE SENTENCE PASSED ON THE EDITOR OF THE "VIHARI"

[REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE WEEK ENDING 4TH JULY 1908
(PAGES 34, 35, PARAGRAPHS 42-43/44-45).]

Gujarati, 28th June, *Rajasthan*, 27th June 1908.

The sentence passed by Mr. Aston on Ramchandra Narayan Mandlik, editor of the *Vihari*, has been a great surprise to the general public of Bombay as well as to the legal and journalistic fraternities. If we add to the term of two years' imprisonment awarded to Mr. Mandlik the period for which he remained in prison under trial we may say that he is sentenced to imprisonment for twenty-five months and fifteen days in all. There is no wonder that the minds of the public of Bombay should become agitated on hearing of this heavy sentence. In view of the general tone of the *Vihari* it was expected that its editor would be acquitted. But the elasticity of sections 124A and 153A of the Indian Penal Code has been made the most of by the Magistrate and the apprehensions entertained about them in 1898 have been more than amply realised in 1908. It is not possible to conjecture how far these sections will be stretched. After such twistings and turnings of the meaning purposely made with the aim of repressing the press, editors of newspapers, however honest and well-intentioned they might be, have to bid good-bye to truth and the thought of educating the masses. Mazzini's poem, as translated and published by the *Vihari*, referred to the awakening of Italy. It is admitted even by the Chief Presidency Magistrate that there is not a word in the whole of the poem which has any bearing on India or its people or the officials. In spite of this the Magistrate jumped to the conclusion that the object of the writer was, by describing the condition of Italy, to create an awakening in the country which might lead to a commotion; that otherwise, there was no occasion for its publication. The justness of this conclusion we cannot determine till the appeal in the case is disposed of by the High Court. But if such writings are regarded as seditious, Indian editors are exposed to the charge of sedition of publishing vernacular versions of Washington's exhortations to his army, of the account of Byron's fight for the independence of the Greeks or of the heroic deeds of Cromwell and a host of other similar subjects. If Mr. Aston's decision is upheld

by the High Court, then the progress of vernacular literature will come to a dead stop, and all attempts at educating the masses by means of the biographies of great men of other countries will come under the ban of sedition. Under these circumstances it is high time for the Government of Lord Minto to specifically lay down what kind of writings in newspapers are regarded in official circles as seditious and what are not. Such a course will make the path of the native editors less thorny. (The *Rajasthan* also comments adversely on the sentence passed upon the editor of the *Vihari*. The paper calls in question Mr. Aston's conclusion as to the motive of the accused in publishing the incriminating poem from the fact of the book entitled "Secret Organisation of Russia" having been found in his possession.)

Kesari of 30th June 1908

In dealing out punishment to the editor of the *Vihari*, Mr. Aston, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, has proved himself to be a worthy son of a worthy father, who, in the year 1897, passed a sentence of transportation on the editor of the *Pratod*. Mr. Aston has taken a very curious view of the case and has defeated the ends of justice by the sentence which he has passed.

According to the view expressed by the Magistrate, any article written even in praise of Government can be construed as being written with a seditious intention on the part of the writer. The Magistrate has tried to strengthen the conviction of Mr. Mandlik by referring to the fact that a certain book containing information about the anarchist movement in Russia was found on his book-shelf. It is very certainly strange that the contents of a book found in the library of the accused should have been called in to aid in his conviction. As it is extremely unjust that persons convicted under sections 124A and 153A of the Indian Penal Code should be subjected to rigorous imprisonment, we think that the sections should be amended in this respect.

PROSECUTION OF THE *BHALA* NEWSPAPER

(FROM J. D. VOLUME No. 144 OF 1906.)

"No. 269, dated the 15th February 1906.

From

E. FERRERS NICHOLSON, ESQUIRE,
Solicitor to Government ;

To

THE UNDER SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,
Judicial Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I beg to report that the trial of Emperor *vs.* Bhaskar Balwant Bhopatkar came on for hearing on Monday, the 12th February instant, at the High Court Sessions before the Honourable Mr. Justice Batty and a special Jury composed of five Europeans, two Parsees and two Hindus. For the prosecution I had instructed the Honourable Mr. E. B. Raikes, Acting Advocate General, Mr. G. R. Lowndes and Mr. W. L. Weldon, and Mr. D. D. Davar and Mr. G. K. Gadgil appeared as counsel for the accused.

2. The case was concluded on Tuesday, the 13th instant, when the Jury unanimously found a verdict of "Guilty" on the charge under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code, but added a recommendation for mercy. Mr. D. D. Davar also on behalf of the accused pleaded for a lenient sentence. The presiding judge sentenced the accused to six months' simple imprisonment and Rs. 1,000 fine in default a further month's imprisonment.

SUMMARY OF CASE

The *Bhala* was printed in Poona and was published both in Bombay and Poona. In the issue of 11th October 1905, there appeared an article under the title of "A Darbar in Hell". The article purported to be a sketch or description of an imaginary darbar held in Hell. The accessories and features of the place were described and the darbar was supposed to be held by the Sovereign of Hell for the purpose of choosing his successor. He invited all candidates for the throne to come forward and state their pretensions to it ; and it was expressly stated that the chief qualifications for the post would be cruelty and mercilessness. After this, different candidates were represented as coming forward and making their claims. The speeches of three were given in all. The first two according to the presentation were intended to represent a Mahomedan invader and

the other a Muhomedan ruler born in the country. There were various other speakers whose speeches were not given in the article. Finally, the last speaker addressed the Darbar and at the close of his address he is chosen to be the successor to the ruler of Hell, it being supposed to have been established that he had been guilty of acts of greater cruelty and oppression than any of the others. According to the prosecution, the third speaker was meant to be the Government by law established in British India, i.e. the British Government. The speaker said that he came to the country under pretence of trade, having no connection with it, that he established his rule by fostering dissensions amongst the inhabitants of the country and after doing so he became a king, which the prosecution said, referred to a change of Government from the East India Company to the Crown. After that a direct allusion appeared to be made to a series of measures, which had been the measures of the British Government in this country. The Chief of these measures were the Income-tax Act, the Taxation of Salt and the Arms Act. There was apparently an allusion to the University Act which had been passed a few years back. (Based on the speech of the Advocate General, pages 107 to 109).

Mr. Davar, the defence counsel had put in five articles to show that the accused had expressed sentiments of loyalty to the British Government.

During the course of the trial the accused made the following statement (page 119) :—

“I wish to make a statement. The article forming the subject of this charge is a contribution, and not an article coming from my pen. When I allowed it to be printed in my paper I considered it as only an allegorical and imaginary description of a Darbar held in Purgatory, referring to no person and to no Government in particular. It seemed something like the allegories of old English literature. I accept the responsibility for the publication of the correspondence. I had no intention at the time of its publication of bringing into contempt the British Government, nor had I the loyal attitude towards the British Government will be seen from intention of exciting feelings of disaffection towards it. Thus my the articles and notes in my paper showing my appreciation of the good points of British Raj. I do not wish to say anything more or call any evidence.”

After hearing the case argued by both the Advocate General and Mr. Dawar, His Lordship delivered the judgment and sentenced Mr. Bhopatkar to six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000.

CASES OF SEDITION IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY 1909 TO 1911

I. Prosecutions under Sections 124A and 153A of the Indian Penal Code, 1909

(FROM J. D. VOLUME No. 216, COMPILATION 1272 OF 1910)

Supply to the Government of India of a statement giving particulars of prosecutions under sections 124A and 153A, Indian Penal Code, instituted since 1st January 1909 in the Bombay Presidency”.

No.	Names.	Trial Court.	Charge.	Result of Prosecution.
1	Purushottam Bapuji Khare, Editor of Kal. Age 34.	District Magistrate, Poona.	Section 124A...	11th February 1909 to 6 months' R. I. and fine of Rs. 1,000. Accused offered apology and Government commuted sentence to 3 months' S. I.
2	Vasudeo Damodar Mundale, Editor Prated, Islampur. Age 32.	District Magistrate, Satara.	Do. ...	15th March 1909. 18 months' R. I. Rs. 500 fine in default 6 months.
3	Ganesh Damodar Savarkar. Age 31.	Session's Court, Nasik.	121, 121A, 124A for seditious poems.	8th June 1909 Transportation for life and 2 years R. I. to run concurrently.
4	Dhanappa Shidramappa Valve. Age 21, Lingayat.	District Magistrate, Thana.	124A ...	21st August 1909 6 months' R. I.
5	Ganesh Balwant Mokar. Age 39.	Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court, Bombay.	124A for article in Swaraja Magazine of B. C. Pal.	31st August 1909 1 month's S. I. Confirmed by H. C. on 6th October 1909.
6	Vaman Shridhar Barve. Age 25.	District Magistrate, Nasik.	121, 121A, 124A, 153A for seditious pamphlet.	Six months' S. I.
7	Shah Amichand Nathubhai. Age 25.	District Magistrate's Court, Ahmedabad.	124A for a Pamphlet Deshbhakt Mahatma Tilak.	Fine Rs. 150 in default 2 months' S. I.
8	(a) Gordhanlal Kilachand. Age 24, Author. (b) Chetumal Hariram Age 31, Publisher. (c) Virumal Bagraj, Age 35, Printer.	Sessions Court, Sukkar.	124A, 153A for pamphlet "Swadeshi movement or opinions of Tilak".	(a) 21st January 1910. 5 years' Transportation. Fine Rs. 500. (b) Rs. 100 Fine. (c) Confined by the Judicial Commissioner Court on 22nd April 1910.

No.	Names.	Trial Court.	Charge.	Result of Prosecution.
9	Rangrao Govind Sahasrabudhe. Age 43.	First Class Magistrate, Nasik.	124A for seditious utterances in connection with the murder of Mr. Jackson.	Case proceeding.
10	(a) Keshav Krishna Damale. Age 48. (b) Shankar Shrikrishna Dev. Age 39.	District Magistrate Court, West Khandesh.	124A for writing and publishing Ekashloki Gita.	(a) 1 year S. I. (b) 2 months' S. I., fine Rs. 200, default on month.
11	Hari Raghunath Bhagwat. Age 24.	District Magistrate, Poona.	124A for seditious BK Vande Matram.	15 months' R. I.
12	(a) Lahu Ramji Golatkar. Age 30. (b) Bhaskar Mahadeo Sidhye. Age 26. (c) Khanderao Amarkaji Patil. Age 25.	Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.	124A ... (a) author (b) printer (c) publisher of songs of Ganapati Mela.	21st May 1910 (a) and (c) 2 months' S. I. (b) 1 month's S. I. Appeal H. C. pending.
13	Waman Sakharam Khare. Age 43.	District Magistrate, Nasik.	108 section seditious speeches.	Personal Bond Rs. 2,000 for good behaviour. Securities of Rs. 2,000
14	Jagannath Balkrishna Sathe. Age 25.	District Magistrate, Nasik.	108 section seditious speeches.	Accused asked pardon and discharged under section 119 C. P. C., on 12th March 1909.
15	Ganapatrao Pandurang Kirloskar. Age 50.	District Magistrate, Belgaum.	108. Public Speech advising people to kill the English.	Bond of Rs. 1,000. Two sureties of Rs. 500 for good conduct for one year.
16	Nandlal Shivdayal. Age 20.	District Magistrate, Karachi.	108 Public Speech.	12 months' R. I. in default furnishing security of Rs. 2,000 with two sureties each of Rs. 1,000 for good conduct for one year.
17	Ratansi Gela. Age 30	District Magistrate, Karachi.	108 Handbills.	Pending.

No.	Names.	Trial Court.	Charge.	Result of Prosecution.
18	(a) Laxman Vithal Oak Age 25.	District Magistrate, Kolaba.	108 Play 'Vijaya Torana' staged on 1st May 1909.	Bond of Rs. 2,000 with surety of Rs. 200 each for good conduct for one year.
	(b) Sitaram Laxman. Age 29.			
	(c) Dattatraya Ganesh. Age 26.			
	(d) Wasudeo Ganesh. Age 25.			
	(e) Gajanan Pandu. Age 40.			
	(f) Vishnu Gopal. Age 45.			
19	(g) Vishnu Rajaram. Age 24.			
	(h) Shankar Vishnu. Age 22.			
	(i) Bhaskar Bhikaji. Age 25.			
	(j) Keshav Mahadeo. Age 27.			
	(k) Namdeo Govind. Age 45.			
	(l) Narayan Govind. Age 25.			
	(m) Laxman Sakharan, Age 18.			
	(n) Mahadeo Yesu, Age 22.			
	(o) Laxman Gajanan, Age 19.			
20	Keshav Shridhar Chande. Age 22.	District Magistrate; Kolaba.	Section 108 ...	24th November 1909, could not furnish security so one year R. I. until security furnished.
	Kashinath Narayan Hardikar. Age 26.			
21	Shankar N. Joshi. Age 20.	Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Kolaba.	108 Photos of Khudiram and Ajitsing.	Bond of Rs. 200 two sureties in Rs. 1,000 each.
22	Ramchandra Dinguonkar of Mahad. Age 51.	Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Kolaba.	108 Taught sedition to children in school.	Bond of Rs. 300.

SEDITIONS OFFENCES STATEMENT, 1905 TO 1911

(FROM J. D. VOLUME 244 OF 1911.)

Group I

January 1905 to April 1907

1	15th August 1905	.. Nasik	.. Rioting and Assault- ing.	Bande Matram or Dussera Case	..	8 sent for trial. 4 convicted.
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Group II

May 1907 to November 1907.

2	April 1908	.. Poona	.. Picquetting	.. Anderson case in which Mr. Anderson, Assistant Collector was assaulted.	3 convicted. 3 sent for trial.
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Group III

November 1907 to December 1908.

3	15th July 1908	.. Kolhapur	.. Murder and abet- ment.	Colonel Ferris' case. A bomb was sent from Poona to kill Col. Ferris.	2 sent for trial. 2 convicted.
4	July 1908	.. Pandharpur	.. Rioting, grievous hurt and mischief.	Assault on a lady missionary	.. 22 sent for trial. 18 convicted.
5	17th June 1908	.. Bombay	.. Assaulting a public servant.	G. D. Savarkar's case during Mr. Ti- lak's trial.	1 sent for trial. 1 convicted.
6	8th December 1908	.. Satara	.. False Bomb Case	A false Bomb case was got up to injure a pleader named Phanaskar.	4 sent for trial. 3 convicted.

Group IV

7	1909	.. Kolhapur	.. Convicted under— the Kolhapur Bomb Case.	All cases political. Mr. Kincaid was specially sent to Kolhapur to try the cases.	10 sent for trial. 9 convicted.
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					the Placard Case. the Kolhapur Acid Case.						
8	15th January 1909	..	Poona	..	Explosives	..	Bomb found near Railway station. A Muslim lifted it and got his hand blown off.	Undetected.			
9	January 1909	..	Satara	..	Throwing-stones	..	Collector Mr. Arthur's wife taken for a missionary and was pelted with stones.	One sent for trial, one convicted.			
10	9th March 1909	..	Nasik	..	Arms Act	..	Importation of arms from Gwalior by friends of G. D. Savarkar.	2 convicted. 2 sent for trial.			
11	9th March 1909	..	Do.	..	....	..	G. D. Savarkar's case	..	1 sent for trial. 1 convicted.		
12	1909	..	Do.	..	Sedition	..	Tamil Leaflet Case	..	1 sent for trial. 1 convicted.		
13	27th June 1909	..	Poona	..	....	..	Appasaheb Ramchandra's case	..	1 sent for trial. 1 convicted.		
14	September 1909	..	Ahmedabad	..	Assaulting, Resist- ing, etc.	..	Irish Presbyterian Church case during the Gunputty.	4 sent for trial. 4 convicted.			
15	15th June 1909	..	Kalyan	..	Explosive Act	..	Bhosekar's case	..	1 sent for trial acquitted by High Court.		
16	13th November 1909.	..	Ahmedabad	..	....	..	Bomb Case during the visit of H. E. the Viceroy.				
17	21st December 1909.	..	Nasik	..	Murder of Jackson.	..	....	7 sent for trial. 3 hanged, 3 transported for and 1 to 2 years' R. I.			
18	21st December 1909.	..	Do.	..	Abetment of Mr. Jackson's murder.	..	....	1 sent up. 1 convicted.			
19	21st December 1909 ..	..	Do.	..	Nasik conspiracy case.	..	....	38 sent up. 27 convicted.			

Group V 1910

20	1st March 1910	...	Chalisgaon	...	Threat Dixit	...	Threat to assassinate Mr. Simeox, Collector of East Khandesh.	1 sent up. 1 convicted.
21	1st March 1910	...	Jalgaon	...	<i>Threat</i> Pethe	...	Threat to murder Mr. Machnoohie, Collector of Nasik.	1 sent up. 1 convicted.
22	4th June 1910	...	Satara	...	Bomb	...	Aundh Bomb Case	4 sent up.
23	18th July 1910	...	Ahmedabad	...	False Case	...	Got up for earning the reward offered for the detection of the case that occurred during the Viceregal Visit in November, 1909.	3 convicted. 1 sent up. 3 sent up.
24	25th August 1910	...	Pandharpur	...	.....	...	Pending on 1st March 1911	3 convicted.
25	28th January 1910	...	Bombay	...	Arms Act	...	Importation of arms without a license. The accused Chingiri Ramrao arrived by S. S. Sidney on 28th January 1910 his luggage being examined by the Customs one of his boxes which had a false bottom contained a Browning Pistol and 50 cartridges. He was placed before Chief Presidency Magistrate and sentenced to 2 years' R. I. and Rs. 500 fine. It subsequently transpired that the pistol and cartridges were given to Rao by V. D. Savarkar who had been sentenced to transportation in Nasik Conspiracy Case especially against V. D. Savarkar. In view of this fact Government have remitted the unexpired portion of his sentence.	12 sent up.

Group VI 1911

26	1911	...	Kolhapur	...	Conspiracy to murder Col. W. B. Ferris late Political Agent of S.M.C.		2 sent up. Case pending Trial fixed for end of March 1911.
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SUSPENSION OF A PLEADER'S SANAD FOR SEDITION

(COMPILATION No. 813, FILE No. 221 OF 1909.)

Proceedings taken against Waman Sakharam Khare, Pleader of Nasik, under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code

The District Magistrate, Nasik and Commissioner, Central Division, had recommended that Government should move High Court to withdraw W. S. Khare's Sanad as District Pleader (letter No. Confl. 7 of 1909, dated 9th March, 1909).

Subsequently certain speeches delivered by Shri Khare were produced before Mr. A. M. Jackson, District Magistrate, Nasik. These were the dates of the speeches : 10th February 1907, 27th March 1907, 1st April 1907, 26th February 1908, 12th March 1908, 31st March 1908, 10th April 1908, 21st April 1908, 5th September 1908.

The following expressions in the speeches of Mr. Khare were found to be seditious by the District Magistrate :—

“To day four crores of people rule over 33 crores and they have destroyed Indian Industries.”

“It is the business of the whites to ruin us black people.”

“People who regard religion on one day only are ruling over you.”

“The operation of the Land Revenue Code Amendment Act of 1901 will pass all our lands into the possession of whites and the Government, thereby, will reduce the Country to beggary.”

“Europeans are like the demon Puttana, who was fair outside but poisonous within.”

“The time for action has come. How many of you are ready to go to jail or to die ?”

The District Magistrate in his last paragraph states : “It has been clearly established by the evidence that Waman Sakharam Khare, pleader of Nasik, is in the habit of making seditious speeches falling within section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. I, therefore, direct that he execute a personal recognizance in Rs. 2,000 to be of good behaviour for one year, with two substantial and respectable sureties of Rs. 1,000 each, under sections 108 and 109, C. P. C.

Nasik, 8th March 1909.

(Signed) A. M. T. JACKSON.

Mr. J. H. DuBoulay, C.I.E., Acting Secretary to Government Bombay wrote to the Registrar, Bombay High Court, to move the Hon. Chief Justice and Judges to consider whether W. S. Khare's Sanad as District pleader should not be withdrawn in view of the order of the District Magistrate, Nasik under section 108 against him.

The Acting Registrar of the High Court informed the Government of Bombay that "Mr. Khare has been called upon to show cause why he should not be suspended and the writ is returnable the first criminal appellate day after the vacation and that he has been suspended from practice in the interim, but no period of suspension has been fixed."

Extract from High Court order dated 16th July 1909 re : Waman Sakharam Khare, pleader Nasik.

"Mr. Khare's pleader, Mr. Desai, informs us that he has not been able to see his client, who, it is said, has gone on a pilgrimage. But Mr. Desai repeats his expression of regret on behalf of his client. In reality no cause is shown why we should not deal with the pleader under our disciplinary jurisdiction. He has been accused of an offence and an order has been passed against him to give security for good behaviour because it has been proved that he disseminated seditious matter by means of speeches. Therefore his case comes within section 56 of Regulation (II of 1827) which relates to pleaders. The question is how we should deal with him. Our order will be that the Pleader should be suspended for the period during which the order to furnish security continues in force and on the expiry of that period if the pleader Mr. Khare appears before us and satisfies us that the Sanad may be given back to him, it will be restored to him.

(Signed) N. G. CHANDAVARKAR.

16th July 1909.

PROSECUTIONS FOR SEDITIOUS PICTURES

(FROM J. D. VOL. No. 216 OF 1910.)

No. 2518, dated 2nd July 1910.

From

J. V. COOKE, Esquire,

District Superintendent of Police, Nasik ;

To

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,

Judicial Department, Bombay.

I have the honour to report that Shridhar Waman Nagarkar has, this day, been committed to the Court of Sessions, Nasik, for trial under section 124-A, I. P. C.

Telegram, dated 8th August 1910.

From

DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE,

Nasik ;

To

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,

Bombay.

Accused Shridhar Waman Nagarkar sentenced to three years' R. I. section 124A. India informed.

No. 4627.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT :

15th August 1910.

Notification.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 12 of Indian Press Act (1910) (1 of 1910), the Governor in Council is pleased to declare a picture which was drawn and published by Shridhar Waman Nagarkar of Nasik, containing a mythological representation of the slaying of demon Mahish by the Goddess Durga, framed with portraits of certain persons, notorious for sedition, to be forfeited to H. M. on the ground that the said picture is likely to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India.

By the order of H. E. the Hon. Governor in Council,

(Signed) J. H. DUBOULAY,
Secretary to Government.

An appeal against the above judgment was made to the High Court, which confirmed the conviction, but reduced the sentence to two years' rigorous imprisonment, on 1st December 1910.

FOR THE PICTURE OF RASHTRA PURUSHA

Under Compilation No. 2111 is given, "Prosecution of Devising Mohansing and Shankar Gir Hanamantgir of Nasik for publishing a seditious picture. Name of the picture "Rashtra Purusha"-National Hero.

Devising Mohansing was committed to the Court of Sessions, Nasik for trial under section 124A, I. P. C. on 7th July 1910.

Devising was sentenced to 3 years R. I. under 124A on 15th August 1910.

Shankar Gir Hanamantgir was committed to sessions for trial under 124A and 109, I.P.C. He was acquitted on 21st October 1910.

High Court confirmed the conviction and sentence on Devising on 3rd November 1910.

FIRST PROSECUTION IN SIND UNDER SECTION 124A

(FROM CONF. COMPILATION No. 2374, J. D. VOL. No. 204 OF 1909.)

A pamphlet in Sindhi entitled "Swadeshi Movement or the opinions of Patriotic Shrijut Tilak" was compiled by Shrijut Gordhanlal Kilachand and published by Chetumal Hariram.

The complete translation of the pamphlet was sent to the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs for his opinion. During the course of his letter, dated 2nd September 1909 the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs expressed his opinion as under :—

"It seems to me that it is impossible to doubt that these extracts fall within the scope of section 124A, Indian Penal Code. At P. 1 of the translation it is suggested that the King gives no attention to the complaints of his subjects and the passage beginning, "Ye when the high handed rulers of the country" clearly charges Government with "indifference to the welfare of the people". It is quite immaterial that violence is not advocated. On P. 16 the Government is characterised as "Cruel and proud", on P. 17 the indifference of Government is again insisted on, and the supposed

falling off of the trade of India is imputed to it. On pp. 20-21 the Government is charged with framing their educational policy so as to enslave people. On P. 27, the Government is compared to an intoxicated elephant, a term which must surely be intended to bring it into contempt, and the charge of indifference to prayers and petitions is repeated. On P. 28 the English are charged with misrule, and their downfall prophesied, and they are compared to Rawana. On P. 33, it is said that British rule has been and always will be improperly directed towards destroying the trade of India. On P. 35 it is said that the European officials have ruled according to their sweet will and sucked the blood of the country. Throughout the whole production the alien character of Government is insisted on.

In my opinion it is hardly open to doubt that the probable consequence of such language as this is to excite feelings of disaffection, hatred or contempt towards Government. Those responsible must be held to have intended that result and are, therefore, guilty of the offence made punishable by section 124A of the Indian Penal Code.

(Signed) L. C. CRUMP."

Government of Bombay subsequently issued order dated 10th September 1909 directing District Superintendent of Police, Sukkur to make complaint against Virumal Bagraj, Chetumal Hariram and Gordhanlal Kilachand, the printer, publisher and author or translator respectively of a Sindhi (Arabic) book entitled "Swadeshi Halchal Ya Muhaban Vatan Srijat Tilak ja Raya" under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code or any other applicable section. Accordingly proceedings under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code were instituted against all the three persons on or about 24th September 1909. The case was committed to the Sessions and hearing was started on or about 15th December 1909 in the Sessions Court.

This was the first Sedition Case in the province of Sind under section 124A. It was known as the "Sukkur Sedition Case."

The Sind Journal of 30th September 1909, Karachi Chronicle of 3rd October 1909, Sind Journal of 7th October 1909 commented strongly against the attitude of Government regarding this case.

THE SENTENCE

(FROM J. D. CONFIDENTIAL FILE NO. 216 OF 1911.)

Name of Printer : Virumal Bagraj.

Name of Publisher : Chotumal Hariram.

Name of Author : Gordhanlal Kilachand.

The hearing of the case started on 14th December 1909, in the Session Court at Sukkur. It was heard for four days and was adjourned

on 18th December to January 4th. Judgment was delivered in the case on January 21st, 1910, and the three accused were convicted and sentenced as under :—

Virumal ... Three years transportation under 124-A and Rs. 1,000 fine under 153.

Chetumal ... The same.

Gordhanlal ... Five years transportation, under 124-A and Rs. 500 fine under 153.

The accused appealed to the court of Judicial Commissioner of Sind. The appeal was rejected and the sentence confirmed by the Court on 22nd April, 1910.

POLITICAL PROPAGANDA THROUGH THE STAGE

(Marathi Dramas prohibited by Government between 1898 and 1910.)

[The political activities of Maharashtra developed rapidly into extremism after the atrocities of Government officers during the plague of 1897 and consequent murders of Mr. Rand and Mr. Ayerst at Poona. Government thought that Tilak and his followers and the extremist press of Maharashtra was responsible for these murders. They tried to involve Tilak in the affair by prosecuting him. Although Government could not prove that Tilak's articles were connected with the murders, they succeeded in getting Tilak convicted and sentenced. This added to the disaffection in Maharashtra against foreign rule and public opinion began to express itself in the form of sarcasm and allegory through the press and the platform. Intelligent writers made use of their dramatic art in propagating principles of nationalism and spreading disaffection about foreign rule.]

Government were quick in noticing the powerful effect of the stage in the propagation of ideas and very promptly suppressed plays which, in their opinion, carried on political propaganda through their stories and dialogues. The following summaries mention some of the plays which were prohibited by Government during the period of twelve years from 1898 to 1910.]

I. SHRI SHIV CHHATRAPATI VIJAYA

(FROM J. D. VOL. NO. 178 OF 1898.)

Shri Anna Martand Joshi, a clerk in the Government Central Press, a member of the cow protection society since 1893, had written a seven acts Marathi musical drama named "Shri Shiv Chhatrapati Vijay"

which was based on the historical period between the invasion by Shahistekhan and the coronation of Shivaji. The play was printed at the Nirnayasagar Press in 1893. The play was to be staged in May 1898, and the author himself was to enact as Shivaji. The Commissioner of Police, Bombay, found the play objectionable and at the instance of Government called the writer and asked him to stop the performance of the play. He also confiscated all printed copies of the play. The author having agreed to stop the staging of the play and having handed over the printed copies of the book no steps were taken against him by Government.

II. LOKMAT VIJAYA

(FROM J. D. VOL. NO. 167 OF 1899.)

Prohibition in the Kolaba District of a play entitled "Lokmat Vijaya".

A play named Lokmat Vijaya written by Mr. Anant Vaman Barve of Nasik was to be staged at Mahad in the Colaba District. But the District Magistrate prohibited the staging of the play by his order dated 23rd December 1898. Mr. Barve, who was the editor of the paper Lokseva, then wrote to the District Magistrate, asking for reasons for the ban on the production of the play. The reason that prompted the District Magistrate to issue the Ban Order will be manifest from the following extract from the memorandum of the Oriental Translator to Government, dated 2nd May 1899 :—

"The Play Lokmat Viyaya (Triumph of Public Opinion) dramatises some of the incidents which preceded and followed the Jubilee night murders at Poona. Excepting a few imaginary characters the dramatis personae, who bear allegorical names, are easily recognizable though some of the incidents are so varied as to render the similitude inexact and thus leave a loophole of escape for the writer in the event of his being charged with any offence.

The characters whose identity is but thinly veiled are :—

Vicharswatanrya (Liberty of thought).	Bal Gangadhar Tilak.
Deshabhimān ...	... Mr. D. A. Khare.
Ektantra (Absolute authority) ...	... The Secretary of State for India.
Unmad (Madness) ...	... The late Mr. Rand.
Raktapata (Bloodshed) ...	... Damodar Hari Chapekar.

The names of the places as to which there is no doubt are :—

Swetpuri (Land of the whites) England

Arya Mandal (Country of the Aryas) India

“It will be seen from the above epitoms of the play that the aim of the author seems to be to inculcate the doctrine that sovereign power (Rajasatta) should be controlled by the voice of the people (Lokmata) in India and not entrusted to a bureaucrat in England invested with absolute authority (Ektantra). In that case, it is insinuated that the loyalty (Rajnishtha) of the people of India would be won by the crown of England (Yuvraj). Mr. Tilak is represented as the master of the vernacular press (Mudrankala) and his writings therein, as voicing public opinion (Lokmata) and breathing a spirit of loyalty (Rajnishtha) and peace (Shanti). The latter has been destroyed by disturbances in the country and the former snatched away by disaffection (Asantosh). Treason (Rajadroha) looms large in distance. Under these circumstances, if public opinion (Lokamata) is given a controlling power (Rajsatta) in the Government of the country peace (Shanti) can be restored and the lost allegiance (Rajnishtha) of the people regained by Divine favour (Ishaprasad). While glorifying Tilak as the embodiment of liberty of thought, the writer attributes all kinds of unworthy motives to the Secretary of State for India, who is accused of trying to suppress public opinion and to bring its exponent Tilak into trouble.

“In justice to the writer it may be added that his references to Her Majesty are couched in a tone of loyalty and his avowed object in writing the play is to strengthen the bond of union between England and India. This redeeming feature in the play does not, however, take it out of category of objectionable and libellous writings unfit to be brought upon a stage.”

III. BANDHAVIMOCHAN

(FROM J. D. VOL. NO. 46 OF 1911.)

“Bandhavimochan” a musical play written by Mr. Gopal Govind Soman, a clerk in the office of the Executive Engineer, Thana, was staged at the Grant Road Ripon Theatre on Saturday, 17th December 1898 by the Arya Subodh Natak Mandali. The theatre was overcrowded (especially by Hindu men and women) and everything passed

f in an orderly manner, but great enthusiasm was evinced by the public.

The following summary of the play was advertised :—

“ In the City of Anandbhuwan there lived a learned person by name Satyavrata. He used to devote the whole of his time to the service of his country. He published a weekly paper “Rajnishtha”. On account of his popular writings the paper commanded a wide circulation and he and the paper were much respected. In consequence other daily papers denounced and rebuked him. Satyavrata did not pay any attention to his critics ; but continued his writings fully relying on the justice and fairplay of Government. In the meantime plague and famine broke out and made the people uneasy. The benign Government accordingly had to take stringent measures to combat them, which caused some wicked and evil minded persons to commit heinous crimes. Government tried to unearth the perpetrators of the Crime. The enemies of Satyavrata took this opportunity to malign him and misinterpret his writings. Government desiring to put a stop to such writings as his, took legal steps against him. Satyavrata fully relying that nothing but justice would be done to him was not daunted. He was tried before a Court of Justice, found guilty and sent to prison. When tranquillity was restored the benign Government released him which caused a general rejoicing in all parts of the country and all blessed the Government.”

Oriental Translator's view on this play :—

“ The aim of the writer who seems to be a half educated person connected with an institution called the Thana Literary Society, is evidently to exalt Mr. Tilak the hero of the play, at the expense of those who took an unfavourable view of his writings and conduct.”

Government issued their Resolution No. 732, Judicial Department, dated 2nd February 1899, on the issue of the drama Bandhvimochan ” :—

“ On a perusal of the translations furnished by the Oriental Translator to Government, the Governor in Council finds that there is no case for the institution of criminal proceedings in respect of this play, nor for action under the Dramatic Performances Act, XIX of 1876.”

Government directed, however, to take disciplinary action against the author Gopal Govind Soman.

The Public Works Department reprimanded and warned Mr. Soman for this misbehaviour. He was transferred from Thana. Mr. Soman tendered his resignation as under :—

To

The Executive Engineer, Thana District.

Sir,

As I am transferred to Ahmedabad, a district in the Northern Division, the climate of which is not congenial to my health and as I am reprimanded for writing Bandhavimochan, a dramatic play owing to which I am transferred, I beg to resign my services.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) G. G. SOMAN,
Clerk.

Thana, 1st March 1899.

IV. KHARA RAJPUT

(FROM JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT CONFIDENTIAL COMPILATION No. 2083,
FILE No. 46 OF 1911.)

Mr. Shankar Sitaram Chitnis of Panvel, wrote the above play in 1898, but it was printed only in 1906 at the Vijay Press of Ganesh Narayan Joshi.

Government found certain passages in the play objectionable and directed the Collector of Colaba District to warn Mr. Chitnis. The Collector of Kolaba, Mr. Kabraji, accordingly called Mr. Chitnis and warned him on 21st September 1911.

V. VIJAYA TORAN

(FROM JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT CONFIDENTIAL COMPILATION No. 2018,
FILE No. 175 OF 1909.)

A play named "Vijaya Toran" or "Marathyancha Abhyudaya", was written by Shri Ramchandra Mahadeo Mhaiskar of Sholapur. It was published by Tukaram Dadoba Pawar and printed at the Shri Datta Prasad Steam Press, Sholapur, in Shake 1830, i.e., A.D. 1909.

The play was based on the first part of Shri Hari Narayan Apte's famous marathi novel "Ushah Kala" which was being published in the 'Karmanuk' magazine by instalments.

The play was performed by an amateur theatrical company at Mahad, led by Shri Laxman Vithal Oak and 14 others on 1st May 1909. The name of the dramatic Company was Mahad Manoranjan Natak Company.

The District Magistrate, Kolaba, Mr. J. K. N. Kabraji bound over all the 15 accused (actors of the play) to be of good behaviour, as set forth in the orders made under section 102, Criminal Procedure Code viz., to execute a bond of Rs. 200 each for one year, section 118, C. P. C.—(Order, dated 16th August, 1909, Alibag). Subsequently Government of Bombay prohibited the performance of the play by Judicial Department Government Resolution, No. 5931 of 1909, dated 22nd October 1909.

(FROM JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT CONFIDENTIAL COMPILATION No. 897,
FILE No. 192 OF 1910.)

The play Vijay Toran written by Mr. R. M. Mhaiskar had been prohibited for performance. The Political Agent of Deccan States wrote to the Government that the play was printed in a book form. He had seized five hundred copies of the book. Government wrote to him that they had decided to notify the book and they did not desire to take any action against either the author Ramchandra Mahadeo Mhaiskar or the publisher Tukaram Dannoba Pawar.

VI. DANDADHARI

(FROM JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT CONFIDENTIAL COMPILATION No. 1452,
FILE No. 192 OF 1910.)

Dandadhari was written by D. V. Nevalkar and was printed at the Manohar Press, Poona, and published in 1909.

The Government of Bombay by their order dated 29th June 1910 prohibited the performance of the play.

VII. DRAUNI MANI HARAN

(FROM JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT CONFIDENTIAL COMPILATION No. 1489,
FILE No. 192 OF 1910.)

“Drauni Mani Haram” was a play based on the Mahabharat. Drauni means the son of Drona—Ashvathama. He had a priceless jewel in his head and he was forced to give it up to the Pandvas

by Arjuna. The book derived its title from the above incident. There was nothing new or striking in the plot, but the speeches of Bhima, Ashvatthama, Shakuni, and even of Draupadi and Kunti were thought to be objectionable by Government. Government, therefore, by their Government Resolution, No. 3715 of 1910, Judicial Department, dated 2nd July 1910 prohibited under section 3 of the Dramatic Performance Act of 1876 (XIX of 1876) the performance of the play.

The author of the play was one Mr. G. A. Kane, who wrote it when he was serving as a typist in the Political Department of the Secretariat. He was not dismissed but was permitted to resign his appointment as he was unwilling to subscribe to a written agreement which Government required of him.

Government asked Remembrancer of Legal Affairs opinion as to whether Kane could be prosecuted under section 124A for the play. The Remembrancer (of Legal Affairs) thought it was not worthwhile and Government dropped the matter there.

VIII. RANA BHIMDEO

(FROM JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT CONFIDENTIAL COMPILATION No. 2307,
FILE No. 233 OF 1911.)

The drama Rana Bhimdeo was published by Yadneshwar Gopal Dixit, Poona and printed at the Sharda Press belonging to Mahadeo Narayan Kavde in the year 1908.

The District Magistrate, Ratnagiri, sent a copy of the book to the Government on 21st September 1911, thinking that it contained objectionable passages.

The play was written jointly by Vasudeo Rangnath Shirvalkar and Vinayak Trimbak Modak and was first published in 1892. The edition printed in 1908 was its third edition.

Government directed the District Magistrate, Poona, to warn the two authors and the publisher. The District Magistrate accordingly warned Modak (author) and Dixit (publisher). The second author

Shirvalkar was residing in Bhore State. The District Magistrate requested the Chief of Bhore to take necessary action in the matter. (22nd December 1911).

IX. KALICHA NARAD

(FROM JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT CONFIDENTIAL, COMPILATION No. 2083,
FILE No. 192 OF 1910.)

Paragraph 7 of Report on Native Papers for the month ending July 16th, 1910 stated :

“ While commenting upon a drama that is played by a dramatic company at Kolhapur, the *Pragati* observes :

The subject matter of the drama which is an adaptation of a mythological story seems at first to be quite harmless, but a deeper scrutiny will reveal that it is meant to convey an allegory of a harmful character. Haughty and thoughtless Galava, the hero of the play, is evidently meant to represent the typical Anglo-Indian. The character of Krishna who is forced to do wrong involuntarily bears a great resemblance to Lord Morley. The servant of Galava, who loses all sense of honour and self-respect by being perpetually kicked and snubbed by his master and yet who scurrilously oppresses his inferiors, might be said to represent the class of inferior native officials. Subhadra, inciting Arjun against his sovereign for the latter's iniquity represents extremist principles. Bhima, who represents the martial spirit of India, is being incited to war by his mother Kunti i.e., Hind Mata—mother India. Such dramas though apparently harmless are calculated to do immense mischief.”

The play referred to in the above paragraph was Kalicha Narad which was written by one Krishnaji Hari Dikshit, who was running a national school at Belgaum, which was placed on the “black list” by the Government. The play was being enacted by the Rashtriya Natak Mandali.

The Government of Bombay prohibited the performance of the play by Government Resolution, No. 6144, Judicial Department, dated 26th October 1910.

DRAMATIC PERFORMANCE ACT APPLIED

(FROM J. D. VOLUME No. 192.)

Under No. 922, "Proposed Extension of section 10 of the Dramatic Performances Act XIX of 1876 to places in Bombay Presidency" is given in Government's Notification as under :

Notification No. 6182, dated 27th October 1910.

Whereas it appears that the provisions of section 10 of the Dramatic Performances Act (XIX of 1876) are required in the local areas hereinafter mentioned, the Governor in Council is pleased, with the sanction of the Governor General in Council to declare that the provisions of the said section are applied to the said areas from 15th November 1910.

2. The local areas hereinbefore referred to are the following districts :

Thana, West Khandesh, East Khandesh, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Poona, Satara, Sholapur, Kolaba, Ratnagiri, Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar.

Notification No. 6183, dated 27th October 1910.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 10 of the Dramatic Performances Act, 1876 (XIX of 1876), the Governor in Council is pleased to order that no dramatic performance shall take place in any place of public entertainment within the limits of the areas specified in the 1st column of the accompanying schedule except under a licence from one of the officers specified in the 2nd column of the said schedule.

These notifications were the result of complaints sent by District Police Departments, that dramas preaching sedition were being staged in different parts of the province. Reports of and extracts from such dramas were sent to Government, who eventually banned a number of them. Besides the nine Dramas mentioned above, the following dramas also were banned by Government :—

1. "Swadeshi Natak" and "Sangit Rashtrodhar Natak" (Government Resolution, No. 5582, dated 8th October 1907).

2. Bhu Durga Durga (Government Resolution. No. 5761, dated 15th October 1907).

3. Kichak Vadh (Government Resolution, No. 503, dated 27th January 1910).

4. Shri Krishna Shishtai (Government Resolution, No. 2028, dated 7th April 1910).

Under Comp. 1582 is given the information that Government of the Central Provinces had prohibited (1) Vijaya Toran, (2) Kichak Vadha and (3) Shri Krishna Shishtai.

IX

HOME RULE MOVEMENT

HOME RULE LEAGUE MOVEMENT

[The Home Rule movement was a product of the War situation. Mrs. Besant, it appears, started her Campaign for Home Rule early in 1915 in order to present and press India's claims in England. The Congress platform was controlled by the moderates and they were not likely to go so far as the younger nationalists wanted to do. The older section of Indian Liberals on occasions was found to have been committed to some sort of co-operation with the Government. This had already broadened the gulf between them and the young nationalists. The stalwarts of the older school, Mehta and Gokhale, had passed away. Mrs. Besant who had started taking active interest in politics requested the Congress and the Muslim League to form a Home Rule League which she thought was necessary as a link between the Congress in India and the British India Congress Committee. The Congress and the Muslim League did not, however, come to any conclusions though both had appointed a joint committee for this work. Meanwhile there was a similar move in Maharashtra. Lokmanya after his release from jail (August 1914) had advised his lieutenants to join the Congress. Mrs. Besant herself had tried to bring in the Nationalists at the time of the Madras Congress but had failed and it is clear from Sir Phirojshah's statement that "he never wanted the doors opened for the extremists. And he was determined that so long as matters rested with him he would save the Congress from being captured by the other side." (Sir P. M. Mehta—by H. P. Modi, p. 656). Tilak, though he was anxious to work under the Congress flag, knew that it was bound to take time; so he started his Home Rule League (May 1916). Mrs. Besant also was being pressed by her followers. She was, in the meantime, prohibited by Bombay and other governments to enter their provinces. She had started a powerful propaganda for self-Government. She formed the London branch of her Home Rule League (June 1916) and her Indian Home Rule League was started in Madras in September 1916. Leaders like Tilak and Besant wanted to take advantage of the War situation and prepare popular sanctions for the demand of "Self Government to be attained by constitutional means". The moderate Congress leaders perhaps had not the desire to undertake any such new activities nor were they willing to leave the Congress in the hands of the new leaders. Thus the Home Rule Leagues came into existence. Lokmanya started his whirlwind propoganda tours in Maharashtra, Karnatak, Berar and C. P. He was also invited and had gone to other provinces like Sindh, Ajmer, Delhi, etc. The Government, within two years of the life of the Home Rule League could see that the country had assumed a new life and new spirit due to the agitation carried on by the two Home Rule Leagues and particularly due

to Tilak's entry on the platform after his long imprisonment. The league activities continued even after the Congress was captured by the younger elements and Lokmanya had joined them at Lucknow (1916). This helped Tilak to collect new friends and political workers like Baptista, Vithalbhai Patel, Satyamurti, Jamnadas Mehta and others. The League sent out a deputation to London for pressing the demands of Home Rule.

The following extracts from government records throw light on the attitude of the Home Rulers regarding the War effort. The walkout by Home Rulers led by the Lokmanya from the War Conference of Bombay (10th June 1918) and the valiant fight put up by Mr. Jinnah against the proposed Memorial to Lord Willingdon clearly indicate the spirit of the Home Rulers. They wanted an assurance from government that India would be granted Home Rule and that they would co-operate in the War effort only if such an assurance was unequivocally given. Their opposition to the Willingdon Memorial was indicative of their determination to break the shackles of bureaucratic rule.]

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT.

(A short History sketch prepared by the Government of Bombay.)

[REF.: APPENDIX I, FILE NO. 521 (1A), H. D., SPECIAL DEPARTMENT.
SUBJECT : SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN.]

The genesis of the Home Rule League may be traced to the proceedings of the Indian National Congress at Surat in December 1907, where the extremist section headed by Mr. B. G. Tilak seceded. When, as will be subsequently related, this seceding group sought and obtained readmission, it was as an invading body whose aim appeared to be not reunion so much as annexation. After this reunion the influence of the Moderate party in the politics of the old Congress steadily declined.

MRS. BESANT'S CAMPAIGN FOR SWARAJYA.

2. In March 1915 Mrs. Besant started a campaign in favour of the early grant of Swarajya. In September she gave definite shape to the opinion demanding an executive organisation for the Congress by arranging for a joint meeting at Christmas 1915 of the Committee of the All India National Congress and the Council of the Moslem League to consider the formation of a Home Rule for India League to co-operate with the National Congress in India and the British Committee of the Congress in England. The meeting of the joint conference was, however, postponed to the day after the 1915

Congress and in the interval the Congress and Moslem League passed resolutions directing the appointment of a joint committee of both the associations to meet during the year and to formulate a definite scheme of self-government to be pressed on Government. Mrs. Besant had meanwhile bound herself to abide by the decision of the Joint Conference she had summoned, which was that her proposals should be held over for consideration by the joint committee of the Congress and Moslem League when considering the self-government draft. The younger members of the Congress were frankly disappointed with the decision and pressed Mrs. Besant to launch the Home Rule League at once. She however stood by her promise but decided to continue her press and platform campaign and appointed Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and one or two others as a small Committee in Bombay to publish pamphlets in furtherance of her campaign. On her way back to Madras from the Bombay Congress she made two speeches in Poona on Swarajya which were ultimately to cause the Bombay Government to prohibit her under the Defence of India Act from entering the Presidency when she had arranged to come to Bombay later.

HOME RULE LEAGUE FOR MAHARASHTRA

3. Meanwhile a Conference of Nationalist leaders from the Presidency, Central Province and Berar was summoned at Poona during the Bombay Congress week, at which it was decided to appoint a Committee of 15 to consider whether they should form a Home Rule League of their own and if so the lines on which it should be based. Early in April 1916 the Committee reported in favour of the proposal but recommended that it should be confined to the Bombay Presidency, the Central Provinces and Berar, till affiliated organisations could be started elsewhere in India when an All India League could be formed. Their recommendation was considered during the Belgaum (Extremists) Provincial Conference on the 28th April 1916 which was also attended by Nationalists from the Central Provinces and Berar and it was finally decided to establish the League. Its declared objects were the same as Mrs. Besant's proposed League, the attainment by constitutional means of self-government within the Empire. It was however to be an independent organisation.

HIGH COURT JUSTIFIES TILAK'S ACTIVITIES

4. Mr. J. Baptista was appointed President and Mr. Kelkar Secretary, and a Provisional Committee for furthering the object of the League was elected. Mr. Tilak himself initiated the campaign by a series of speeches delivered at Belgaum and Ahmednagar after

the Conference. The speeches were most objectionable and proceedings were instituted against him under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, as a result of which Mr. Tilak was required by the District Magistrate, Poona, to give security. The High Court reversed the decision of the District Magistrate in November of the same year. The whole Nationalist Press acclaimed the judgment of the High Court as legalising the campaign for Home Rule in the form they contemplated.

MRS. BESANT'S HOME RULE LEAGUE

5. After the formation of the Maharashtra Home Rule League, Mrs. Besant without awaiting the result of the deliberations of the Joint Committee of the Congress and League, started the English Branch of her Home Rule League in London in June 1916 and inaugurated her Home Rule League in Madras in September of the same year. Among Mrs. Besant's workers in Bombay were Messrs. Umar Sobhani and Jamnadas Dwarkadas. For the first year their activities were confined to issuing pamphlets till Mr. Jamnadas started a journal named *Young India* which he edited himself. The Moslem League although already captured by the extreme elements, did not actively co-operate in this campaign. Mr. Jinnah, however, in his presidential address at the Ahmedabad (Moderates) Provincial Conference, shortly after the Belgaum Conference, detailed his scheme of reforms, in regard to the authorship of which there was to be much acrimonious correspondence a few years later when His Highness the Aga Khan published Mr. Gokhale's scheme drafted on his death bed.

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY AND POLITICS

6. Membership to the two leagues accrued slowly in spite of Tilak's successful appeal to the High Court. In November 1916, it was left to individual theosophists to join Mrs. Besant's League or not, but after the Central Provinces Government prohibited Mrs. Besant from entering into the Central Provinces and thus prevented her from presiding over a meeting of a local branch of the Theosophical Society at Amraoti on the 29th October 1916, she declared that the order was a breach of the religious liberties of a section of His Majesty's subjects, suggested that the neutrality of her society in politics was only based on the personal opinion of Colonel Olcott during his lifetime but that, in view of the necessity for the society taking a leading part in world movements in preparation for the coming of the "World Teacher", she had no hesitation in announcing that the "Master's wish now was that they should discard their neutrality in politics". She felt sure that the majority of the members of the society would joyfully come forward to help and recognise its changed constitution.

It may be remarked here that Mr. Tilak and his league made no headway in Gujarat and Sind where the Home Rulers en bloc were members of Mrs. Besant's league.

SUCCESS FOR HOME RULERS

7. The election of delegates for the Lucknow Congress of 1916 witnessed the first act of co-operation in Bombay, and later in the Congress, between representatives from the two Leagues. In Bombay the Home Rulers assailed the stronghold of the Moderates—the Bombay Presidency Association—and were able to secure election to the Congress of eight out of fifteen delegates. They went further in the election at Lucknow of Bombay delegates on the subject Committee and insisted that none but pledged Home Rulers were to be elected. Messrs. Gandhi and Horniman and Professor Paranjpe, R. P., were opposed by Home Rulers and defeated, and Mr. Gandhi and Professor Paranjpe were only able to get in by direct nomination by the President of the Congress. The Home Rulers made a determined effort to get the Home Rule Leagues recognised as part and parcel of the Congress organisation, but, in spite of their numbers and in view of the necessity for placating the few Moderates that attended to secure the passing of the Congress-League's Scheme of Reforms, they had to rest content with a resolution of the Congress urging the Home Rule and other political organisations to carry on a propaganda in favour of the Joint Scheme.

BAN ON TILAK

8. As far as platform agitation in this Presidency went, there were only a few sporadic meetings during April and the usual district and provincial Conferences during May, which were on the whole of an unobjectionable nature but which indicated a growing control by the Home Rule League over the organisations which were responsible for these Conferences. Mr. Tilak, however, made a series of rather strong Home Rule speeches at the Sinnar-Sangamner Conferences, and at Chiplun and Yeola after the Nasik Provincial Conference and Mr. S. M. Paranjpe on the 4th June 1917, shortly after his return from the same Conference, delivered a particularly mischievous speech at Poona on account of which Government made an order under Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules prohibiting him from making any public speech. The Home Rule press continued to take their cue from Mrs. Besant's organs and to print copious extracts from New India.

9. After Mrs. Besant's internment in Madras in July 1917, the membership of the league increased rapidly. New district centres were

opened and in the flood-tide of the agitation many Moderates either signed the Home Rule pledge or lent their support to the movement. The resolutions at the Special Conference demanded in the main the acceptance of a policy making India a self-governing member of the Empire and the initiation of steps to give effect to the Joint Congress League scheme of reforms at the end of the war.

MRS. BESANT, PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

10. The Home Rulers were however so confident of their position that they pressed once more for the recognition of their organisation as part of the Congress organisation and the immediate inauguration of a Campaign of passive resistance. It was apparently due only to the fact that the representatives of the Moslem League had no authority to commit the League in the matter that the Home Rulers failed to carry their first point. The consideration of the question of passive resistance which was carried over well into August degenerated into personalities and was passed to and fro from one committee or sub-committee to another. In the midst of the controversy the announcement of August 20th, was made. It formed a strong rallying point for the Moderates and strengthened their position considerably. The Home Rulers and their press could, however, only see in it a victory for their agitation and tactics. They consequently urged a redoubling of their activities and a resort to passive resistance with a view to obtain the release of all internees and all political prisoners and to convince the Secretary of State of the volume and force of popular opinion behind them. They were therefore in no mood to drop the question of passive resistance, as had been recommended by the Sub-committee appointed by the Bombay Conference to report to the Provincial Congress Committees. The main fight centred round the deliberations of the Bombay Congress Committee, but the possibilities underlying the August announcement and the recognition of the need for a favourable atmosphere during the Secretary of State's visit found the opposition in the Provincial Committee swelled by support from the more moderate of the left wing. It was decided to postpone consideration of the matter in the hope that Government, recognising the strong feeling in support of passive resistance, would take timely steps to allay public feeling. Other Provincial Congress Committees fell into line and the decision was ultimately ratified by the All India Congress Committee and the Council of Moslem League. With the release of Mrs. Besant and her two lieutenants later in the year the campaign in favour of passive resistance, which was pressed for some time in favour of the release of the Ali brothers, gradually evaporated. The Home Rule League, however, was able to secure the election of Mrs. Besant as President of the 1917 Calcutta Congress and

to dominate the Congress deliberations. The only noteworthy feature of this Congress so far as this note is concerned was the Home Rule League's attitude in regard to the draft self-government resolution. They were not satisfied with the Congress League scheme as a first instalment and pressed for the insertion of a demand for the immediate grant of self-government. It was only the recognition of the alternative of a definitive moderate secession from the Congress, and of the Joint Congress League scheme ceasing to have the united backing of the country in consequence, that determined a compromise asking for self-government within ten years. In deference, however, to the strong views of the All-India Moslem League on the subject, "at an early date" was finally substituted for ten years.

MORE AGITATION

11. It was during the agitation over Mrs. Besant's internment that were inaugurated the conclaves at Shantaram's Chawl led by the leaders of the Bombay branches of the two leagues, Messrs. Horniman, Umar Sobhani, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Doctor Velkar and Sathe and occasionally Messrs. Baptista and Jinnah. They also occasionally went on lecturing tours, generally in Gujerat. This combination came in time practically to control all the District organisations throughout the Presidency and Sind. They would send to every centre printed copies of resolutions to be passed and even printed letters embodying these resolutions to be sent to Government and those concerned. They not only afforded not the least assistance in the matter of recruiting and the War Loan campaign but were ready to give publicity to every report or rumour of any excessive zeal or indiscretion on the part of those engaged in the performance of a supreme national duty, transferring on a press campaign. These obstructive tactics became more pronounced in 1918, after the return of the Home Rule delegates from Colombo and the Bombay War Conference.

12. Mr. Tilak, who does not appear to have ordinarily acted in concert with the Bombay group, was more openly hostile. On June 22nd, 1918, he delivered a speech, the intention of which was clearly to interfere with the recruiting and which referred to Indian soldiers in terms of disparagement. He was, in consequence, prohibited from public speaking under Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules.

GOVERNMENT REFORM PROPOSALS

13. On the publication of the Joint Report on Reforms of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, the Home Rule press endeavoured to anticipate any reasoned consideration of the

scheme by immediate and contemptuous rejection. A special meeting of the Congress having been summoned to discuss the scheme the Moderate party decided to hold a separate meeting. Efforts to induce them to unite with the extremists failed, and this fact had a material effect in mitigating the terms of the resolutions actually adopted by the "extremists" Congress.

From this point onwards, the Bombay extremist group acted independently, in concert with its country affiliations in Gujerat and Sind. The intensive agitations which followed have been detailed in the general statement.

THE BOMBAY WAR CONFERENCE, 1918

(EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEMBERS FROM H. D.
SPECIAL FILE No. 1733 OF 1918.)

1

Should it be a Conference or a Public Meeting?
(Pages 7, 8)

With regard to the question of conference *vs.* public meeting I agree with C. S. (Chief Secretary) that a conference would be preferable. It is not much use dragging people all the way from the mofussil, if they are only to sit on a dais and listen to set speeches and raise their hands in support of formal resolutions. Admittedly it will not be easy to manage a conference with such a large number of persons attending it. But even at the risk of protracted proceedings and much desultory and irrelevant talk I think that free discussion should be allowed. It is certain to be productive of useful recommendations and hints, while at the same time the fact of its being allowed will be appreciated and will tend to produce a good feeling. I notice that in the references to the press, including the semi-official announcements emanating from Simla, the proposed gatherings are generally referred to as conferences.

2

Home Rulers may refuse co-operation
(Pages 13, 14.)

I am distinctly in favour of a conference rather than a public meeting. Judging by the attitude that has been adopted by Tilak and others I think a public meeting might result in a fiasco.

A very difficult question arises as to how far we are to invite representatives of all shades of opinion. Tilak, Jinnah, Horniman and others are likely to adhere to the policy outlined in Tilak's recent speech in Madras, which practically means no co-operation without a promise of the Congress scheme of Home Rule. I do not think that is likely to be granted and we shall certainly not be in a position to say that it is likely to be granted. Tilak and his followers will therefore be bound to refuse co-operation, indeed we may expect from them opposition. No one therefore who is definitely committed to that policy should be invited. The conference should be by invitation not election.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS HOME RULE PRESS

[EXTRACT FROM H. D. SPECIAL FILE No. 3989.]

Telegram from Bombay Government to the Government of India.

To

HOME

Simla.

Your telegram 951 of 6th inst. article referred to appeared as anonymous letter in Bombay Chronicle, gist is taken from speeches of Tilak and his party. Government of Bombay consider that letter is too insignificant to form basis of energetic action. They prefer to await results of coming provincial conference and then to take strong action against any article or speech which in their opinion will militate against success of man power and resources campaign that will then be inaugurated. Governor in Council trusts that he will have full support of Governor General in Council in any such action which it should be made clear in advance, may involve important newspapers such as Chronicle, Mahratta, Kesari and the like and prominent persons such as Horniman, Tilak, Besant and others, and which will probably be taken under Defence of India Act inclusive of precensorship of newspapers, restraining orders against speaking or writing on certain topics and internment.

Confidential.

D/O No. 1188-Political.

HOME DEPARTMENT :

Simla, the 7th June, 1918.

Dear Robertson,

Please refer to your telegram No. 92-M, dated the 18th May, 1918, regarding the inadvisability of taking action at present against the Bombay Chronicle.

In the latter part of your telegram you say that His Excellency in Council hopes that he will have the full support of the Governor-General in Council in any action under the Defence of India Act which the local Government may take against any articles or speeches which in their opinion will militate against the success of the man-power or resources campaign to be inaugurated after the Bombay Provincial Conference.

2. In reply, I am to say that it appears to the Government of India that as the result of what has happened during the past few weeks both in India and outside, and in particular of the Delhi and Provincial War Conferences there has been a distinct improvement all over the country in the attitude of the extremist press and publicists towards Government and its present war endeavours. They therefore hope that no extensive action on the lines adumbrated in your telegram will be found necessary in the Bombay Presidency. Should this anticipation be proved incorrect, the Government of India have full confidence that any action which may be taken by the local Government in this connection will be inspired by wisdom and firmness, and they will be most anxious to accord them their full support. If, however, the Government of Bombay desires more than this and seek a definite promise of support in whatever course of action they may pursue, it is hardly necessary to point out that this would amount to the Government of India divesting themselves of authority in a manner that would be entirely inconsistent with their constitutional position. The Government of India trust that His Excellency in Council will subscribe to the reasonableness of this view.

Should, however, a case arise in which the local Government are not prepared to take action without an absolute promise of support from the Government of India, I am to request that the particular line of action which commends itself to His Excellency

the Governor in Council may be reported to the Government of India who will place the local Government in possession of their views in the matter with as little delay as possible.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed)

7th July, 1918

The Hon'ble

Mr. L. ROBERTSON, C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Govt. of Bombay,
Political Department.

GOVERNMENT ON TILAK'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS RECRUITMENT

(FROM H. D. SPECIAL FILE NO. 398-J OF 1918, PAGES 97-98.)

(From comments by a Council Member on Tilak's speeches on war effect.)

Attention is invited to the report on Tilka's speech at Bombay on the 27th April at a pan-supari party to welcome back the delegates to the Delhi Conference. It will be seen that this meeting took place immediately after the private meeting of the All India Congress Committee at which Tilak advocated that help be withheld from Government until an assurance was given of the establishment in India within a reasonable period of a Government responsible to the people; he only withdrew his suggestion on Mrs. Besant's advice. What Tilak was unable to attain here he tried to effect in his speech.

2. The speech is of the type that has now become usual; it gives the extremist a loop-hole to make the most of the situation as it may develop, without actively assisting Government. If recruits come in, in the numbers wanted, they can exploit the fact to press for concessions and if voluntary recruiting fails, they can turn round and say "We told you so. You cannot arouse the enthusiasm of the people until you give them the incentive of the early grant of self-Government: So give it!" And it seems pretty clear from the whole run of speeches by the Home Rule leaders that their aim is to damp the ardour of the people and kill the voluntary recruitment scheme in advance. Here please see also the concluding

portion of the Hon. Mr. Patel's speech as President of the Bijapur Provincial Conference : the Bombay Chronicle has given prominence to this portion in its leader of 7-5-18 headed "The Opportunity."

3. Tilak in his speech has hit on a new and mischievous argument :— "Of course, the bureaucracy tried to do without the assistance of the 30 crores of Indian subjects. That was their..... dodge, but when they now find that the Empire is getting helpless without the assistance of the 30 crores of Indian subjects, they feel that now the time has come when they cannot do without the assistance of the people of India and, therefore, they will pay money or give bribes in order to get as many recruits as they like. Now, just consider this situation. The bureaucracy do not want to give you Self-Government but they want to be protected by your giving your lives. The bureaucracy want you, the people of India, to protect their lives."

4. Bad as this is, Tilak in his concluding remarks goes one better and he has twisted His Majesty's message to mean a direct intimation that they should exploit England's life and death struggle to wring political concessions from her. Please see portions marked A, B, C and D (pages 31, 33 and 35 ante). The reference to the wresting of the Magna Charta from King John makes Tilak's suggestion perfectly clear and it is for consideration whether this disloyal and mischievous distortion does not merit Tilak being served with a notice under the Defence of India Rules prohibiting him from further speechifying for the present.

5. It is a matter of grave national moment that the Government of India should get all the recruits they can within the next few months ; the left-handed co-operation that the Home Rulers are offering can but exercise a check on the flow of recruits, but when Royal sanction is quoted to what amounts to practically an inducement not to join up till self-Government is granted, it would appear to be time for drastic action to be taken.

HOME RULERS WALK OUT FROM WAR CONFERENCE

(FROM H. D. FILE NO. 398-J OF 1918, PAGE 259.)

(Extract from a sheet written by the Chief Secretary of the Government of Bombay, at the Conference immediately after the walk-out by Home Rulers from the War Conference.)

Mr. Tilak expressed himself and all Home Rulers to be loyal citizens of the K. E. [King Emperor].

“But” and he then went to introduce purely, political topics and said that if amendments had been allowed he would have wished to move an amendment.

His Excellency interrupting stated that he could not understand that anyone could wish to move an amendment to a resolution conveying an expression of loyalty to the K. E. and that he could not allow the introduction of political matters in the resolution. After some discussion in the course of which Mr. Tilak went on with his speech but on at once diverting into political topics, H. E. interrupted him. Mr. Tilak ultimately declined to proceed and returned to his place.

Mr. Kelkar was then called upon to speak. He began as in the case of Mr. Tilak with a perfunctory expression of loyalty. Speaking very fast and almost unintelligibly, he soon began political matter. H. E. interrupting again stated that he could not allow political discussion ! Mr. Kelkar admitted that he was going to touch on political matters, H. E. stated that he could not allow it. Mr. Kelkar returned to his seat.

Immediately thereafter the following persons left the hall :--

1. Mr. Tilak,
2. Mr. Kelkar,
3. Mr. S. R Bomanji,
4. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas,
5. Mr. Horniman.

H. E. in further addressing the meeting remarked that he noticed that these people had left the Hall without waiting to vote in favour of the expression of loyalty to H. M. the K. E.

There is no doubt that the *Chronicle* and the rest of the extremist press will make the most of these incidents and that there will be a howl all round the extremist press.

I think that it is for consideration whether some steps should not be taken to deal with this situation and to check the uncontrolled criticism and obloquy.

We could

(1) forbid the extremist press to discuss the War Conference, the speeches that were made at it, or any topic directly or indirectly dealt with in the agenda paper or its etc. etc.

(2) or we could order them to submit all their articles on these topics to precensorship before publication.

(3) or we could order the precensorship of the whole issues of these paper, and of all printed matter issuing from the press at which the papers are printed.

I attach a cutting containing the leading article of today's Chronicle. The last sentence is nothing but a declaration of war ! I would accept the challenge and begin operations invading the enemies' territory.

The position as it presents itself to me is as follows. The Home Rulers have declined to co-operate with Government and the remainder of the people of the Presidency. They left the conference without waiting to vote in favour of an expression of loyalty to H. M. the K. E. We cannot expect any loyal co-operation from them. We can expect only opposition. That being so it seems to me that we should take measures to make their opposition as uneffective as we can. For that purpose we must hold their press in strict control. Precensorship seems to be the best way. It must be precensorship of every piece of printed matter that issues from the presses at which their papers are printed.

It is possible that they will attempt to evade the order having anonymous leaflets printed at other presses, but it does not seem to me that other presses will lend themselves to this purpose.

The papers first to be dealt with :

The Bombay Chronicle,

The Mahratta,

The Kesari,

The Sandesh,

The Message,

Young India.

and the presses at which they are printed.

The methods to be employed for precensorship would be these.

The D. M., Poona, should undertake the precensorship of Kesari and the Mahratta. He may be allowed to employ on this work one or two inspectors to be deputed from the staff of the C. I. D., Poona.

At Bombay the Deputy Secretary, Political Department, may be appointed to censor the papers. He should be given the assistance

of Mr. Sanjana of the D. Ts. office and one inspector deputed from the staff of C. I. D., Bombay. With these arrangements there should be no difficulty in disposing of the work quickly.

I think that we shall have to go further and stop the following gentlemen from public speaking :—

(1) Mr. Horniman, (2) Mr. Bomanji, (3) Mr. Jamnadas Dwar-kadas (4) Mr. Tilak, (5) Mr. Kelkar.

Then I think that Mr. Horniman should be interned at Aden, Mr. Tilak in Burma and Mr. Jamnadas in Larkhana. We need not intern Mr. N. C. Kelkar.

The first thing to do is to stop the papers by precensorship. At the same time the persons named should be restrained from public speaking and then the internment should be arranged for.

I think that G. of I. (Government of India), should be immediately informed of the proceedings at last night's meeting and of our proposed action and asked whether they agree with it. But we should stop the extremist papers at once.

I would invite attention to G. of I., D. O., letter of 7th inst received yesterday in which G. of I promise full support.

(Signed),

11th June 1918.

COMMENTS BY COUNCIL MEMBERS ON THE ABOVE NOTE

I

(By Sir James DuBoulay)

I agree that we should send at once a copy of the proceedings to the Government of India together with the leading article in the Chronicle. I do not however think that the action of these people in walking out before the loyalty Resolution was put to the vote in itself justifies the precensorship of the papers mentioned, or orders regarding public speaking or internment. These may all have to come, and probably it will be better to issue orders regarding pre-censorship and public speaking against several papers and several individuals simultaneously, if and when action is taken, provided we can find a reasonable handle for doing so. Chief Secretary states with truth that we cannot expect any loyal co-operation, we can only

expect opposition. We cannot however take action under the Defence of India Rules for failure of co-operation, not in anticipation of opposition. We must adhere strictly to the Law, and I still think the course of action sketched in my note of 24th April 1918 is the proper one.

(Signed) J. DuBOULAY.

12/6.

P.S.—It will have to be considered how far we are bound by recent instructions from the Government of India to lay the matter before an Advisory Committee before taking action.

II

(By His Excellency Governor.)

I agree with Sir J. DuBoulay that we should take no action until and unless the Home Rule Leaguers create trouble. I think that all Commissioners of Divisions should be informed that we expect them to keep a close watch in case any individual tries to prejudice the success of the recruiting campaign, and inform them that we are prepared to act promptly if they have absolutely definite information.

(Signed) W. 13/6.

III

(By Hon. J. W. Carmichael.)

I agree. We might be right in taking action on the writings and speeches prior to the conference but the general public would not look so far back and would attribute our action solely to what happened at the conference. We must now wait to see whether they repeat their previous performances.

(Signed) J. C.

13/6.

IV

(By Sir Ebrahim Rahimtoola.)

I agree with Sir James DuBoulay. It appears to me unwise at the present moment to take any action in regard to pre-censorship, public speaking or internments. The Chief Secretary rightly observes

that the article in the *Bombay Chronicle* is a declaration of War. Let Government give them a long rope and let these people have for a short time full liberty to openly show their hatred. It will then be time to consider what would be the best line of action to be adopted. I cannot keep repeating that any premature action is unwise under the circumstances.

(Signed) E. R.

13/6/1918.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT'S REPORT ON HOME RULERS'
WALK-OUT FROM WAR CONFERENCE

(FROM H. D. SPECIAL FILE NO. 3989, PAGES 269 TO 283.)

From

L. ROBERTSON, ESQUIRE., C.S.I.,
Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay ;

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
Home Department.

Sir,

I am directed to forward for the information of the Government of India the following papers :—

- (1) List of persons invited to be present at the War Conference held on the 10th June 1918, in the Town Hall, Bombay.
- (2) Agenda paper of the Conference.
- (3) Proceedings of the same.
- (4) Leading article of the *Bombay Chronicle* dated 11th June 1918.
- (5) Letter from Mr. N. C. Kelkar, dated the 30th May 1918.
- (6) Reply to the above.
- (7) Letter from Mr. S. R. Bomanji, dated the 3rd June 1918.

(8) Reply to the above.

(9) Explanation of Mr. Tilak and others of their reasons for leaving the Conference.

(10) Letter from Mr. J. Dwarkadas and others that appeared in the Bombay Chronicle dated the 12th June 1918 stating their intentions to abstain from attending the War Loan meeting.

(11) Article in the Times of India dated 13th June 1918 describing the proceedings of the War Loan Meeting held at Bombay on 12th June 1918.

2. The action taken in pursuance of the resolution passed at the War Conference and the results of the campaign to promote the War Loan will be reported to the Government of India in due course by the Local Government in the Department concerned. This letter will be confined to a description of the proceedings at the two meetings, certain incidents that occurred at the War Conference and the results thereof.

3. From the list of persons invited to the War Conference the Government of India will observe that it was thoroughly representative of all parts of the Presidency and of all shades of political opinion that prevail.

The agenda paper shows that the proceedings were to include the discussion of two resolutions, the first being a loyal message to the King Emperor and the second being concerned with a scheme to give effect to the resolutions passed at the War Conference at Delhi on the 27th-29th April 1918.

From the correspondence with Messrs. Kelkar and Bomanji and from the remarks made by His Excellency the Governor which are printed at page 2 of the proceedings it will be seen that it was decided (1) that no formal amendments were to be allowed to be moved at the Conference, (2) that after the speakers designated in the agenda paper had closed their remarks, any person in the Hall who desired to speak would be permitted to do so.

After His Excellency had addressed the Conference, he explained the procedure to be adopted and asked any gentlemen who might wish to speak to send in their names to the Political Secretary. As a result of this invitation and during the time that the designated

speakers to the first resolution were making their remarks, the following names were received by the Political Secretary :—

On Resolution I :—

B. G. Tilak.

N. C. Kelkar.

Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed.

On Resolution II :—

B. G. Horniman.

Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

M. A. Jinnah.

Subsequently Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar expressed a wish to speak on Resolution II.

His Excellency the Governor's opening remarks were well received by the audience and the loyal sentiments of the speakers to the first resolution met with loud applause.

On Mr. Tilak's name being called, he came forward on invitation to the dais on which His Excellency alone was seated. Reading from what appeared to be a typewritten paper, he opened his remarks by an expression of the deep loyalty of himself and of all Home Rulers to His Majesty the King Emperor. But, he said, if amendments had been allowed he would have liked to have moved an amendment. Proceeding he stated that home defence was intimately connected with home rule and diverged into a purely political discussion. Interrupting His Excellency remarked that he could not understand how anyone could wish to move an amendment to a loyalty resolution and that he could not permit a political discussion on a resolution of this character. After some colloquy in the course of which Mr. Tilak attempted to proceed, he left the platform and returned to his place in the Hall. Mr. Kelkar's name was then called and he came forward to the platform to speak. He followed much the same line as Mr. Tilak commencing with a perfunctory expression of loyalty and immediately thereafter diverging into political topics. On His Excellency interrupting him he asked whether His Excellency wished him to go on. His Excellency replied that he had no wish to stop him but he must

ask Mr. Kelkar to respect his ruling that political discussion could not proceed on a loyalty resolution, Mr. Kelkar then retired from the dais. Immediately after, these two gentlemen accompanied by Mr. Horniman, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Mr. Bomanji left the meeting. Their departure was made in silence and there was no demonstration. Indeed it may be said that the audience took no notice of it.

Before proceeding to put Resolution I to the vote, His Excellency the Governor remarked that he regretted that these gentlemen had thought fit to leave the Hall without waiting to vote in favour of a resolution expressing loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor.

The Resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The remainder of the proceedings were not marked by any incident. I am, however, to invite attention to the objectionable remarks which the Honourable Mr. Jinnah thought fit to make while speaking on Resolution II.

The last speaker was Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar who came forward of his own accord. The Government of India will observe that he dissociated himself and his political party entirely from the action and sentiments of Mr. Tilak and his followers and that he entirely endorsed the ruling of His Excellency the Governor which led to the incidents that have just been described. His remarks were received with enthusiasm by the audience, and there can be no doubt that his sentiments represented the real feeling of the meeting.

Resolution II was put to the vote and carried without a dissentient voice. It was observed, however, that Mr. Jinnah while he did not vote against the motion, refrained from voting in favour of it.

I am to remark that from the fact that both Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kelkar brought prepared speeches with them and from the notes that were seen to be passing between them and other followers of Mr. Tilak during the earlier part of the proceedings, it is a justifiable inference that Mr. Tilak and his party had come to the meeting with the object of creating trouble.

I am now to pass to the War Loan Meeting which was held on the 12th June, 1918 in the Town Hall, Bombay. This was a public meeting summoned by the Sheriff of Bombay on the requisition of

a number of leading citizens. There was no attempt to restrict attendance. In accordance with their public declaration the home rulers abstained from appearing.

At the appointed hour the Hall was full to overflowing by a representative crowd of the citizens of Bombay, mostly of the middle class. For the purposes of this letter it is not necessary to follow the proceedings in detail. On entry His Excellency the Governor received a demonstrative welcome. Later on when His Excellency took the chair and rose to make his opening remarks, there was a prolonged burst of enthusiastic applause, some persons in body of the Hall rising and waving their handkerchiefs as an expression of their enthusiastic approval. Throughout the speeches that followed every expression of India's determination to make a united effort to come to the assistance of the Empire in the hour of need met with enthusiastic approval. Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar's appeal to the educated classes and his description of the attitude of the great majority of them met with great approval.

I am to invite special attention to the remarks made by Mr. E. J. Desai. This gentleman, who is a rising barrister of the High Court was a professed home ruler. His remarks, however, clearly indicate that he is not prepared to follow Mr. Tilak and his party in the latest development of their agitation. It is reported that he has resigned his membership of the Home Rule League but this report lacks accurate confirmation.

Reviewing the results of these two meetings, I am to remark that the air has now been publicly cleared. It was one of the objects of His Excellency's opening remarks to give the home rulers an opportunity to express clearly their intention to co-operate whole heartedly with Government and people of the Presidency in making a united war effort and to give an assurance that they would do nothing by word or deed to prejudice the success of the campaign for the development of the man power and resources of the Presidency. This endeavour failed of its object. It is clear that the Home Rule party will co-operate only on terms and that these terms are impossible of acceptance. The Government of Bombay view the results of the two meetings with cheerful equanimity. The hearty acceptance that His Excellency's action at the Conference met with at the hands of the audience and the striking demonstration that was made on the occasion of the War Loan Meeting constitute a clear proof that the action of the Home Rulers finds deserved condemnation in the minds of the bulk of the

people and that the vast majority of the population of this Presidency will devote their best efforts to promoting schemes to achieve victory in the war.

The Government of Bombay, however, have no desire to blink the fact that difficult times are ahead. The leading article in the Bombay Chronicle of the 11th instant is nothing but a declaration of war, and much troublesome and dangerous agitation may be expected. On a consideration of the position, the Governor in Council has determined not to take immediate action against the Home Rule party, as for instance precensorship of the party press or interment of the leaders. Such measures will be held in reserve to be used whenever it is clear that the home rule party have by their actions, speeches or press articles actually prejudiced the success of the campaign that has now been launched.

Finally I am to state that Mr. Gandhi's name was put down among the speakers on Resolution II at the war Conference. Intimation of His Excellency's desire that he should speak did not reach Mr. Gandhi until the day before the Conference as the telegram conveying it had followed him from place to place. Mr. Gandhi finally refused to speak. A copy of the correspondence with him is enclosed. It is satisfactory to note that in his letter dated the 11th June 1918, to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor Mr. Gandhi promises full support in the man power campaign. While recent incidents throw a measure of doubt on Mr. Gandhi's sincerity in this respect, His Excellency in Council is prepared to accept the promise as it stands, to act upon it and to await the results.

In conclusion I am to suggest that if the Government of India deem fit, a copy of this letter may be forwarded to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

I have &c.,

(Signed) L. ROBERTSON,

Chief Secretary to Government.

GANDHIJI DECLINES TO SPEAK IN THE WAR CONFERENCE

(FROM H. D. SPECIAL FILE No. 1788 OF 1918, PAGES 303 TO 307.)

1

Gandhiji's letter to Robertson.

Bombay, 9th June.

Dear Mr. Robertson,

Your telegram 4630 was received by me at Nadiad only yesterday evening on my return from Kaira. Before I undertake to

support the resolution given in your telegram I should like to know more fully about it. I should like also to see the scheme. My address is care of Mr. Rewashankar Jagjiwan, Laburnum Road, Chowpati.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) M. K. GANDHI.

2

Robertson's reply

9 June, 1918.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

In reply to your letter of today, I enclose a copy of the agenda with memo (4 copies of the note on recruiting which is in the Press) which explains the scheme. You will see that H. E. has assumed that you will consent to speak. If you don't wish to do so, would you be so good as to inform me through bearer, so that your name may be deleted from the agenda.

Yours sincerely,

3

Gandhiji declines to speak

Bombay, 9th June.

Dear Mr. Robertson,

I am sorry I was away when your note was received. I feel that I should not speak on the resolution. I hope, therefore, that His Excellency will excuse me. I observe that my name is included in the man power committee and I note that men like Mr. Tilak are not included. I fear that my usefulness will be materially curtailed if I could not have the benefit of his co-operation and that of other Home Rulers of his calibre. It is hopeless to expect a truly National response and a National army unless the Government are prepared to trust them to their duty. I should gladly serve on the man-power Committee if these leaders are invited to join it. If additions to the committee can be moved, I should be prepared to move that some of these gentlemen may be included in one or more of these committees.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) M. K. GANDHI.

STATEMENT BY THOSE WHO WALKED OUT

(FROM H. D. SPECIAL FILE NO. 398-J, PAGES 285-86, CUTTING FROM
"BOMBAY CHRONICLE", DATED 12TH JUNE 1918.)

The following statement is published by Mr. Tilak and others who left the War Conference on Monday :—

As your readers are aware, as members of the War Conference held on Monday last, we were obliged to take the unusual step of walking out of the meeting. This step was obviously necessitated by the unusual course which H. E. the Governor as Chairman of the Conference chose to adopt. And we may as well set out the grounds on which our action in retiring from the Conference was based.

The object of the Conference was professedly to seek the co-operation of the people in the war measures which Government thought it was necessary to take in this presidency at this critical juncture. It was to be expected, therefore, that Government would be prepared to invite the Conference people of all shades of political opinion in the Presidency and to give them a patient and courteous hearing. Being invited to the Conference, we had to attend it, and having attended it, we had of course to tell Government what we thought of the matter upon which we had met to confer together. But the whole procedure of the Conference was so designed as completely to defeat this purpose. In the first place the resolutions to be placed before the Conference were prepared in the Secretariat and no sub-committees were formed as was done at the Delhi Conference. The wording of the resolutions could not be expected to satisfy all parties to the Conference. And as no sub-committees were formed to consider and draft the resolutions, the Chairman was bound in all fairness to give an opportunity to the members of the Conference, who were to be bound by the resolutions, to move amendments to them in open Conference. But Government had decided beforehand that no amendments were to be allowed to be moved, nor even changes of wording to be suggested in speeches. The only course left open to the members of the Conference to ventilate their views was to speak on the resolutions in a general way without moving amendments; and even if this had been allowed, the members might to some extent, have served their purpose. But far from this, his Excellency, as Chairman of the meeting, deliberately attacked Home Rulers, made unwarranted accusations and threw unjustifiable aspersions upon them. And when some of the Home Rulers, Messrs. Tilak

and Kelkar, attending the Conference by invitation, proceeded to make speeches by way of explaining their position as non-official men invited to co-operate with Government in recruiting manpower and carrying out other war measures, the Chairman peremptorily stopped them, before they had uttered a few sentences, on the ground that no political discussion was to be allowed on the resolution expressing loyalty to the Crown. The only self-respecting course for Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kelkar under the circumstances was to refuse to take further part in the Conference and to retire from it. And the others of us had no alternative, but to follow their example. We felt that if we had not retired from the Conference, our position would have been hopelessly compromised.

The whole procedure at the Conference was peculiarly inequitable and unfair. If Government wanted to take the credit for fairness in having invited to the Conference people of all shades of opinion, they should have anticipated that differences of opinion on the resolutions, whether as being imperfectly or inadequately worded, must arise and should have therefore provided some acceptable method for the expression of a variety of views or opinions. But to a hide bound programme of resolutions and procedure, prepared in the Secretariat his Excellency added a high-handed and indefensible exercise of his authority as Chairman.

In regard to the contention of his Excellency that any "political discussion," as he termed it, was out of order on the first resolution, we may point out that the resolution was more than a mere expression of loyalty to the King-Emperor. The resolution contained the expression of the determination of the Presidency to continue "to do her duty to the utmost capacity". This, we contend invited the fullest discussion in regard to the whole of the proposals and methods adopted by the Government for the purpose of translating into action the loyal determination of the Presidency to do her duty, methods and proposals to which we were unable wholly to assent. As to the first part of the resolution expressing loyalty to the King-Emperor both Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kelkar emphatically expressed, on behalf of themselves and Home Rulers generally, their firm adhesion to this sentiment. But they desired to point out why the Presidency could not possibly do her duty "to its utmost capacity" so long as certain existing conditions were not altered. We are at a loss to understand how such speeches could be impugned on the ground of their being irrelevant or out of order. There was no intention of moving any amendment, in deference to the ruling of the chair, though such

a course would have been justified under Parliamentary procedure for it is well known that amendments to loyal addressees to the Throne are regularly moved in the House of Commons. We had to be content merely with speeches, but even that was denied to us.

The main ground of objection on his Excellency's part was that of political discussion. His Excellency's own speech was distinguished by political discussion of a most controversial character. We were entitled to an opportunity of replying to his gratuitous and provocative attack on Home Rulers and that opportunity should have been afforded to us on the first resolution which stated in general terms the objects of the Conference.

We may say in conclusion that before the Conference some of us were informed, on behalf of the Governor, in response to enquiries, that "open discussion" on the resolutions would be allowed and that "any criticisms or suggestions which speakers may make in the course of discussion will receive careful consideration of Government". We think this is a conclusive commentary on the arbitrary and inconsistent action of his Excellency in stopping the speeches of Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kelkar.

Yours, etc.

B. G. TILAK.

JAMNADAS DWARKADAS.

S. R. BOMANJI.

N. C. KELKAR.

B. G. HORNIMAN.

NO INTERFERENCE WITH RECRUITING

(Bombay Government's Circular.)

(FROM J. D. FILE NO. 398-J, PAGE 269.)

A copy of Government Letter No. 4083/140, dated the 15/17th June 1818 addressed to the Government of India is enclosed for information.

2. It is requested that the doings of the Home Rulers may be subjected to close scrutiny. If any person attempts to interfere with the recruiting campaign, an immediate report should be submitted to Government in this Department describing the degree or nature of the interference and proposing such action as may be suitable. Government will be prepared to act promptly in cases in which accurate information is forthcoming upon which action may be based.

3. The above instructions are not intended to interfere with the discretion of District Magistrates (or the Commissioner of Police) in taking action permissible to them under the law in cases in which action is justified by the facts before them.

(Signed),

Chief Secretary to Government.

To

All Commissioners,

All District Magistrates,

The Agent to the Governor in Kathiawar,

The Resident, Kolhapur and Political Agent, Southern Maratha
Country States,

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

SHRI JINNAH AND WILLINGDON MEMORIAL

[The anti-Willingdon Memorial agitation in Bombay (December 1918) which was mainly led by Shri M. A. Jinnah who had emerged by that time as a first rank national leader and as a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity was a remarkable event. In fact it culminated in one of those interesting historical ironies which occasionally present themselves in the story of a nation. The agitation to raise a memorial to Governor Willingdon resulted in a memorial being raised, at a cost of Rs. 30,000 spontaneously contributed by the public, not to the Governor but to the most vigorous opponent of that agitation]

viz., M. A. Jinnah ! The Jinnah People's Memorial Hall still stands in the compound of the Congress House in Bombay and serves as a centre of public activities.

A public meeting of the citizens of Bombay—not of the friends and admirers of Lord Willingdon—had been called by the pro-Government elements in the city to meet at the Town Hall on 11th December 1918. Lord Willingdon had made himself unpopular on account of the policy of repression that his Government was pursuing and the treatment he gave to leaders like Tilak at the War Conference, and large sections of public opinion in the city resented the attempt to raise a memorial, in the name of the citizens, to a Governor whose policy they had criticised and detested. Shri Jinnah, Shri B. G. Horniman, Shri Jamnadas Dwarkadas and other leaders therefore invited the public to attend in large numbers the public meeting to be held at the Town Hall and express their disapproval of the proposals made. The pro-Government elements (who had naturally the sympathy of police officials) attempted not only to muster in strength at the comparatively small Town Hall where the meeting was to be held but allegedly even to physically prevent their opponents from entering the hall and participating in the meeting. The public, however, was not to be taken in by such tricks. As the extracts from contemporary reports given below show, large crowds gathered near the Town Hall and waited for hours outside the hall before the scheduled hour of the meeting in order to be able to get entrance into it. Shri Jinnah and other leaders were with them. At the time of the meeting the hall was almost flooded by anti-memorial crowds who shouted down the proposal to raise a memorial and the meeting ended in a fiasco. Jinnah's remarkable courage in vigorously opposing the move for a public memorial to an unpopular Governor, and his dauntless leadership which triumphed in finally defeating the move were naturally applauded all over the country and added immensely to his popularity.]

HOME RULERS OPPOSE MEMORIAL TO LORD WILLINGDON

(FROM BOMBAY POLICE SECRET ABSTRACT, 1918, PARAGRAPH 1758.)

At the instance of a number of the leading citizens of Bombay, the Sheriff has called a public meeting at the Town Hall on the 11th instant to consider this question (of voting for a memorial to

Lord Willington on his departure from the Presidency). His action has given rise to strong opposition in the Home Rule camp, whose leaders are conducting a strenuous campaign in which they are leaving no stone unturned to belittle His Excellency's administration and to vilify his motives.

The medium through which the opposition is being worked is the Home Rule Press, the "*Bombay Chronicle*" being in the vanguard, and the "*Young India*" bringing up the rear with the "*Hindustan*". The tone of the articles appearing in these papers and of the lectures being delivered on the subject is extremely offensive, particularly so when it is borne in mind that the readers of the papers and those who attend the meeting are, for the most part, students and other immature politicians.

The writings and speeches of B. G. Horniman and Jamnadas Dwarkadas in particular are most objectionable. Omar Sobhani is attempting to discredit His Excellency by circulating broadcast a leaflet in Urdu in which he categorises a number of the administrative acts of His Excellency's Government and endeavours to deduce that His Excellency has been no friend of the Moslems.

Further, the Home Rulers have started addressing meetings of mill-hands and railway workmen in a similar strain, a move which can only regard with the gravest apprehension. It is clear that the leaders of the Home Rule League are taking a leaf out of the book of General Ludendorf. Just as Ludendorf saw that the hopes of the German Army lay in a mass attack on the point of junction between the British and French Armies, so the Home Rule leaders see their chances most bright at the moment when His Excellency Lord Willington is handing over the reins of his office to his successor. By making the attack more or less one of a personal nature, they hope to tie the hands of Government until His Excellency Lord Willington shall have relinquished the Governorship, knowing full well that it would be much easier to prevent such a movement from spreading than to suppress it once it has gained a hold on the imaginations of the people. They realise as clearly as we do that the effects of an agitation which is deliberately calculated to bring into hatred and contempt the acts of His Excellency's Government and to impugn the *bona fides* of that Government, although the main attack may be levelled at the Head of the Government personally, will continue when the Head of the Government has gone and the Government has to be carried on under a new head.

JINNAH IN THE FOREFRONT

M. A. Jinnah is also in the forefront of the attack. It is alleged that his bitterness has been exacerbated by the fact that he was a candidate for election to the Western India Turf Club but that no one can be found who is willing to propose him; he puts this down to the influences over the Turf Club of His Excellency the Governor.

I would invite special attention to the line of attack adopted in the lectures of the mill-hands and workmen. The statements made are false, but they are sufficiently colourable to fire the imaginations of the artisan classes. His Excellency is accused of betraying the railway workshop hands, of leading a life of indolent enjoyment at Poona while the Influenza epidemic was raging in the mill districts and of emasculating their idol, Tilak. Such tactics would be bad enough at Home; in India they are intolerable unless Bolshevism is to replace Government.

December 9th.—The agitation in connection with the proposed meeting in the Town Hall to vote a memorial to His Excellency Lord Willingdon continues.

Public meetings have been held, two at Shantaram's Chawl, one at Elphinstone Road, one at Dadar and one on the 9th at Dana Bandar.

HOME RULERS' OPPOSITION

Signs are not wanting that the organisers of the protest are beginning to realise that there is an overwhelming majority of the public in favour of a memorial to His Excellency. A private meeting was held in the "*Bombay Chronicle*" office on the 7th instant, attended by the anti-requisitionist leaders. A suggestion was made that it would be more dignified if the anti-requisitionists were to send to the Sheriff a strongly worded protest with a demand that it should be read out at the public meeting. The suggestion was very favourably received. Mowji Govindji, however, was strongly opposed to any such idea. He advocated that the anti-requisitionists should be present in large numbers to vote personally against the memorial. A sub-committee consisting of Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Tairsee and Mowji Govindji was formed with powers to deal with any contingency which may arise and require immediate action. A procession of anti-requisitionists is, according to the present arrangement, to be formed near the Mulji Jetha Market on the day of the meeting, which will march to the Town Hall. The markets are to be closed

to enable the employees to attend. A strong protest will be raised if the police intrude either at the Town Hall or on the Town Hall steps.

An anti-requisitionists' meeting was to take place at the Mulji Jetha Market on the 8th instant, but Mr. Hormusji Vakil, on behalf of the proprietors of the Mulji Jetha Market, served a notice upon the conveners prohibiting them from holding a political meeting in the Market Chowk. This action was strongly resented, but no meeting took place. A meeting has been called by Jamnadas Dwarkadas to protest against this action. By far the most epoch-making event of the week has been the publication of an interview granted by S. R. Bomanji to a representative of the *Jam-e-Jamshed*. Bomanji has severely trounced the Home Rulers and exposed their *mala fides* to such purpose that many have been induced to regard them as charlatans. S. R. Bomanji desired to have his views published in the "*Times of India*", but the editor was not prepared to give expression to them. On the contrary, the "*Times of India*" has published a letter from Mr. Fritchley advocating the abandonment of the proposed meeting at the Town Hall on the plea that it would be far better if His Excellency were to leave India without any unpleasantness or exhibition of partisan spirit!!!

I attach a translation of the interview published in the "*Jame-e-Jamshed*".

BOMANJI'S INTERVIEW

The gist of the interview is as follows :—

Mr. Bomanji said that he had tendered his resignation of his post as Vice-President of the League in July last, as he resented the high-handed manner in which the administration of the Home Rule League was carried on, and he strongly opposed the tendency to make frequent gifts to the Editor of the "*Chronicle*" at the expense of the shareholders. There was no truth in the rumour that he had severed his connection with the Home Rule League ; he was and always would be a staunch Home Ruler. He deplored the attitude of the Home Rule party towards the question of a memorial to Lord Willingdon and alleged that certain of the Bombay Home Rulers were entirely actuated by motives of self-advertisement. Mr. Jinnah was very anxious to succeed Sir M. Chaubal as Member of the Executive Council, but as he was not given the post, he was now venting his private spleen against the Governor. There was no question of principle at the bottom of the opposition to the memorial ; it was

purely personal. It was in the interests of the country that a departing Governor should be kept in a satisfied frame of mind, particularly at such a time as this when the Indian Reforms Bill was about to be submitted to Parliament. The present system of administration was the cause of bringing such men as the leaders of the anti-Memorial movement into prominence. The people were becoming more and more discontented and were on that account ready to listen to any critic of Government, no matter how unreasonable he might be.

MEETINGS AND DISTRIBUTION OF CARTOONS

The anti-requisitionists proposed to move the High Court to grant an injunction against the Sheriff prohibiting him from holding the proposed meeting but found that they were on very weak ground.

Cartoons printed at the Shri Ram Litho Press, Girgaum, were widely distributed at the second meeting at Shantaram's Chawl and at the Dana Bandar. The first picture represents public opinion being worshipped by Jamnadas Dwarkadas and being flouted by Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and other title-holders. The second represents His Excellency as driving a gag into Tilak's mouth while "Justice" is undoing the handcuffs of Tilak; the third represents His Excellency receiving presents from the Commissioner, S. D. and the Commissioner in Sind, the former presenting a hare labelled "The Jury System in Belgaum" and the latter a deer labelled "Hyderabad Municipality"; the fourth represents His Excellency the Governor as the unmoved spectator of the destruction by two bulls (Mr. S. M. Edwardes and Sardar Suleman Cassim Mitha) of a Moorish edifice labelled "Moslem League". The letter press below the last cartoon runs "Bullock driver :—Well done : This is what is known as work (Though the Police Commissioner and Mr. Mitha wilfully created a disturbance in the Moslem League meeting in Bombay, yet no proper and legal remedies were adopted)". The fifth represents a bullock-cart being drawn by two emaciated bullocks : His Excellency is depicted as an R. S. P. C. A. Inspector, The Hon. Mr. Pratt as the cart driver mercilessly lashing the bullocks, and Gandhi as a kind-hearted wayfarer who points out to the Inspector the cruelty being shown to the bullocks by the driver. The Inspector is saying "This does not appear to me to be cruelty". The sixth cartoon represents His Excellency as a "*masth*" elephant, in his trunk is a lotus flower in the the centre of which is Tilak's head. Jinnah is represented as saying "Give up this lotus flower, proud fellow" and below the cartoon is written "Lord Willingdon insulted Tilak at the War Conference without any justification." The leaflets are being distributed profusely and there is no doubt that they hold His Excellency up to the derision of the illiterate masses.

JINNAH'S ROLE

Bombay, December 16th (paragraph 1799)—

On Sunday the 8th instant, M. A. Jinnah was to address the men of the Mulji Jetha Market on Lord Willingdon's administration at the Mulji Jetha Market Chowk at 9-30 P.M., but the Managing Directors of the market having objected to the meeting being held in the premises, it was held the next day at Lohana's Wadi, Kandewadi, at 9-30 P.M. At the same time there was another meeting on the same subject at Dana Bandar, and so Jinnah and Jamnadas hurriedly addressed the audience at Kandewadi for about ten minutes and proceeded to Dana Bandar where they were awaited by a large gathering.

At Dana Bandar, Jinnah was in the chair. Jamnadas, Horniman, Syed Hussein, Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe and Mawji Govindji Seth addressed the meeting.

On Tuesday the 10th instant, there were again two meetings, one at Shantaram's Chawl and another at Lower Parel near Sun Mill. M. A. Jinnah presided at Shantaram's chawl. Horniman, George Arundale, Jamnadas, Krishnaji Prabhakar Khadilkar, P. K. Telang, Mawji Govindji Seth and Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe were the speakers. The proceedings lasted from 6-30 to 9 P.M. At the meeting at Lower Parel, Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe presided and K. P. Khadilkar, Ashtaputre, Pleader, Satara and Dr. N. D. Savarkar, made speeches on Lord Willingdon's administration. The meeting lasted from 10 to 12-30 P.M. On the close of the meeting at Shantaram's Chawl, about 185 Home Rule Volunteers marched from the place of meeting to Kanji Dwarkadas's bungalow on Chowpaty, where they were entertained and instructions were given by Bhimji Jairaj Makanji to Kanji Dwarkadas as to what they were to do in regard to the next day's meeting at the Town Hall. They were told to attend in mufti, to do "plain clothes work" and to give encouragement to their followers. During their march from Shantaram's Chawl to Kanji's bungalow they raised cries of "*Vande Maturam*" and "*Tilak Maharaj ki jay.*"

The same night about 40 men from Tadwadi came to the Home Rule League Office, Girgaum, and stayed there till early morning when they left for the Town Hall.

Early in the morning of the 11th instant, groups of youngsters assembled at the Mulji Jetha market which was closed, as were the Lakshmidas Khimji and Murarji Gokuldas Markets, in order to enable the employees to attend the Town Hall meeting. These groups

marched off in batches of 30 to 40 in procession to the Town Hall with placards and flags in their hands. About 300 thus proceeded to the Town Hall. The processionists indulged in cries of "*Vande Mataram*" and "*Tilak Maharaj ki Jai*". The following inscriptions were noticed on the placards.—

- (1) Vande Mataram,
- (2) Do not let us honour the Governor of Bombay,
- (3) Do not let us raise any memorial to the Governor of Bombay,
- (4) Do not forget the cultivators of Kaira,
- (5) They have rights who dare maintain them,
- (6) The administration of the Governor of Bombay—failure,
- (7) Democrasis triumphaus,
- (8) Go into the Town Hall with this procession.

Leaflets in Urdu were distributed at the Home Rule League's meetings during the week. Copies of two other leaflets, one in English and one in Gujarati were distributed on the 10th instant.

THE TOWN HALL MEETING

It soon became manifest that the Home Rule party was out for trouble. Nothing worthy of chronicle transpired until the Hall was full. The crowds as they arrived were formed into a queue along Frere Road in a northerly direction. The foremost place was taken by the Home Rule party who had formed up in front of the Elphinstone Gardens. The doors of the Town Hall were opened at about 10 A.M. and by 10-45 A.M. the stewards announced that there was no room in the building. The leaders of the queue were, however, permitted to enter the enclosure and to take up a position on the Town Hall steps. When the steps were crowded, the rest of the queue remained in position along Frere Road. A large number of Home Rulers, the majority of whom were students and a Gujarati servants of the cloth markets, etc., kept their position along the pavement around the Elphinstone gardens facing the Town Hall. It was not long before there were signs of uproar in the Town Hall and very shortly afterwards three or four dishevelled Home Rulers were ejected with some force down the steps by the stewards. Their appearance was the signal for an uproar by their supporters along the Elphinstone Gardens.

The ejection of a fresh batch of rowdies from the Town Hall led to further excitement and I deemed it advisable to marshal the

crowd facing the Town Hall within the Garden enclosure, The Police in carrying out this order met with some opposition and it became necessary to clear the Gardens. This was done and the gardens remained closed to the public throughout the day. From this point onwards, crowds collected from time to time around the gardens and abutted on the Frere Road and the police perpetually had to remove them. The arrival of the leaders of the requisitionists was greeted with shouts of derision and cries of "shame". The proceedings in the Town Hall commenced at 5-30 P.M. Very shortly afterwards I was informed that the resolution proposing that a memorial should be raised to His Excellency Lord Willingdon had been put to the vote and carried and that the Sheriff had declared the meeting dissolved, but that the oppositionists were making attempts to obtain possession of the platform and that the meeting was fast becoming disorderly. I was asked to clear the Hall. I accordingly entered the Hall with a posse of police and cleared it. Jinnah, Horniman and one or two others of the anti-requisitionist party were rather roughly handled by some of the stewards while the crowds were being cleared from the Town Hall. Mrs. Jinnah made herself conspicuous in the afternoon by appearing in the gallery of the Town Hall and waving greetings to the crowd outside. She later took up a position inside the Town Hall compound and addressed her husband's supporters advising them to stand by their rights and to resist the police. Throughout the day it was very noticeable that the educated Home Rulers adopted a contumacious attitude, refusing to obey the orders of the police, thereby compelling them to execute those orders by force. The "Police" were everywhere greeted by cries of "shame" and a similar reception was accorded to the members of His Excellency's Executive Council. High Court Judges and other high officials who attended the meeting.

After the Town Hall meeting was over, the anti-requisitionists headed by Horniman, Jinnah and Jamandas proceeded to Mr. V. A. Desai's office at Apollo Street and held an informal meeting.

On the same night at 9-30 P.M. a public meeting was held at Shantaram's Chwal to protest against the management of the meeting at the Town Hall and the conduct of the police. M. A. Jinnah was in the chair. Jamnadas, Horniman, Narsinhprasad Bhagwandas Vibhakar Barrister, L. G. Khare, M. K. Azad, Mawji Govindji Dr. Erulker and Mrs. Ramibai Kamdar addressed the meeting. About 20,000 men were present. An overflow meeting was held at French Bridge at the same time and was addressed by Jamnadas Bhagwandas, Dr. N. D. Savarkar, Horniman and K. M. Munshi, Advocate.

On the 12th instant at 9-30 P.M. a public meeting was held at Morarji Goculdas Hall when Mr. Kanayalal M. Munshi, Advocate addressed the meeting on the "Delhi Congress"; Jamnadas Dwarkadas presided. About 75 persons attended the meeting.

The attorney and pleader friends of Jinnah entertained him at a garden party on the 15th instant at China Bag in appreciation of his courageous stand for the rights of the citizens of Bombay.

OVERFLOW MEETING

(EXTRACT FROM THE "BOMBAY CHRONICLE", DATED
THE 12TH DECEMBER 1913.)

Mr. Jamnadas' Address

An overflow meeting was held in Mr. Ratansey D. Morarji's compound near French Bridge, Chaupatty, where about fifteen thousand people had gathered. Several speakers, including Dr. Savarkar, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. K. M. Munshi and others addressed the meeting.

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, who was received with deafening and continuous cheers, said that Bombay people had shown to the whole world what they were capable of. He the speaker was at first a little diffident about the determination of the people, but he was exceedingly rejoiced to see that they were all made of stern stuff ready to sacrifice everything—even their lives for their principle. (Applause.) That day (11th December) might have been written in blood in the history of Bombay, so many people of their party receiving kicks, boxes and severe injuries at the hands of the police and hired hooligans. ("Shame, shame!"). He could not adequately describe how thankful he was to the people for their courageous stand, and fulfilling the vow they had taken on the eve of the meeting. Up to that time he was their servant, but from that day he swore to be their slave for ever, and that he and his colleagues would be ready even to give their lives for the protection of the people's right (Applause.)

Continuing Mr. Jamnadas said by their deeds that day they had abundantly proved that they would never care for self-interest, but would aim only at the commonweal. (Hear, hear) They all knew what glorious past India had had, but judging from their deeds, he was convinced that if they continued to remain firm in their determination and in asserting their rights, they had a still brighter future for India. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Mr. K. M. Munshi then rose and related in detail all the principal events of the day. They had proved by their deeds that whatever may be the personal qualities of a Governor he would not receive a public memorial if he was not popular. (Hear, hear) He then eulogised the firmness and sacrifice of the leaders of the counter-requisitionists, particularly the Honourable Mr. Jinnah, the like of whom, the speaker said, he had never seen before.

Mr. Jamnadas called for three cheers for Mr. Jinnah which were enthusiastically raised. Three cheers were also proposed and responded to by the audience for Mr. Horniman and Mr. Jamnadas.

WILLINGDON MEMORIAL MEETING, A FIASCO

(Summary of a Report on Lord Willingdon Memorial meeting from Bombay Chronicle of 12th December 1918.)

The attempt to hold a meeting of "the citizens of Bombay to express appreciation of Lord Willingdon's service in the Town Hall yesterday proved a lamentable fiasco.....

It was seven O'clock in the morning when the leaders of the anti-requisitionists arrived at the Town Hall and were received with loud cheering by a band of two or three hundred of their supporters who had arrived on the scene some time previously and were waiting on the roadside in front of the Elphinstone Gardens. The whole place was in charge of a large force of police.....When the leaders arrived in the morning they found the steps occupied by a number of European and Parsi Gentlemen wearing badges as stewards of the meeting and various members of the Requisitionists' committee. Among these was Mr. Cowasji Jahangir who was immediately sought out by Messrs Jinnah, Jamnadas Dwakadas and Horniman.

About ten O'clock the doors were opened the intention to do so being communicated only a few minutes beforehand to the leaders of opposition, who immediately took places in the queue which had been kept for them by their supporters. Thus the first persons to enter the Hall were Messrs Jinnah, Jamnadas, Horniman, Umar Sobani, S. G. Banker, P. K. Telang, Mowji Govindji Sheth, Syed Hussain and other leaders who were closely followed by their supporters. In the meanwhile, it may be mentioned here, Mr. Suleman Cassum Mitha had arrived on the steps and assumed command of the important operations for packing the meeting which had been entrusted to him.

Immediately after the reading of the notice convening the meeting by the sheriff Mr. Horniman rose and addressed the sheriff for the purpose of making a constitutional protest. The latter, however refused him a hearing and his voice was drowned in the shouts of those on and near the platform supporting the requisitionists.

From that moment the gate of the meeting was sealed. For about 20 minutes the anti-requisitionists continued their shouts of 'No' 'No' in protest against this arbitrary procedure and Sir Jamsetjee's taking of the chair, while the Stewards, Volunteers and other supporters of the platform shrieked and yelled in derision, hurling insults and epithets at the anti-requisitionists. What was going on the platform, no body could see or hear. It is said that Sir Jamsetjee put the resolution of appreciation of Lord Willingdon from the chair and declared it carried. It is possible. But the pretence that the Resolution was carried by a meeting of the citizens of Bombay is farcical and an insult to Lord Willingdon, if he had the good sense to appreciate it.....

Unnecessary violence was used by the police in clearing the Hall and several of the anti-requisitionists were assaulted including Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Subedar and others.

If anything were needed to emphasise the bogus character of the attempt to comemorate Lord Willingdon's memory in the name of the citizens of Bombay, it was provided by the impressive scene outside the Hall.

When the leaders of the opposition appeared on the steps, after leaving the meeting, they were received with a long continued roar of cheers from a crowd that could not have numbered less than 25 thousand people. Mr. Horniman in coming down was seized and carried shoulder high round the circle amidst a scene of extra-ordinary enthusiasm, the occupants of the crowded verandahs and balconies also cheering and waving handkerchieves. The Demonstration reached its culmination in Appolo street where Messers Jinnah, Jamnadas and Horniman delivered brief speeches from the windows of the All India Insurance Company's offices. They emphasised the significance of the great victory that had been won for self-determination and declared that never again would flatters and sycophants dare to flout public opinion. No such popular demonstration has ever been witnessed in Bombay before.

X

**SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT IN THE
BOMBAY STATE**

SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT IN THE BOMBAY STATE

ON THE THRESHOLD OF SATYAGRAHA

The Rowlatt Act (March 1919) which was 'an infringement on personal liberty and freedom' hastened further experiments of the weapon of Satyagraha in Indian Politics on a large scale. This weapon 'not only changed the technique and programme of our struggle but it basically affected our approach to politics and also the content of it'. In the first week of March, Gandhiji came to Bombay from Ahmedabad, it appears, on the invitation of Bombay leaders and organised the Satyagraha Sabha of which he himself was elected the president and Mr. Horniman the Vice-President. Gandhiji already had intimated the Viceroy that he would be constrained to launch Civil Disobedience Movement if the Rowlatt act was brought into operation. The atmosphere in the Country was full of tension. Bombay was experiencing unprecedented emotion and commotion. Brisk preparation for enlisting Satyagrahis in Bombay was started. Meetings were attended by thousands. The Mulji Jetha, and Morarji Gokuldas cloth markets had observed hartal on the 21st of March. Gandhiji in his appeal (24th March) had invited the attention of the workers to the fact that "the movement is essentially a religious one"; "that it is a process of self-purification and penance"; "an effort to secure redress through suffering".

The frantic efforts made by the Government of India and the Bombay Government to understand Gandhi's mind on the one hand and on the other to keep the Military ready at key places to meet eventualities, are seen in the extracts given here. They also show how heroically Bombay prepared itself for the struggle and stood by its leader Gandhiji in the days of peril and also at the time of its suspension (18th July 1919). This period was most critical for Gandhiji as well as for his lieutenants and followers. On the 30th (March) the Delhi police fired their bullets and Mahatma Munshi Ram better known as Swami Shradhananda, with bare chest, challenged the English Sergeants to shoot at him. This thrilled the atmosphere of the whole country. From the 6th to 13th (April) Bombay, Ahmedabad, Viramgaon, Nadiad and many other places in the presidency exhibited tremendous capacity to organise and resist.

Police and military firings, resulting in the deaths of the innocent, released fury and passion. Gandhiji had rushed to Delhi at the invitation of the Swamiji where he was served with a prohibitory order which he refused to obey and was arrested and sent back. The

news of his arrest poured oil on the flames. But he immediately returned to Bombay where with great difficulty he pacified the furious mobs at Paidhuni. The Amritsar shooting of the 10th and the massacre at the Jalianwala Bag created volcanic conditions in the country. The details need not be narrated here. All this was happening when the fate of the empire was hanging in the balance due to the war: war which was fought for saving democracy in which Indian soldiers and the people in general also, had made 'remarkable sacrifices'.

The police reports show how Bombay responded to Gandhiji's call. At one place they say 'it was a victory for Gandhi'. The Police Commissioner's report states that 'Gandhi is a transitory figure-head!'. About the Bombay leaders the report at one place says 'they are men of no weight; there is no one with any pretention to statesmanship.' The political atmosphere of Bombay was well prepared. In fact the people were eager for some action. The period of the three preceding years (1916-1918) was full of national activity. The Home Rule League activities and the anti-Willington memorial agitation had sufficiently surcharged the atmosphere of Bombay. The Railway workshop strike (July 1917) and the Postal strike had shown the new directions of labour activities. The Kaira Satyagraha had brought this new weapon once again to the forefront. People so far were used to popular agitations and demonstrations. But those weapons of political struggle were found not yielding satisfactory results. And all this was happening when the country had very heavily paid for the War. It was when the country was thus suffering under humiliation and was seized by frustrations that Gandhiji assumed its leadership.

When Gandhiji came to Bombay in the first week of March, he had discussions with Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Shankarlal Bankar, Sarojini Naidu, Umar Sobhani, Dr. Sathaye, Mavji Govindji, Anusuyaben and others whom he described as the 'prop of the Bombay activities'. The Bombay Chronicle is described in the police reports as the 'organ of the Satyagraha movement'. Gandhiji by July 1919 had persuaded himself to suspend the C.D. movement 'for the time being', as the situation was not congenial to satyagraha. The reports show under what breath-killing atmosphere high police officials were watching Gandhiji's movements. All influences political, personal, commercial were engaged in bringing pressure on Gandhi to stop the movement. Shrinivas Shastri, the President of the Servants of India Society, Gandhiji's revered friend, came out to declare "that Civil disobedience was against law". Gandhiji told his workers (18th July) that 'in response to the warning given by Government of India and

due to the urgent desire publicly expressed by "leaders and editors I have decided not to resume Civil Resistance for the time being". At the same time he told them that the suspension also was meant to 'hasten the end of the legislation (Rowlatt act)'. The reports describe how Gandhiji was heckled and cross-questioned in the meeting (17th July) when the decision of suspension of the movement was taken. Some even went to the length of saying that the deportation of Horniman was made possible because of the suspension. Hindustan, the Gujarati newspaper of Bombay, styled Gandhiji as a "Murderer" or "Khuni". This shows the popular resentment against the suspension. The suspension was the bitterest pill that Gandhiji had to swallow. The reports of the interviews taken by Mr. Robertson, Secretary to Government of Bombay and Mr. Griffith, Commissioner of Police Bombay, show with what alertness and anxiety Delhi and Bombay Governments were watching Gandhiji's movements and speeches. He was ordered not to leave Bombay presidency which he could hardly tolerate. Nor did he want to embarrass the Government until peace was restored in the Punjab. He, therefore, it appears, decided to break the order and go to the South (July 1919). Mr. Griffith's interviews with Gandhiji taken under instructions from Government of India show how strong Gandhiji's convictions were and how poor were the arguments offered by Robertson and Griffith. Robertson was imploring Gandhiji not to break the law and court jail as that would remove the restraining influence on the Muslim mind. Gandhiji promptly replied that his courting arrest would help to persuade them to be peaceful. These talks appear like Gandhiji's discourses on Satyagraha, the place of pupils being occupied by top officials of the Government.

These reports also include two useful documents: statements by Vinobaji Bhave and Kishorlal Mashruwala, made before Ahmedabad Police, when both of them were called upon to identify persons involved in the riots (April 1919). Both of them refused to play the role. The soft speaking Kishorlalji had done it perhaps more definitely.]

THE KAIRA SATYAGRAHA, 1918

[FROM SPECIAL DEPARTMENT FILE No. 521, PART (3A), PRINTED REPORT FOR THE HUNTER COMMITTEE, APPENDIX 56(2), PAGE 5.]

REGARDING HOME RULE LEAGUE, 1917

A Home Rule League was established at Nadiad just after the internment of Annie Besant and in the beginning of July 1917. There

were some theosophists and others who revered her and considered her an innocent personage. She soon rose in public esteem. I heard some of the lectures of the Home Rulers in the early stage of the Home Rule movement with a view to get first hand information for report to the Collector and subsequently got reports from Karkuns or Talatis and I submitted my reports from time to time to the Collector. Several meetings were held at Nadiad, and the Home Rulers used to go out in villages and preach their doctrines to the villagers. It was generally preached that Government officers are our servants (in one case people were told that mamlatdars need not be styled Rao Sahibs-as was customary with the people). that we should not fear them, that supply of carts and labour by Veth must cease, principles of equality must be established. India is fit for Home Rule and must get it, and every endeavour should be made to bring home to the people that every Indian is a Home Ruler. Some lecturers were from Bombay and Ahmedabad. The Nadiad Branch was in close touch with the Bombay League, and Home Rule literature was freely disseminated.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN, 1917-18

The above movement gained considerable force when the agitation against payment of Land Revenue was started.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT IN THE KAIRA DISTRICT IN 1917-18

(a) When and how and under what circumstances the movement commenced.

The season of 1917-18 promised very well, but owing to heavy rains in the latter part of the season, most of the Kharif crops were seriously damaged. Recovery of the land revenue depends on the anna valuation of crops arrived at by Revenue officers. If the crops were valued at less than 4 annas no revenue is collected, but it is suspended (not remitted entirely); if the crops are between 4 and 6 annas, half the revenue is collected; and if between 6 and 8 annas, whole revenue is collected. As it was apprehended from the very beginning that the anna valuation was going to be challenged by non-officials, the Collector had issued orders that the anna valuation should be made carefully.

Mr. Somabhai Kashibhai of Nadiad who is called 'African' first began to agitate, and printed applications dated 15th November 1917 praying for total remission of land revenue for the year began to

pour in. Subsequently at a mass meeting held at Nadiad on 25th November 1917 it was resolved that the Honourable Messrs. Gokaldas Kahandas Parekh and Vithalbai Jhaverbhai Patel and others should go in a deputation before the Collector (Mr. Namjoshi). These gentlemen had an interview with the Collector at Thasra in the middle of December 1917, and the Collector promised to give the matter his best attention.

THE ANNA VALUATION

The anna valuation proposals in Nadiad Taluka were arrived in this way :—

The Mamlatdar himself moved through most of the villages in the taluka, and some were inspected by the Awal Karkuns. Then in the middle of December, all the Talatis, Circle Inspectors and Awal Karkuns were called, together at Nadiad, and after full discussion on the spot, it was settled that 39 villages should be put down for half suspension, one for full suspension and the rest for full collection. Nadiad and Narsanda were put down for full collection. Proposals were accordingly submitted to the Collector, who suggested certain minor modifications, but it was represented that it would entail hardship on the people : and so finally the proposals as submitted were sanctioned *in toto*.

GUJARAT SABHA TOOK THE ISSUE

As the orders passed by the Collector for the recovery of the land revenue were not appreciated by the agitators, the Gujarat Sabha of Ahmedabad took up the cause. The Sabha issued a printed notice dated 10th January 1918 informing the ryots that till final settlement of the question by Government they should not pay the land revenue. Under the rules, final orders are to be issued by the Collector. The Collector therefore warned the people to pay up the land revenue as final orders had already been issued by him. No relief was secured from the Commissioner, and Government in their Press Note dated 16th January 1918 upheld the views of the local officers on 5th February 1918. His Excellency the Governor received a deputation of the two honourable members, Mr. Gandhi and others. Their views could not stand close scrutiny in contrast with the official statistics. The question was then taken up in right earnest by Mr. Gandhi on behalf of the Gujarat Sabha. The Servants of India Society also held an independent inquiry in the matter. They (the latter) came to the conclusion that some relief was necessary in Matar Taluka only. Meanwhile the acting Collector

Mr. Namjoshi reverted and J. Ghosal, Esquire, I.C.S., who had intimate experience of the district was reposted to Kaira. Minor alterations were found necessary in the collection orders relating to Matar Taluka, and they were made. The collector did not find it necessary to make any other changes in the collection orders.

GANDHI STARTS MOVEMENT

Mr. Gandhi carried out his campaign with Nadiad as his headquarters. Nadiad was the main centre of the Home Rule movement started there in 1917 and there were several men of Nadiad who used to go out in the villages and in other talukas to lecture to the people. Mr. Gandhi visited some villages in the Nadiad Taluka and other talukas and thought that the anna valuation was below 4 annas. There were practically no Kharif crops standing at the time of his inspection, but from the account narrated to him by the people he thought that their story must be true; he was also guided by the advice of Mohanlal Kameshwar Pandya of Kathlal (among others), and he at last challenged the anna valuation of Vadthal, a village in the Nadiad Taluka, where full collection had been ordered, stating that he would stand or fall by Vadthal. I personally reasoned with Mr. Gandhi regarding this on 20th February 1918 at Nadiad in the Anathashram; but without success. A very detailed inquiry was made of the crops at Vadthal by the Collector, and an exhaustive report was prepared and submitted by him to the Government fully vindicating the correctness of the official annawari, and bringing to light the mistakes committed by Mr. Gandhi. It may be noted that no suspensions were given in the neighbouring districts or States which were almost similarly situated, that according to the Rules relating to remissions and suspensions, these cannot be claimed as of right and that inquiry into individual cases, if any, of general hardship was not contemplated by the Rules. The Collector then notified the confirmation of his orders, and Mr. Gandhi was informed by the Commissioner that no concessions were possible.

ADVICE OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Thereupon Mr. Gandhi declared in a large public meeting at Nadiad on 22nd March 1918 that the people should resort to passive resistance. It may be noted that even before the actual declaration of this movement, people were instructed off and on to refrain from paying land revenue. The Government then issued a Press Note, dated 24th April 1918, confirming the Collector's action. The passive resistance propaganda gradually spread over the greater part of the district. Several pleaders and leading gentlemen from Ahmedabad

and Bombay also served as volunteers, and actually helped the spread of the movement. It may be noted that Nadiad ranks foremost in political activities in the Kaira District from the beginning, and especially since the deportation of Lala Lajpatrai. The first Home Rule League branch in the district was established at Nadiad in 1917.

Nadiad is also the convenient centre of the district.

PRINCIPLES PREACHED BY THE SATYAGRAHIS

(b) What were the principles and doctrines preached by the authors and followers of the said movement?

Their principles were that those whose crops were below four annas should not pay, whether able to pay or not, and whether the property be distrained or lands forfeited, or 'Chothai' fines imposed, or the defaulters imprisoned. Those who wanted to adhere to this were required to sign pledge-forms. Mr. Gandhi considered breaking of the pledge as equivalent to throat-cutting. The idea for those able to pay to join the movement was that if they paid it would not be borne out that the anna valuation was below four annas, and the poor would follow in the wake of the rich and be constrained to pay. The followers of Mr. Gandhi preached that payment of land revenue should not be made under any circumstances. Whenever distraints were made, crowds of people (Satyagrahis) would turn up, ostensibly to give courage to the defaulter, but practically to brow-beat the officials, and even joke and laugh at them when the distraints were unsuccessful.

THE EFFECT OF THE MOVEMENT

(c) What consequences it had and how it ended and whether it benefited the landholders and how far?

Every method of obstruction was in fact adopted by the villagers e.g., :—

(a) Giving supplies of food or drink or shelter to Government officials was stopped.

(b) Rawanias were dissuaded from doing their service.

(c) No labourers would be forthcoming for taking out or removing distrained property.

(d) No panch would assist in drawing up punchnamas for distraint.

(e) At times houses of defaulters or property (e.g. live-stock) belonging to them would not be pointed out by any.

(f) Anyone assisting collection of land revenue would be socially ostracised (e.g., Navagam Panch resolution, dated 26th April 1918)

printed in *Kaira Vartaman* dated 8th May 1913).

(g) Labourers or rawanias brought from outside for distraints were threatened and packed off.

(h) Distrainted property would not be allowed to be taken possession of.

(i) Distrainted property promised to be produced at a certain date and place would not be produced.

(j) No one would bid for the property and if bidding took place it was for very low amounts, so that further distraints would have to be made and the proceedings prolonged, or the auction postponed for another date. Often the bids were on behalf of the owners themselves.

(k) Actual tendering of cash by defaulters was prevented.

(l) Live-stock would be let lose, so that they cannot be distrainted for want of identification.

(m) Property of defaulters was placed at houses of those who had paid up their dues.

(n) False claims were set up to property taken in distraint.

(o) Houses were locked up purposely and sometimes shut from inside only to prevent distraints.

(p) Warnings by bugles, etc., were given to all the villagers as soon as an officer arrived, so that the people would soon take the hint.

(q) Barbers, potters, Brahmins, etc. were dissuaded from doing customary service.

Several such devices were played by the villagers. In some cases false charges were made that certain articles had been stolen in the act of distraints. There were some cases of active resistance and some criminal prosecutions had therefore to be launched. The Mamlatdar had even received a push himself, and the Anand Mamlatdar feared to move without the help of the Police.

The effect was the general weakening of the authority. Before the Satyagraha campaign was started, coercive measures had been taken very sparingly, but subsequently the Mamlatdars were allowed full latitude permissible by law.

Mr. Gandhi did not advocate any active obstruction or the denial of usual courtesies, but the people could not properly follow him. The movement was more out of control during the absence of Mr. Gandhi to Delhi and Bijapur.

The Revenue officers exercised an amount of forbearance, but the obstinacy of the people led to an estrangement of feeling between the

A COMPROMISE

When most of the revenue due for collection had been actually collected the Mamlatdar met Mr. Gandhi at Uttersanda on 3rd June 1918 and discussed the situation with him that the poor were not going to be pressed for payment and there was no necessity for the continuance of his campaign. A written order was then issued by the Mamlatdar to the village officers of Uttersanda on the post asking them to explain to the villagers that the arrears of those who were really poor would stand over till the next year and the others should pay up. Mr. Gandhi agreed to this; and he exhorted the people assembled there and then to pay up the land revenue at once and told them that the poor whose poverty would be proved to the satisfaction of the officers would not have to pay this year and that the others should pay up without any delay. The people were surprised to hear this. It appears they liked him much when he preached them not to pay as it was in their own interests, but when the question of loosening the purse arose they assumed a different attitude. It was remarkable that when Mr. Gandhi left the place, no one went even a few paces to see him off. Mr. Gandhi asked for similar orders for the whole of the district, and he was replied by the Collector that the orders applied to the whole of the district, and that they were based on the (confidential) orders issued on 25th April 1918 and repeated on 22nd May 1918 to Mamlatdars and besides they were the standing orders of Government. Mr. Gandhi thought he won a victory, while the Government thought that they did not yield in. At this time about 8 per cent. only of the land revenue was in arrears. Most of this was subsequently recovered. It may, however, be noted that even the subsequent recovery was largely due to the efforts of Revenue officers than to the direct preachings of Mr. Gandhi and his followers. At any rate the contumacy of the people did not then receive any support from Mr. Gandhi, and this facilitated matters.

The landholders did not derive any substantial benefit from the agitation. They however, certainly became bolder than ever, e.g., in the gathering held by the Commissioner, N. D., on 12th April 1918, at Nadiad, several people told him in his face that they were not going to pay and were prepared to suffer.

PEOPLE'S FAITH IN GANDHI SHAKEN

The feeble response of the people to Mr. Gandhi's subsequent

efforts for recruiting, however, shows that self-sacrificing spirit did not sufficiently develop and that the Passive Resistance movement became popular as it was in the interest of the ryots. Some even said that Mr. Gandhi had been won over when he asked people to pay up. Some expressed their dislike in that they had after all to pay the land revenue and worries and 'Chothai' in addition. It may be noted that when the movement was in its full swing, forfeiture notices that had been issued were hailed with joy and rejoicings. Also when some of the prisoners concerned in Satyagraha cases were released they were garlanded, taken in a procession and highly praised.

The movement naturally entailed hard work on the Talatis, and they were discontented with their lot, and owing to the agitation were emboldened to go out on strike (in May 1919).

Perhaps the Dharalas who committed dacoities in 1918 and 1919 first took courage because of the general impression created amongst them about the weakness of the authority as an indirect consequence of this Passive Resistance.

ROWLATT BILL SATYAGRAHA IN BOMBAY

(EXTRACTS FROM H. D. SPECIAL FILE No. 521-1A OF 1919.)

SUMMARY OF INTRODUCTORY PORTION

The following events between May 1916 to January 1919 give us the background of the establishment of the Satyagraha Sabha in Bombay under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The newly started Home League was the leading force in all these events, which prepared the ground for the April Satyagraha. The events in brief were as under :—

1. The Maharashtra Home Rule League was started in May 1916 and Mrs. Basant's Home Rule League in September 1916. The two leagues co-operated in the election of delegates to the Lucknow Congress of 1916. The Home Rule League was also to secure the election of Mrs. Besant as president of the 1917 Calcutta Congress.

2. During June and July 1917 a military labour Camp had been opened at Dadar. Articles appeared in the Chronicle criticising this camp. It was alleged that Military Sepoys had committed outrages on the women of the neighbourhood. The Government

of Bombay passed an order under the Defence of India Act prohibiting any further reference to the subject.

3. In July 1917 there was a scare among the merchants of the Mulji Jetha market that British Soldiers were abducting Indian Women.

4. In July 1917 there was a strike at G. I. P. Railway workshops at Matunga and Parel. The Home Rule League guided the strikers.

5. On 19th September, 1917 there was Postmen's strike sponsored by Home Rule League.

6. In 1918 was started Kaira Satyagraha supported by Home Rule League.

7. In November 1918 Anti Willingdon address agitation sponsored by B. G. Horniman, J. Dwarkadas, Omer Sobhani and M. A. Jinnah.

8. January 1919 Great Mill Strike in Bombay.

The Bombay Government in a statement contained in Special Department File No. 521(1A) of 1919 has styled these events as "preliminary skirmishes in Bombay". The following extracts from the statement give the government history of the April Satyagrah campaign

THE SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN

"With this brief sketch of the preliminary skirmishes in Bombay, we arrive at the opening of the Satyagraha Campaign which culminated in the disturbances of April. In February the so-called Rowlatt Bill had been introduced in the Imperial Council, and ultimately, notwithstanding opposition, both within and without the Council, became law as the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act. When it was clear that Government was determined in its attitude, warnings and threats of agitation such as had not been paralleled in India were indulged in by extremist politicians. On the 24th of February Messrs. Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Omer Sobhani, Mrs. Naidu and some others went from Bombay to Ahmedabad and met Gandhi. As a result of their deliberations Gandhi sent a strongly worded telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy stating that if Government proceeded with the Rowlatt Bills it was their intention to resort to Passive Resistance. On the 26th of February the Chronicle published a message from its correspondent in Delhi, dated the 25th February, which was worded as follows :

"In reply to an enquiry as to when Mr. Gandhi would start
5-A Vb 3411—47a

for England as a member of the Congress Deputation, he had wired to the Honourable Pandit Malaviya as follows:—

‘I have no confidence in deputation. Rowlatt Bills block all progress.’

PROCESSION AND MEETING

On the 28th of February a large public meeting was organised by the Home Rule League in the mill districts of Bombay. Messrs. Horniman, Jamnadas, Omer Sobhani and other prominent Home Rulers went in procession to the meeting. This procession was clearly intended to attract the notice of the millhands, but in this respect it largely failed in its purpose. At the meeting every speaker endeavoured to persuade the audience that the Rowlatt Bills were intended to rob them of their personal liberty and freedom and to enable the bureaucracy to govern despotically. It was announced that Mahatma Gandhi was about to preach Passive Resistance, and the audience was urged to be prepared to protest at any cost, if they were not willing to be enslaved.

THE SATYAGRAHA SABHA

Chronicle announced the inauguration of Passive Resistance against what it termed the “Black Bills” and published Mr. Gandhiji’s Satyagraha Vow. Throughout the following weeks the chronicle was devoted, day after day, to a campaign of extraordinary vehemence in favour of Passive Resistance. On the 1st of March Mr. Gandhi arrived in Bombay where he was continuously visited by Messrs. Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, S. G. Banker, Dr. D. D. Sathye, Dr. M. B. Velkar, Mrs. Naidu, Mrs. Anusuyabai of Ahmedabad, Mavji Govindji and other Home Rulers. The employees of the Mulji Jetha cloth market were invited to join the movement and to sign the vow at S. G. Banker’s residence. The Satyagraha Sabha was organised with Mr. Gandhi as President, Mr. Horniman as Vice-President, and the leading Home Rulers on the Committee.

MODERATES OPPOSE

The inauguration of the Passive Resistance movement called forth a manifesto from the leaders of the Indian Moderate Party who had joined with the extremists in their opposition to the Rowlatt Legislation. In this manifesto they made it clear that they were not prepared to follow the Extremists in this movement. The members of the Home Rule League, now merged in the Satyagraha

Sabha, met this manifesto with ridicule, and the cleavage between the two Indian political schools of thought which had temporarily combined thus manifested itself again. It may be noted that Mr. Shrinivas Shastri, President of the Servants of India Society, was among those who regarded Passive Resistance against other laws as ridiculous and dangerous.

MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM'S SPEECH

On the 8th of March rumours were circulated in Bombay that Government intended to apply the Rowlatt Bills to Muhammadan agitators in connection with the Turkish question. From the 10th onwards numerous strongly worded leaflets and pamphlets urging the people to join the passive Resistance movement were widely circulated. At the same time a very vigorous campaign of speech making was conducted—Mr. Horniman, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Jamnadas and other prominent members of the Home Rule League being as usual the chief speakers. On the 14th of March Swami Shradhanand, otherwise known as Mahatma Munshiram of the Gurukul at Kangri near Hardwar, made a noteworthy speech. His wording was often obscure, his meaning being apparently helped out by his gestures. This speech was fanatical in tone, and the general effect was one of hostility to Government and its officers. It contained the following quotation from “Krishna’s words to Arjun” :—

“You cannot control the result, you can only control your action, do your work and leave the result to look after itself. Whether the Government will give in or not under pressure of the Satyagraha agitation is not our lookout. It is their affair. Our concern is in starting the campaign.”

It is not without significance that the account of this speech published in the Chronicle of the 16th was edited in such a manner as to minimise its effect.

MARKETS CLOSED

On the 19th of March came the news of the passing of the “Rowlatt” Act. On receipt of this information some 50 merchants of the Mulji Jetha cloth market sent in a written request to the Secretary of the Native Piecegoods Merchants Association of Bombay to convene a meeting to consider the question of closing the market as a protest. In response to this request the Secretary called a meeting for the 20th. It was held in the market hall in the afternoon, and it was then decided to close the market on the 21st for one day. As a result the Mulji Jatha Market closed on the 21st. The Luckmidas Khimji and Morarji Gokuldas Markets followed

suit. There was no excitement in this connection. This incident is interesting as furnishing an instance of a spontaneous hartal very different in its effects from those organised by the political leaders.

THE DAY OF HUMILIATION AND PRAYER

The news of the passing of the Act was followed by a stream of excited articles and leaders in the Chronicle which now struck a note of despair coupled with determination to suffer. On the 25th of March Mr. Gandhi announced in the Chronicle that Sunday the 30th of March would be a day of fast and prayer. Shortly afterwards he announced without any explanation of the change that his intention was to fix the 6th of April as the day of penance. The reason for this change has never come to light, but it is remarkable that the new date was adopted nearly everywhere in India, except in Delhi and a few other places.

The following is the text of Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Press announcing his ideas as to the way in which the day of humiliation and prayer should be observed. It is dated March the 24th from Madras, which place he visited in connection with the campaign :—

“Satyagraha, as I have endeavoured to explain at several meetings, is essentially a religious movement. It is a process of purification and penance. It seeks to secure reforms or redress of grievances by self-suffering. I therefore venture to suggest that the second Sunday after the publication of the Viceregal assent to Bill No. 2 of 1919 may be observed as the day of humiliation and prayer. As there must be effective public demonstration in keeping with the character of the observance, I beg to advise as follows :—

“A twenty-four hours fast counting from the last meal on the preceding night should be observed by all adults unless prevented from so doing by consideration of religion or health. The fast is not to be regarded in any shape or form in the nature of a hunger-strike or designed to put any pressure upon Government. It is to be regarded for Satyagrahis as a necessary discipline to fit them for the civil disobedience contemplated in their pledge and for others as some slight token of the intensity of their wounded feelings.

“All work except such as may be necessary in the public

interest should be suspended for the day. Markets and other places should be closed. Employees who are required to work even on Sunday may only suspend work after obtaining previous leave. I do not hesitate to recommend these two suggestions for adoption by public servants for, though it is an unquestionably right thing for them not to take part in political discussions and gatherings, in my opinion they have the undoubted right to express upon vital matters their feelings in the very limited manner herein suggested. Public meetings should be held on that day in all parts of India not excluding villages at which a resolution praying for the withdrawal of the measures should be passed. If my advice is deemed worthy of acceptance the responsibility will lie in the first instance on various Satyagraha Associations for undertaking the necessary work of organisation but all other associations will, I hope, join hands in making this demonstration a success”.

In a special evening edition on the 1st of April the Chronicle first published in Bombay the news of the rioting in Delhi and the use of fire arms by the troops.”

RIOT ON 11TH APRIL 1919 IN BOMBAY : POLICE VERSION

[HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL) FILE NO. 521, PART I OF 1919
(PAGE 99).]

Confidential.

No. $\frac{02198}{P. 528}$ of 1919.

From

F. C. GRIFFITH, Esq.,
Ag. Commissioner of Police, Bombay ;

To

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,
Special Department, Bombay.

POLICE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE :
Bombay, 19th April 1919.

Sir,

I have the honour to report on the rioting in Bombay on Friday 11th April.

1. I enclose the Head Office diary and the C. I. D. diaries connected with the events of Friday 11th April giving the detailed reports of passing events as they were received on the telephone.

2. I add the following remarks on the salient features of the rioting, and the events which immediately preceded it.

EVENTS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE RIOTING

3. I shall not here discuss the general aspects of the violent agitation which has been going on for some years in the press and on the platform in innumerable articles and speeches designed to bring Government into hatred and contempt. They have been reported to Government from week to week. It is necessary however to refer to the gradual approach to the present point of culmination in the Satyagraha movement, in which the Bombay Chronicle as an organ and its Editor, Horniman, as an individual have played leading parts. After the spectacular success of the demonstration of Black Sunday (April 6th) reported last week, the leaders of the movement decided, as Gandhi's speeches had foretold, that they had shown their power sufficiently, and that their Satyagraha had penetrated the masses sufficiently for them to proceed to the next step, the open violation of laws. To understand the real nature of this movement, of which Gandhi is the transitory figure-head, it is necessary to study in detail the character and speeches of the men who have come to the surface in connection with it, as well as the large political movements which have preceded it both in Bombay and elsewhere in India. Speaking generally, it may be said that Gandhi, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umer Sobhani, Horniman and the rest of the Satyagraha leaders are either agitators pure and simple or men of no weight. There is no one with any pretensions to statemanship among them.

4. I enclose reports on recent speeches at meetings held in Bombay on the 4th, 5th and 6th at which Gandhi was present.

GANDHI'S SPEECH

On the 4th was a meeting of mill-hands near the Elphinstone Mill at which Raut, a jobber, Gandhi, Mrs. Naidu, Horniman and Dr. Savarkar were the speakers. The meeting was clearly designed to spread the movement among the mill-hands; and, though the speakers were more guarded in their remarks than they have sometimes been, and though Gandhi told the mill-hands not to come out

on Sunday unless they could obtain leave from their masters, there is nothing to refute that. (Gandhi told me at an interview on the 11th that he had no intention of bringing the mill-hands into the movement "probably for many a long day"). In his speech on this occasion Gandhi made it clear that he desired the mill-hands to stop work on Sunday the 6th and that he hoped that the result of Sunday would be to secure strength to break the laws.

5. The keynote of Mrs. Naidu's speech is "We are all poor people earning a few annas a day. We do not understand politics. We understand what we mean by our honour. In fighting the Rowlatt Bills we are fighting for our honour (izzat)". She told the mill-hands that the Rowlatt Act trampled under foot their right of independence, and that by passing it Government made them slaves.

6. Savarkar's speech is distinctly inciting.

7. On the 5th, Gandhi spoke at a 'meeting of the residents of Dana Bunder' at Baroda Street, Wari Bunder, Bombay. He said that Satyagraha, a new principle in politics, aims at reaching the goal and admits of no acceptance of anything less. (He did not make it clear what the goal was but he said "We have resolved to fight for our goal on the strength of truth even until we are overpowered by death. We shall die but we shall fight for our goal").

8. He remarked on dissensions which had up to then prevailed and said that from the next day (Sunday) a new policy would be adopted. He evidently referred to the plan for the Hindu-Mohammedan fraternisation in the Sonapur Musjid. He said that Sunday was preparation for breaking laws—"any laws we like and in such manner as we think fit", and the "The Rowlatt Act..... is a wrong one.....we propose to break it". No disorder must take place. At Delhi the mistake of using force was made. However Delhi acquitted herself well and would be immortalised in history. Munshiram and Ajmal Khan displayed 'bahaduri'.

It is important to note that this speech was not reported in the "Chronicle".

MEETING ON THE 6TH APRIL AT CHOWPATI

9. On the 6th at the morning meeting at Chowpatti Gandhi was

the only speaker.

The following three points are important :—

(1) He gives the reason for not taking the Swadeshi vow on that day in that place as being that it is not advisable to have two irons in the fire.

(2) He attacks the authorities over the rioting at Delhi and says "the more heartless the authorities the more welcome, as Satyagrahis have resolved to die for truth."

(3) He says no laws were to be broken that Sunday as the people were not trained sufficiently.

10. The question is what reasons induced Gandhi to postpone the Swadeshi vow. It would undoubtedly have been dangerous to his purpose as being likely to lead to an outbreak of racial feeling. His main purpose was to secure an effect by interfering with public life to the greatest possible extent on that day without causing disorder which would lead to action by the authorities before the movement had time to grow. It is for a similar reason that a Sunday was chosen. It was the day for the maximum of effect with the minimum risk of friction.

11. There are reasons for supposing that the bringing of the Swadeshi phase of the movement into prominence has been forced on Gandhi and the leaders by the Extreme element before they are prepared to do so.

THE SONAPUR MEETING

12. The next meeting of importance was that at the Sonapur Musjid which was followed by rowdyism and the holding up of tramcars as mentioned last week. The real facts of this meeting have not been fully ascertained yet. But it is beyond dispute that the speeches, particularly that of Mrs. Naidu, were very exciting. It is said that her reference to the martyrdom of Immam Hussain brought tears to the eyes of some among her audience—and this from the lips of a woman and a Hindu. There was no direct incitement to violence, no outspoken directions to take definite action. On the other hand the usual cautions not to use violence were not given. This fact is more than significant,

THE FRENCH BRIDGE MEETING

13. At the meeting at French Bridge on the evening of the 6th Jinnah, Sir Dinshaw Petit, Natarajan and Baptista were the speakers.

Their speeches were more in the nature of constitutional politics than those of any other meeting of this campaign.

Mr. John Scurr, who was present, is mentioned by Baptista as a "Stalwart of the Labour Party". He is an official of the British Auxiliary of the Home Rule for India League.

THE NEXT STEP : THE BREAKING OF LAWS

14. Sunday's success was immediately followed by the publication of 'proscribed' literature and the publication of an unregistered 'newspaper'. Gandhi sent me a copy of the paper and Umar Sobhani and Mrs. Naidu called at my bungalow in my absence with copies of 'Hind Swaraj'. Unfortunately neither of these moves brought their authors within the four corners of the law, and no action has therefore been taken by the Police. Reprints of the four pamphlets have been sold during the week on the streets of Bombay. The opinion spread rapidly that Gandhi was openly breaking the law and that Government was powerless to deal with him. The Bombay Chronicle, the 'Satyagraha organ', made it clear that the breaking of the Press Act was only a preliminary to serve as training for breaking other laws. It was clear to everyone that eventually if the movement progressed as it had commenced the Satyagrahis hoped to increase the following as they widened the circle of laws which it was their pleasure to break, until they were in a position to paralyse the whole administration. Moderate and loyal Indians began to show signs of general alarm. More than one implored the authorities to take action.

15. Gandhi left Bombay for Delhi on the 8th (Tuesday).

16. On the 9th April he issued a message in connection with the vow of Swadeshi in the *Hindustan* newspaper to the following effect:—

Although the people were very eager to take the Swadeshi vow,

he felt that they had not fully grasped the difficulties that lay in the way of the observance of that vow. To take the vow in respect of all articles was an impossibility. He was of opinion that the Swadeshi vow could safely be taken in respect of cotton silk and woollen clothes of daily wear. To observe successfully this vow to this limited extent would entail various hardships. The people had committed a grave sin by encouraging the use of foreign clothes. There would be hardly any difficulty about the supply of cloth made in the country. Honesty and abstinence were essential qualities for the observance of the vow. It was also necessary to burn all foreign clothes and to observe the Swadeshi vow suggested by him, to purify the people from the grave sin committed by them in using foreign cloth. They should also understand the difference between "Swadeshi" and "Boycott". The former was a religious aspiration and the natural duty of every individual while the latter was a sort of punishment and a malicious aspiration. "Boycott" would bring harm to the public. The Satyagrahi should not take part in the movement. According to him the limited Swadeshi vow could be properly taken as under:—

"In the name of God from this day I will make use of cloth made of cotton, silk or wool of India for my purpose. I will abstain from using foreign cloth and I take a vow that I will burn to ashes all the foreign clothes that I have."

He hoped that many men and women would try to keep this vow. There should be no haste in taking it. His earnest desire was to see the foundation of Swadeshism deeply rooted. He was of opinion that such movements could easily be pushed when the Satyagraha movement was in full swing.

It is to be noted that this vow was not published or mentioned in the chronicle till a much later date.

GANDHI'S ARREST : THE EFFECT OF THE NEWS

17. On the 10th the Bombay Chronicle published a Special Supplement announcing his arrest. Satyagrahis immediately went through the streets calling upon people to shut their shops. Mahomedans were seen taking part in this movement. The cloth merchants of the Mulji Jetha Market met to arrange for the closing of shops. The Colaba Cotton bazar closed. It was proposed to close the Share Bazar for 8 days and to raise subscriptions for the employees during that period. The value of certain shares such

as the Simplex Mills fell immediately.

DISORDER AND RIOTING

18. About 10 p.m. crowds collected near Pydhowni and commenced to interfere with tram-cars. They were dispersed by the Police without any difficulty.

19. On Friday morning there were unmistakable signs of trouble brewing. Shops were closed and crowds were seen loitering about in the neighbourhood of Pydhowni, Buleshwar and Abdul Rehman street.

20. By 10 a.m. reports had been received that trams were being stoned and passengers forced to alight on Kalbadevi Road and at Buleshwar and that shops which had kept open were being stoned at Maharbourie. The local Police were able to deal with the situation until 11-30 a.m., when things became critical. I sent Mr. Sharp out to reinforce the Police at Pydhowni with 25 Armed Police, and ordered out a posse of the Mounted Police. I also asked the General Officer Commanding to establish a military reserve at Head Quarters and to order a Squadron of Cavalry to come down Parel Road and Frere Road from their camp at the Race Course. Meanwhile reports had come in to the effect that trams were being stoned and labour carts overturned on Frere Road. I despatched 25 Armed Police to that area under a European Officer who were able, without much difficulty, to restore order.

21. Mr. Sharp however, reported from Pydhownie that the temper of the crowds in that locality was extremely ugly and that they were getting out of hand. The Mounted Police were compelled to charge on four or five occasions, but the effect of this manoeuvre was very transitory and the crowds returned to the charge with redoubled fury. On receipt of this information I proceeded to Pydhownie with 2 platoons of Indian Infantry while 2 platoons marched up Abdul Rehman street to the same point. The focus of the disturbance gradually moved from Pydhownie down Abdul Rehman street and finally remained at the junction of Abdul Rehman street and Nagdevi street. At this point the mob was extremely rowdy. Large boulders were repeatedly placed on the tram lines and the cars were heavily stoned. An attempt had previously been made to overturn the lorry in which the Armed Police reinforcements were proceeding to Pydhownie by flinging a heavy wooden sleeper in front of the lorry, and this manoeuvre was over and over again repeated with a view to derailing tram-cars. The mob steadfastly refused to obey the orders of the

Magistrates to disperse, but contented themselves with retreating to a safe distance whence they could stone the Police with impunity. The Mounted Police made a few more charges, but the result was very evanescent. Matters culminated at about 3 p.m. when the stoning became very violent. Vigorous baton charges by the unarmed Police, who effected a number of arrests, afforded some temporary relief, but it was clear that the mob was growing in numbers and becoming more violent. I, therefore, asked the Cavalry patrols should be sent out in the hope that the crowd would be forced into movement.

GANDHI'S RETURN TO BOMBAY

22. There had been ample grounds to justify the use of fire-arms at many stages during the riot, but I was anxious to delay taking this extreme step to the utmost limit in the hope that news of Gandhi's return to Bombay and of his release from custody would have a calming effect. This news was being bandied about from 2 p.m. but at first it was not credited.

GANDHI AT PYDHOWNIE

23. At about 2-30 p.m. Umar Sobhani appeared in Abdul Rehman Street in his motor. His arrival was the signal for a great demonstration. He asked my permission to announce to the crowd that Gandhi was in Bombay, a free man, and that he would address a public meeting at Chowpatti that evening. I gave permission for the proposed meeting and Umar Sobhani announced the fact from the running board of his car. There was at once a general cry 'to Chowpatti', but few moved. At this juncture the Cavalry patrol arrived. Their appearance was the signal for a fresh outburst of stone-throwing and a number of troopers were hit. The cavalry continued to patrol the streets for some 2 hours and were on occasions compelled to charge the mob, particularly when they were belabouring a British Officer and two troopers who had been unhorsed. Shortly after this incident Gandhi himself appeared at Pydhownie in a motor car. His attempt to control the crowd was futile and his appearance had little or no effect on their rowdyism. He announced that he was shortly to address a gathering at Chowpatti and left Pydhownie for Abdul Rehman street. A cordon of Armed Police had, earlier in the day, been drawn up across the road at this point with orders to permit no one to enter Abdul Rehman street. When Gandhi was held up, the crowd were extremely angry and the Police Officer in charge of the armed Police, seeing the road clear and the cavalry in possession, used

his discretion and allowed him to pass. When the cavalry saw the excited crowd coming down they assumed that the Police had been overwhelmed and charged the crowd. Gandhi escaped from his motor into a neighbouring house and the crowds dispersed in all directions. Reports show that the crowd was at this moment in a state of frenzy. They were dancing along with Gandhi's car, waving their arms and shouting with all the appearance of fanatics. From this point, the disturbance gradually lessened in intensity until about 5 p.m. when conditions became more or less normal in this locality.

DISORDERS AT GIRGAUM

24. At 5-15 p.m. reports were received that the crowd was attacking tram-cars on Girgaum and Charni Roads. Police reinforcements were despatched from the local reserve and order was quickly restored, 4 arrests being made. After this episode the Tramway Company withdrew their cars to the sheds, where military guards were posted.

25. Meanwhile reports show that a crowd of enormous proportion was assembling on Chowpatti sands and was eagerly awaiting Gandhi's arrival. Adequate military arrangements were made in the locality to deal with any development that might arise, but there was no display of force beyond the customary Police arrangements for regulating heavy traffic of such a nature. The meeting passed off without incident, Gandhi being the only speaker. The crowd was on the whole very orderly. A large proportion were mere sight-seers, hundreds of whom streamed away to the City after seeing Gandhi arrive without waiting for the actual meeting.

INTERVIEW WITH GANDHI

26. After the cavalry charged the mob at Pydhownie Gandhi came to see me at my Head Quarters and complained that the charge was unprovoked and had embittered the situation. The facts were, as I explained to him, that the cavalry had been very heavily stoned, had shown great forbearance and had finally charged when they might have used fire-arms. Gandhi then proceeded to discuss the general situation with me. He would not admit that he had been convinced that his Satyagraha "experiment" was a failure in view of the behaviour of the crowds in Bombay. I then told him of what had happened at Amritsar and he was genuinely upset when I convinced him that his movement had degenerated into a bitter racial feud accompanied by arson and murder. Jamnadas

Dwarkadas, who was with him, was also visibly perturbed at the news. I extracted from Gandhi a promise that he would not, in view of the serious consequences of his propaganda, do anything to induce the mill-hands to join and, further, a promise that he would see that his Agents did not make any attempt to stir up unrest in that quarter. Gandhi said that he would have to reconsider his position in view of what he had seen and heard and announced his intention of proceeding to Ahmedabad in order to see whether he could be of any assistance in restoring order.

It is interesting to note that while Gandhi has regularly adopted the pose of the interesting invalid when addressing meetings, the Officer in command of the Armed Police reports that he showed wonderful agility and nimbleness in escaping from his car when the cavalry were charging.

THE MOHAMMEDANS INCITED BY HINDU AGITATORS

27. One outstanding feature of the rioting is that Hindus and Mohammedans combined to attack the Police and the troops with showers of stones. There is no doubt that the Mohammedans were deliberately incited by the Hindus who, I am convinced from information obtained from various sources, spread the report that the Rowlatt Bills were intended to enable Government to coerce the Mohammedans and prevent them from giving trouble so as to facilitate the dismemberment of Turkey; that shouts of "Hindu-Musselman ki jai" were repeatedly raised by the crowd, is not without special significance.

The total number of rioters arrested was 40 of whom 23 were Hindus, 11 Mohammedans and 1 Christian. Three Police constables were severely injured and went to hospital. Many were slightly hurt by stones.

The squadron of cavalry suffered 16 casualties of whom 4 were severely injured and went to hospital. It is greatly to their credit that they contented themselves with charging the mob instead of firing on them.

An appreciable amount of damage was done to a number of tram-cars.

I would bring to the favourable notice of Government the conduct of the Police of all ranks at Pydhownie. Both Officers and men had an extremely trying day and their tact, patience and forbearance

is deserving of all praise. The unarmed Police displayed courage in a marked degree and repeatedly attacked with the baton angry crowds who outnumbered them many times over. The mounted Police were, as usual, invaluable, while the Armed Police displayed an excellent sense of discipline in the forbearance they exercised while being heavily stoned. The burden of responsibility fell mainly upon Mr. Sharp and I cannot speak too highly of the manner in which he acquitted himself. From all accounts Mr. Sharp had ample justification for firing on the crowd on repeated occasions before my arrival at Pydhownie and the fact that he succeeded in dealing with the situation without taking this extreme step rebounds greatly to his credit.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant.

(Signed) F. C. GRIFFITH,
Acting Commissioner of Police.

ROWLATT BILLS PROTEST SATYAGRAHA IN GUJERAT

(FROM FILE NO. 48613/1919 OF GOVERNMENT RECORDS OFFICE.)

I. MAHATMA GANDHI'S MANIFESTO

I enclose herewith the Satyagraha pledge regarding the Rowlatt Bills. The step taken is probably the most momentous in the history of India. I give my assurance that it has not been hastily taken. Personally I have passed many a sleepless night over it. I have endeavoured duly to appreciate Government's position but I have been unable to find any justification for the extraordinary bills. I have read the Rowlatt Committee's report. I have gone through its narrative with admiration Its reading has driven me to conclusions just the opposite of the Committee's. I should conclude from the Reports that secret violence is confined to isolated and very small parts of India, and to a microscopic body of people. The existence of such men is truly a danger to Society. But the passing of the Bills, designed to affect the whole of India and its people and arming the Government with powers out of all proportion to the situation sought to be dealt with, is a greater danger. The Committee utterly ignores the historical fact that the millions in India are by nature the gentlest on earth.

Now look at the setting of the Bills. Their introduction is accompanied by certain assurances given by the Viceroy, regarding the civil

service and the British commercial interests. Many of us are filled with the greatest misgivings about the Viceregal utterance. I frankly confess I do not understand its full scope and intention. If it means that the civil service and the British commercial interests are to be held superior to those of India and its political and commercial requirements, no Indian can accept the doctrine. It can but end in a fratricidal struggle within the Empire. Reforms may or may not come. The need of the moment is a proper and just understanding upon the vital issue. No tinkering with it will produce real satisfaction. Let the great Civil Service Corporation understand that it can remain in India only as its trustee and servant not in name but in deed, and let the British commercial houses understand that they can remain in India only to supplement her requirements and not to destroy indigenous art, trade and manufacture and you have two measures to replace the Rowlatt Bills. They, I promise, will successfully deal with any conspiracy against the state.

Sir George Lowndes simply added fuel to the fire when he flouted public opinion. He has forgotten his Indian History or he would have known that the Government he represents has, before now, surrendered its own considered opinion to the force of public opinion.

It will be now easy to see why I consider the Bills to be an unmistakable symptom of a deep-seated disease in the governing body. It needs therefore to be drastically treated. Sub-terranean violence will be the remedy applied by impetuous, hot-headed youths who will have grown impatient of the spirit underlying the Bills and the circumstances attending their introduction. The Bills must intensify the hatred and ill-will against the state, of which the deeds of violence are undoubtedly an evidence. The Indian Covenanters by their determination to undergo every form of suffering make an irresistible appeal to the Government towards which they bear no ill-will and provide to the believers in the efficiency of violence, as a means of securing redress of grievances, with an infallible remedy and withal a remedy that blesses those that use it and also those against whom it is used. If the covenanters know the use of this remedy, I fear no ill from it, I have no business to doubt their ability. They must ascertain whether the disease is sufficiently great to justify the strong remedy and whether all milder ones have been tried. They have convinced themselves that the disease is serious enough, and that milder measures have utterly failed. The rest lies in the lap of the gods. I am yours, etc.

M. K. GANDHI.

II. PROPAGANDA SLOGANS

(English Versions)

I

Deputy of the servants of the country

The abodes of just and good men are jails in the kingdom in which men are unjustly imprisoned.

It is shameful to obey the tyrannical rule. To oppose it is easy and good.

Thoreau.

II

Whom will you respect?
Rowlatt Bill or the truth?

I see no necessity of teaching the virtue of respecting the law. It is always necessary to respect the truth.

Thoreau.

III

How can the atrocities of the Rowlatt Bill be stopped?

There is no atrocity if a thousand men can refuse to pay taxes. But to pay taxes to the kingdom which does atrocities is to support such rule and thus atrocities lie in paying taxes.

Thoreau.

IV

How will the Bonds of the Rowlatt Bill be broken?

There will be the commencement of the breaking of the bonds of slavery the very day on which only one hero, having opposed slavery and having not paid the taxes, will go to jail.

Thoreau.

V

Fight against the bonds of the Rowlatt Bill

Advice of Great Thoreau

A man is privileged to oppose the tyrannical rule when there is much tyranny. Nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand persons talk of truthfulness, but only one puts it into action. The value of this one is, however, very great.

Thoreau.

III. WHO ARE WE ?

The answer to a question as to what the Satyagrahi will do, resolves to "Who are we?" the object of Satyagrahi is to get the Rowlatt Bill cancelled, that is to say, the object of Satyagrahi is to point out to the people and in pursuance of the principles of Satyagraha, the remedy to get it repealed. According to the Satyagraha vow, the Satyagrahis are to disregard certain laws and to go on Jail pilgrimage. The best remedy therefore, that can be shown by this paper is that its publication itself can violate the law. Amongst other institutions (Andolans) it is not imperative that the speaker himself should follow the doctrine he teaches, I do not on this account find fault with the institutions. They follow a certain principle. The principle of Satyagraha is quite different. Herein the precept is given by an example and hence whatever doctrines will be taught in this paper will have to be well tried. And as the value of the used medicine is far more than that of a new one, we hope that the remedies tried by experience will be regarded valuable by the readers of this paper and will be adopted by them with boldness.

Many interesting events happened yesterday, but the most interesting was that when millowners refused permission to their mill-hands, the latter celebrated the day after doing their work in the Mills.

IV. MAHATMA GANDHI ARRESTED

Mahatma Gandhi started from Bombay on 8th April 1919 for Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar etc. On reaching Delhi on the 9th night as order under the Defence of India Act was served on him, requiring him not to go to Delhi, Punjab and other places and restricting him to Bombay. Gandhiji disregarded the order and was arrested. He communicated his desire that persons residing at the Sabarmati Ashram would celebrate his arrest and would do their work with double zeal and faith.

Shri Vallabhbhai Patel, Secretary, Gujarat Satyagraha Sabha, requested the public of Ahmedabad to act according to the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi.

REACTIONS IN GUJARAT

The news of Gandhiji's arrest reached Gujarat and the people reacted immediately.

The following gives the account of happenings at different places in Gujarat.

(Summary of Appendix VI—page 15, VII—page 16, and Appendix XIX—page 43.)

NADIAD

A telegram was received from Delhi at Nadiad at about 2-30 p.m. giving news of Gandhiji's arrest and his appeal for continuing the Satyagraha. Shops were immediately closed. People collected in the Bazars—A black flag was hoisted in the Ahmedabadi bazar. Labourers of the Mills struck work and came in a procession to the Station Road shouting slogans.

A meeting of about 3,000 people was held at the Ahmedabadi bazar.

On the 11th of April the news of the riots at Ahmedabad reached Nadiad. A meeting attended by about 10,000 people was held. Speeches exhorting the people not to commit any acts of violence were made.

But there were acts of violence. On April 12 as a result of the removal of the rails, the train passing on the line was derailed at about 1-30 a.m. The country at this point was flat and the derailed train ran along for a considerable distance breaking up the iron sleepers, scattering the ballast and tearing up the ground.

The telegraph wires between Boriavi and Uttarsanda were cut at 10-50 p.m. on the evening of April 12 at mile 275. Telegraph posts were pulled down and insulators were smashed.

(Appendix XIV—page 33.)

ANAND

At Anand there was a disturbance at the station at about 6 p.m. on the evening of the 13th April. A large crowd tried to force a sweet meat seller at the station to stop his business and as he refused to do so they went to his shop and after scattering kerosene oil about burned it down. They then tried to make the dairy stop work, and the Manager eventually consented to stop for half an hour, the crowd then went away and returned again at night in a threatening manner, but did not make an attack. Next morning a military detachment arrived from Ahmedabad and quiet was restored.

AHMEDABAD

Order to Military forces stationed in the city

(English Version.)

1. The Military will fire if more than ten persons assemble in one place.

2. If any person is seen outside his house during the time between the 7 in the evening and 6 in the morning and does not stop and come up when challenged, he will be shot dead.

G. S. FRASER,
Officer Commanding, Ahmedabad Brigade.

Ahmedabad, 12th April 1919.

(Appendix IX—page 21.)

The disturbances at Ahmedabad on 10th April are described in the following report submitted by the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, to the Government of Bombay :—

ROWLATT BILL RIOTING AT AHMEDABAD ...	756

No. P. O. L.

Ahmedabad, 12th April 1919.

To

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,
Political Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the following report regarding the serious disturbances which have been taking place at Ahmedabad since the evening of April 10. The original cause was the report in the Bazar that Mr. Gandhi had been arrested at Delhi. It was known in the morning of the 10th that such a rumour was abroad and the District Superintendent of Police strengthened the force at the main Police Station from his armed Guard as is usual in anticipation of disturbance.

2. Nothing seems to have happened until about 2-30 or 3 p.m., when a mob apparently instigated by Satyagrahis began to close the shops opposite the Station itself. The station master closed the Goods office and telephoned to Mr. Smith at the Commissioner's office, who telephoned to me. I received the information at 3-30, and after considerable difficulty in getting through on the telephone ascertained that the crowd had moved away from the station and had beset a body of police and a mill on the station-Camp road. I telephoned to the District Superintendent of Police to send a body of armed police there and sent my car to fetch him to my office, in order that we might proceed to the place together. He arrived at 5 p.m. After consultation we proceeded via Delhi Gate to cross roads beyond the level-crossings on the road to the camp and took the Station road down which the armed police had been despatched. At the Rajnagar Mill we received information that a crowd of several thousands was besetting the Flour Mill outside the Prem Gate and that the police had been driven into a house thereby, and had fired on the mob in self-defence. The outskirts of the crowd were visible from where we stood. As it was plain that the small body of police was somewhat lost in the crowd and as it was exceedingly doubtful whether any message could be sent back after we had once entered it, I wrote a letter to Col. Fraser requesting him to send down a strong body of troops and detailing the facts of the situation so far as I knew them. This message I sent back in my motor car and then proceeded forward on foot with the District Superintendent of Police, taking with us 7 or 8 armed policemen from Idgah Chowkey crossing. On passing through the outskirts of the crowd we found the 15 men guarding 4 prisoners in an open space near the Flour Mill, and 3 or 4 wounded sepoy. A large crowd stood round in silence and a fire engine had just finished plying on various fires which had been lit by the mob, in their attempt to burn down the mill and a set of chawls opposite the mill. One of the sepoy was badly hurt and shortly afterwards died on being removed. It appears that the trouble had started in the following manner. The Creamery Motor Lorry had started from the Railway Station to the Camp and that the driver had given a lift to two Europeans, named Sagar and Steeples. The lorry had been stopped by the mob and the latter two individuals compelled to alight and beaten. The lorry driver escaped with the lorry and guard of armed police at Kalupur Gate attempted to protect the two Europeans but were so roughly used that they took shelter in the Beehive Flour Mill. The crowd broke into the mill and broke up the office and telephone. Driven out again they tried to set fire to the mill, whereupon the police fired upon them. The owners of the mill insisted on the whole party leaving the

premises. They rushed across the road into a block of chawls with an upstairs verandah and the two Europeans escaped through the back premises. The mob attempted to burn the chawls and the police again fired upon them. I subsequently heard that ten persons were wounded in all and that one (a boy) died the next day.

The District Superintendent of Police and I stayed by the Prem Gate for about one hour and a quarter until the Officer Commanding (Col. Fraser) arrived with about 200 men. The crowd was quiet but hostile and occasionally shouted for the Satyagraha. Several disciples of Gandhi were amongst them and professed to dissuade them from all violence. But as they continued to incite them to shout their effect on the mob was not altogether soothing. The District Superintendent of Police and I found that the prisoners made were merely picked out of the crowd at random and that there was nothing particular against them. The crowd was getting excited about them and it appeared likely that a rescue would eventually be attempted. We therefore decided to take their addresses and descriptions and release them. This was done and the mob was quieted immediately. Except for shouts and the throwing of a few stones which hit nobody the behaviour of the mob was good. It is difficult to estimate its number which fluctuated continually but at its greatest it must have been 2 or 3 thousand strong. On the arrival of the military it melted away and the road to the station was cleared easily. A force of about 30 men was left to guard the Beehive Mill and Prem Gate and a similar force at the Kalupur Gate. The day closed in complete quiet.

Next morning at 8 a.m., I took the District Superintendent of Police with me and motored down the station road to the Force at the Prem Gate, which we found surrounded by a hostile crowd. A motor car drove up containing Vallabhabhai Patel, Yajnik and a Doctor Kanuga, all prominent Satyagrahis. I had some conversation with them and told them to advise the crowd to disperse. This they did successfully. There was nothing noteworthy at the station or Kalupur which we next visited so we entered the Punch Kuva Gate and drove up the Richey Road. As we got near the centre of the town the crowd became thicker and there was a good deal of hooting and booing. Near Pankor Naka we stopped to speak with Inspector Acton and were at once surrounded by the crowd which was very threatening. A Satyagrahi leapt on the step and with uplifted arm began to address the mob with a view to pacify it, I understand. I pushed him

down misunderstanding his motive and he remonstrated and explained. We drove on towards Bhadar pursued with a short shower of stones, many of which hit us and as we neared the temple of Kali, a roaring mob all brandishing bamboo lathies of the same size and appearance debouched from a street to the left. We got clear of them unhurt but rightly judged that this latter mob was one of a totally new character organised and bent on mischief. We drove as fast as possible back to Camp in order to obtain Military assistance. We saw this mob at about 9 and arrived in camp at about 20 minutes later. Between 9 and 10 the mob had burnt a huge Mandap in which the Matriculation Examination was being held and fired the whole row of the Collector's offices and those adjoining them. The office of the Superintendent, Land Records, was luckily left untouched and the Bank was saved by its armed guard. The lockup was partially burnt and the prisoners released. The crowd also burnt the office of the Mamlatdar, N. Daskroi and the Telegraph Office. The Judges Courts escaped.

As already stated I reached Camp with the District Superintendent of Police at about 9-20. Colonel Frazer was not to be found but Colonel Preston of the 197th Regiment ordered 300 men to march at once. I requested him to send them to the Bhadar which appeared to me in danger. The troops marched at 10-10 a.m. and I arranged to return with the District Superintendent of Police and pick up Colonel Preston at 10-30. Returning to my bungalow meanwhile to see if any reports had arrived. I received information by telephone that the Mandap was destroyed and the offices threatened. At 10-30 we returned for Colonel Preston and got him to order another 200 men to follow the first lot. I suggested that he should hold the Delhi Gate and sent half of the first force down to the Ghee Kanta to clear it while the other half marched down to the Bhadar. This was done. Colonel Preston and we accompanied the force which made for the Bhadar. As we approached we found the buildings past saving and the mob vanished down by the ways or retreated slowly before us. Colonel Preston put guards on what was left in the Bhadar and occupied the Tin Darwaza road up to the Manek Chowk and the Oliphant Road to the Municipal office picketting the main exits. The crowd hung about a distance on the main roads or in the mouths of side streets and was of a sullen and intractable temper. There was a good deal of stone throwing and occasional acts of incendiarism and after half an hour or so there was occasional firing. The order given was to fire on any incendiary caught in the act or individual who made a serious attack on the troops.

I remained down there until Colonel Preston had completed his arrangements when a rumour got abroad that the mob had broken North to attack the Shahi Bagh and Civil station. A force of over 100 was sent Northwards immediately through the Ghee Kanta and we accompanied it to find that the rumour was luckily false.

The city was now in charge of the military and I proceeded to Colonel Frazer with a map and put him in possession of all information for which he asked. His final dispositions were to hold the Station Road and station as before, the Delhi Gate, Ghee Kanta and Mirzapur Road, and the entire Richey Road from the Panch Kuva to the Bhadur inclusive. Even so it was found impossible to prevent acts of incendiarism almost under the noses of the troops. The storeys over the main gateways were destroyed by fire, practically all the Police Chowkies and the houses of the City Magistrate and of my Personal Assistant (so it is reported). Firing under these circumstances continued throughout the day from time to time. The Civil Hospital received 50 cases of bullet and shot wounds, many of them fatal. It is probable that many more were hit as the cases which were immediately fatal would commonly not be taken to hospital.

The crowd remained stubborn and uncowed, melting away before an advance merely to reunite in some other direction. The firing did not appear to impress them. Further acts of incendiarism are reported in the Shahpur quarter: and though these are not so far confirmed, it appears probable that the crowd intends to persist in incendiarism and riot. The reported arrest of Mr. Gandhi and Miss Ansuyaben Sarabhai have apparently so exasperated them that they are prepared to continue their present course of conduct indefinitely. During the night of April 11th Colonel Fraser came to me and informed me that he intended to issue the following notice:—

“Orders to troops—after being promulgated in the city—

“(1) Any gathering of over ten individuals collected in one spot will be fired on at once by troops.

“(3) any single individual seen outside any house who does not stop and come up when challenged between the hours of 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. will be shot.”

The order is drastic but the situation is a difficult one. The mob does not make any organised attack on the Forces but evades

them and continues to set fire to buildings. It is but fair, however, that Government should know what orders are being passed and I am wiring a copy of this to you. The telegraph wires southward from Ahmedabad station were all cut yesterday and messages had to be sent circuitously. The post is also hung up.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G. E. CHATFIELD,

District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

(Appendix X—page 25.)

VIRAMGAON

The following telegram was sent from Viramgaon on 12th April to the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad :—

“Strikers of Viramgam town seriously injured Traffic Inspector on station at 12 noon, after they set fire to station building including Telegraph office, Coaching, Luggage and Parcel and station Master’s offices etc. They then went to town, set fire to Government Post and Telegraph Office, Municipal offices and other Government buildings, murdered Awaj Karkun Madhavlal in the evening. They again appeared in Goods Yards and looted loaded goods and waggons etc. and took out some part of rails of Patri-Kharaghoda Branch. Assistance of 50 armed men from Kharaghoda has arrived this evening with Assistant Collector, Kharaghoda, and Military troops expected tonight too.”

Situation at Ahmedabad

The following telegrams from the Comissioner, Northern Division to the Bombay Judicial Department give us an outline of progress of events at Ahmedabad :—

(Appendix XIII—page 31.)

State Express.

To

Bombay.

Judicial.

13th April 1919.

Gandhi arrived here this morning and interviewed me. Stop.

Appears much shocked at events here and has now abandoned all idea of disobeying orders restricting him to Bombay Presidency and declares himself ready to obey absolutely all orders of Government. Stop. Have allowed him issue handbills inviting public and mill-hands return work and open shops and resume business. Stop. Have also allowed him arrange meeting tomorrow evening for restoration order and confidence. Stop. City quite quiet today but still in Military occupation. Stop. Viramgam now quiet but Awal Karkun was murdered yesterday. Stop. On report of danger at Anand one British officer had fifty Indian troops despatched there this morning but no further disorder has been reported. Stop. Patrol train is guarding telegraph line day and night between Ahmedabad and Anand.

Northern Division.

(Appendix XVI—page 37.)

State Express.

14th April 1919.

To

Bombay Judicial.

Condition of Ahmedabad city to-day distinctly better. Stop. Stringency of military regulations now considerably relaxed. Stop. Confidence is being restored and shops are opening and ordinary business recommencing. Stop. Information now received that Viramgam treasury was looted on Saturday. Stop. I am today sending troops Sanand and Dholka for protection Government property. Stop. Report received today of burning of police out-post near Sarkhej. Stop. Motor patrol British troops sent in that direction. Stop. No further trouble Anand. Stop. Another battalion troop expected today and have arranged with Colonel Fraser for still another battalion from Nasirabad. Stop. No news yet from districts south of Mahi river.

Northern Division.

(Appendix XVII—page 39.)

State Express.

To

Bombay Judicial.

Ahmedabad, Shahi Bagh,
15th April, 1919.

Gandhi held large mass meeting evening fourteenth which

passed off quietly. Stop. Gandhi's speech was read for him by Vallabhbhai Patel. Stop. Night passed quietly and today situation fairly normal and business has been generally resumed. Stop. Many mills opened this morning but attendance below normal. Stop. Workers were quiet. Stop. Police are being continuously reinforced and are resuming normal duties but important points in city still held by military pickets which patrol main streets. Stop. Courts and offices reopened and working since yesterday. Sanand quite quiet but small military picket today went there for guarding treasury.

Northern Division.

(Appendix XX—page 45.)

GOVERNMENT VERSION OF SATYAGRAHA RIOTS

Proofs of Organisation

IMPROVEMENT AT AHMEDABAD

(From our Special Correspondent.)

Ahmedabad, April 14.

The situation here has improved considerably today, so much so that the authorities consider it no longer necessary to continue Martial Law in the city. This improved tone in the attitude of the people is largely due to the inconvenience entailed by the imposition of Martial Law, though also to some extent to the presence of Mr. Gandhi and Bai Anusaya Ben in the city. The news of the removal of the military guards from the city was given by the Honourable Mr. Pratt, Commissioner, N. D. and Mr. Chatfield, who motored round the different localities and personally informed the people of it. The news was confirmed later on by the circulation of a notice in Gujarati, over the signature of Mr. Pratt, in which it was stated that now that there was quiet every where and there was no cause for alarm, the Martial Law had been removed ; that there would be no firing and people might move about as they liked, that business should be resumed, and that shops might be opened and mill-hands might resume work. Five thousand copies of this notice were circulated in the city. The announcement was received with great satisfaction throughout the city and a large number of shops were opened in response to it.

According to the latest enquiries the total number of those wounded during the riots amounts to about 250. The number of death is estimated at about twenty.

Now that the atmosphere is cleared and it is possible to obtain a free exchange of views on the lamentable incidents of last week, it can be stated what the thinking portion of the people here think of the matter. The two important factors that stand out prominently are : firstly, that it was essentially a campaign carried on against Englishmen generally, and against English officials and certain unpopular Indians in particular ; secondly, that some clever heads were assisting these mill-hands from behind the scenes in their work at destruction. During the riots no opportunity was neglected and no stone was left unturned to get at Englishmen. From the very start this became evident from the attitude of the rioters and as a precautionary measure all the English residents in the town were removed to Shahi Baug for their personal safety. On the night of April 11, and during the following days, whenever they had to come to the city they had to travel by the Dholka Railway crossing the river. From the highest to the lowest English officers in the city, with a few exceptions, were treated roughly, the most lamentable example being that of police Sergeant Fraser who met with a tragic death. This young officer was cycling along Richy Road on duty, and on seeing an angry crowd rushing towards him he took shelter in a bicycle shop. He was taken by the owner of the shop to the upper floor of the building and hidden in a place of safety. The shopkeeper then closed the doors. Some time later, curiosity led Mr. Fraser to open a window to see what was happening on the road outside when he was unfortunately noticed by one of the rioters. They immediately raided the shop and asked the owner to give up the refugee. He tried to put them off, but they knocked him down, forced upon the premises, dragged down the young sergeant and cut him to pieces with swords.

INDIAN OFFICIALS ILL-TREATED

Of the Indian officials who were ill-treated there are two notable examples. One is that of Mr. Bulakhidas, Personal Assistant to the Collector, who is not popular among a certain section of the people. On Friday a mob proceeded to his house at Kalupur with the intention of setting it on fire. They made all preparations for this when the neighbours interfered and entreated them to desist as their safety would be jeopardised if the fire spread to their houses. The mob admitted the justice of their plea, and instead of setting fire to the house they broke it open and getting hold of his safe removed currency notes and sovereigns and threw them on the road. Mr. Bulakhidas, who is also a Magistrate, took refuge at some other place during the time the trouble lasted. Khan Bahadur Hussenkhan Dhanekhan a retired police Inspector and now honorary Magistrate,

was similarly treated. He and his family ran away on hearing of a mob coming in the direction of his house in Popativad. The mob afterwards took possession of his house, took out his things and set them on fire. The ringleaders then held a mock court in the house. One of them presided as a Magistrate and several persons were placed before him one after another on imaginary charges. After hearing each, the man imitating Mr. Hussenkhan's voice and tone while passing sentence, awarded him a certain amount as compensation from the money looted from the house.

ORGANISED AND ARMED

It is believed here by many who have closely watched the methods employed by the rioters that some educated people must have been secretly at work in guiding them. Many reasons are suggested for this belief. The first and foremost of these is that ignorant men, like those who were seen rioting and looting, could not have organised the affair in so able a manner. The rioters were not only men belonging to Ahmedabad, but a considerable part of them came from Kaira and were identified as from that district. Then the rioters were well armed with Indian weapons, such as swords. It is reported that the temples of Swami Narayan and the Jain religious institutions, familiarly known as the firm of Anandji Kalianji, were robbed of their weapons some time before these incidents took place. At any rate that they carried swords and other weapons is beyond doubt.

Again they showed much anxiety to get chemicals for incendiarism. When they raided the Electrical Company's works, the first question they asked Mr. Brown, the Superintendent, was where they could get the liquid fuel—a question which was not to be expected from ignorant people of this class. They were also well instructed as to what they should burn and what they should not. Incendiarism was aimed particularly at Government property. It was noticed that when they set fire to police chowkies, they let alone those which were in close contact with private houses, so that these also might not be burnt down. In these cases they took out the furniture from the chowkeys and burnt it. Another very significant point is that while most of the citizens almost starved for want of food, the rioters managed to feed themselves abundantly. In some streets they were observed levying blackmail for their maintenance, while in others they were freely given food, sweetmeats and even money.

Further more they seem to have been instructed particularly to cut telegraph and telephone wires. This part of the campaign has been carried out with no small success. Then, the fact of Europeans

having taken shelter at Shahi Baugh somehow became known and with a view to meet them on this point one of the culverts of the Sabarmati bridge was removed, so that a train carrying Europeans to Shahi Baug might be wrecked.

BEHAVIOUR OF OFFICIALS

As to the conduct of the local officers during the riots, there is but one opinion, and it is that in the face of most trying circumstances they preserved an admirable self-restraint and refrained from using force until it became absolutely necessary. But there are people who think that the unpreparedness of Police on Friday requires some explanation. They say that after the fracas at the flour mill on the evening of April 10, the police should have anticipated a repetition of such outrages on the following day. On this day the Matriculation mandap, which is only a short distance from the group of buildings known as the Collector's cutcheri, was set on fire at nine o'clock in the morning and if troops had been summoned then the various acts of incendiarism, near Bhadar and at the Telegraph office, which took place at eleven o'clock could have been prevented in time. The troops however, came at half past eleven and it is thought they came too late. It has been amply demonstrated that the rioters fought shy of bullets and this was proved when a mob tried to raid the Bank of Bombay which is opposite the Treasury Office. The small armed party, which guards the bank, fired only a few shots after which the men dispersed.

MR. GANDHI'S ARRIVAL

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who was accompanied by Bai Anusaya Behn, arrived in Ahmedabad, on Sunday by the Gujerat Mail train. The Honourable Mr. Pratt, Commissioner, N.D., Mr. L. Robertson, Inspector General of Police, and Mr. Chatfield, the Collector, on being informed that they were due here went to the Railway station to get the earliest opportunity of seeing them. As the train was expected to come late, the officials returned. It, however, arrived a little earlier than was expected, and hearing that the officials had been there to see them, they proceeded to Shahi Baug. A conference was held, when Mr. Gandhi expressed his regret at what had occurred. It was decided that the people should be informed of the arrival of Mr. Gandhi and Bai Anusaya Behn and that a meeting should be held on Monday at Satyagraha Ashram, where Mr. Gandhi should explain to them the situation. Most of the people in Ahmedabad were not aware of Mr. Gandhi's arrival until late in the afternoon when a printed message to the people over the signature of Mr. Gandhi

was distributed and broadcasted. In this he stated : " Bai Anusaya Behn and I have arrived in Ahmedabad this morning. Bai Anusaya Behn was never arrested. I also was absolutely free on Friday, and went to Bombay. During the time I was in custody I suffered no kind of trouble, my condition was such as if I was enjoying heavenly happiness. After getting free, I became extremely sorry on hearing of the occurrences at Ahmedabad. Behn's heart bled. We both felt exceedingly ashamed. Now, we both have come to meet you. It is necessary to say a couple of words, therefore, I don't wish to say anything now. I also wish, as all of you must be wishing, that martial law should be instantly removed. It is in our own hands to get it removed. I want to show the key with which this can be done. Those who can do so should come to the Ashram at 4 p.m. on Monday. While coming take the routes where there are no military pickets. Do not come in groups of more than two or three persons. Obey whatever orders the police give you. It is my request that you do not shout or make any kind of noise on the road, and if you will all preserve silence at the Ashram I shall be able to explain all that I wish to explain. It is extremely desirable that all shopkeepers should open their shops and all mill-hands resume their work. In conclusion, I wish to say that I am so sure about 'Satyagraha' that, if the mistakes which have been committed here and at other places, had not been committed, the Rowlatt Bill would have been cancelled today. May God give you all good understanding and peace."

MR. GANDHI'S SPEECH

A meeting was accordingly held at the Ashram in the afternoon. It was very largely attended, and Mr. Gandhi addressed it at some length in Gujarati. He said the events that had happened in Ahmedabad during the past four or five days had disgraced the city. As they had occurred in his name he felt ashamed. The men, who had taken part in those occurrences, had not done him honour, but had insulted him. If instead of doing that, they had stabbed him to death with a dagger, he would not have been more sorry. He had said hundreds of times that in a campaign of passive resistance there could be no fighting, no practising of zoolum, no damage to property, no burning of houses, but there they had burnt down houses, forcibly taken possession of arms, forcibly extorted money, forcibly stopped the plying of conveyances, forced open locks, killed innocent people, and looted shops and houses. If because of acts like these he were to be released from the gallows or from arrest, he would not prefer such release. He wished to tell them for certain that his release was not effected by such bloodshed. There was also a cruel rumour in Ahmedabad that Bai Anusaya Behn had been arrested.

People thus got more exasperated and by that Bai Anusaya Behn was insulted. On that account wicked deeds had been perpetrated. By such acts no benefit had been done to the people, it had only done harm. The properties, which were burnt, belonged to them and they would be rebuilt at their own expense. The damage that was being done by the closing of the shops was also done to themselves. The operation of a Martial Law in the city, which had caused them so much annoyance, was also the result of this bloodshed. Whenever Martial Law was proclaimed some innocent lives were lost, and this was said to have happened now. If so, the blame lay on these occurrences. They had done no good to Ahmedabad, but they had done considerable harm to the cause of passive resistance. If after his arrest people had preserved peace, the Rowlatt Bill would have been cancelled or would have been on the verge of being cancelled. It would not be a matter of wonder now if there was a delay in the cancellation of the Bill. When he got free on Friday, he intended to start again for Delhi on Sunday and to try to get re-arrested. By doing that the cause of passive resistance would have been greatly strengthened. Now, instead of going to Delhi he had to carry on passive resistance against themselves. Just as it was resolved to carry on passive resistance till death for the cancellation of the Rowlatt Bill, the time had now come passively to resist bloodshed and if they could not now preserve complete peace and stop doing harm to life and property then it was left for him to carry on passive resistance against himself at his own bodily sacrifice. As long as he did not feel sure that the people of Ahmedabad would not repeat these mistakes, he could not go to jail. Those who wanted to join the passive resistance movement, or who wanted to help it without joining it, should entirely refrain from causing bloodshed. If he were again arrested or, if anything happened to him, no supporters of the movement should be able to do harm to anybody's life and property. On this occasion feeling distrust against them, Englishmen and women had left their homes and were living at Shahi Baug. It was shameful to think this of themselves. They should stop this state of things as promptly as they could. They should treat Englishmen as their brothers and free them from fear. Without that there was no love of truth, it was love of evil.

DUTY OF THE PEOPLE

It was their duty therefore to take steps to prevent such wicked things occurring again and to repent and do penance for what had happened. As long as they did not repent and see their faults and admit their mistakes publicly, they would not be able to effect a change in their conduct. In the first place, those who had forcibly

obtained arms should restore them to their owners. That was the first penance. If they were all really repentant they should each subscribe at least half a rupee or more on the spot, and the money would be used to support the families of those who had died on account of their deeds. For himself, he said the responsibility on him was ten million times greater than theirs. It was alleged that he had thoughtlessly drawn thousands of people into this struggle of passive resistance. To some extent—but only to some extent—the charge would be considered true. It could be said that if there was no such movement, this bloodshed would not have occurred. For such fault, he had already performed one penance, though it was unbearable for a man like him, that was to say he had postponed going to Delhi. He had to advise a limitation of the work of the movement. This had given him greater pain than a wound. Still that penance was not sufficient. He hād, therefore resolved to fast for three days, i.e. seventy-two hours. A fast of seventy-two hours was less hard for him than a fast of twenty-four hours for them. If they felt pity for him for undertaking to bear so much pain, he begged of them in return that in future no Ahmedabad man should take part in such dark deeds. They should remember it for certain that they would not get swaraj by shedding blood and by harassing people. They would do no good to India by that. If they could solve their troubles only by bearing hatred against Englishmen and by murdering them, then he did not wish for swaraj obtained in that way, but rather prefer to bear their troubles.

It seemed to him that the deeds committed in Ahmedabad were carefully planned. They bore signs of organisation, that was to say, he believed for certain that some educated and well-informed man or men had a hand in them. He would say boldly that those men might be educated, but they were not practical. Led by the stories of such men they had committed evil deeds. He advised them not to be led in this way in future. In conclusion he advised mill-hands to resume work.

(Appendix 44—page 99.)

GANDHI'S LETTER TO MR. GUIDER

Laburnam Road, Bombay,
May 5th

Dear Mr. Guider,

Dame Rumour reports you to have been displeased with your staff for their inability to trace the educated men behind the

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tragedy at Ahmedabad although I was able to do so. The same lady further has it that you interpret 'educated Indians' to mean only Vakils, Barristers, Doctors, etc. I am therefore being torn to pieces by friends and others for having created much mischief and caused needless suffering by use of unguarded language. Naturally I have to take the consequences of my words as I have of my deeds. I do not know how far the rumours reported to me are true, but I would like to observe that the word I have used in the original speech delivered at the mass meeting held at the Ashram on the 14th ultimo is "Bhanela" and 'Bhanela' by no means means only 'highly educated' Indians. For me, 'Bhanela' means all those who have received any education whatsoever, whether vernacular or English. For instance the anonymous author of an inflammatory vernacular poem which I have lately seen, I would undoubtedly consider to be "Bhanela" i.e. educated, and it is exactly in that sense that I have used the word 'educated' in the translation of my speech. As a matter of fact if I had received evidence as to the complicity of highly educated men, I would certainly have not hesitated to make use of language to show that I meant such men. My attention was directed yesterday to Mr. Pratt's speech of Ahmedabad where in he referred to the complicity of "educated leaders". I take it that he had not my speech in mind when he made the remark.

I may also add that by 'organised manner and design', I mean this: some educated man or men believing in the efficacy of violence, or securing redress saw the temper of the mob on Friday, immediately seized the situation and directed operations through gang leaders and that is exactly what, I know from evidence before me, happened on that awful day. You can see therefore that it is possible for these men to remain absolutely concealed.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI.

(Appendix 47—page 105.)

To

J. A. GUIDER, ESQR.,
Ahmedabad.

Inmates of Ashram have referred for my advice question of their

having to identify those whom they were trying to prevent from incendiarism. They cannot consistently with Ashram principles give evidence against people. Our business is to promote good will between rulers and ruled and prevent violence wherever we may find it. It will be breach of privilege for us to give evidence against prisoners whom we were preventing from committing crimes. I would plead with you not to draw public attention to our principle by forcing matters for I do not desire that our example should be copied by those who may not follow whole of our plan of life and who might simply make of it a convenience to screen offenders.

GANDHI.

15th May, 1919.

(Appendix 50—page 111.)

STATEMENT OF VINOBAJI BHAVE OF SABARMATI
Ashram.

20th May, 1919.

Vinayak Nurhar Bhave, caste Koknasht Brahmin, age 24, occupation Teacher of Sanskrit in Gandhi's Ashram, Sabarmati, native of Gagode, Taluka Pen, District Kolaba.

My father is alive. He resides in Baroda and is employed in the state service. He has been in Baroda for the last 14 years. I do not know in what capacity he is employed at present, but he held the post of Head clerk in the Khasgi office about 2 years ago. I do not correspond with him. I visited Baroda last about 6 months ago when my mother died. I remained at Baroda on that occasion for about two weeks living in my father's house. I have two brothers younger than myself, Balkrishna, aged 18, and Shivajee age 16. I have one sister Shanta, age 13, married to one Kelkar, a student in the Baroda High School. I do not know his name but his father's name is either Moreswar or Chintaman. I do not know what his occupation is or where he lives. My sister was married about 3 years ago in Baroda. I attended the wedding as I was then residing in Baroda, but did no trouble to make any enquires about the family of my brother-in-law. I was born at Gagode and lived there up to the age of 10 years with my uncle Gopal Shumboo Bhave, who is an Inamdar of Gagode. The family is divided. I am not however certain on this point. My father is the elder of the two brothers. The Inam property is ancestral and consists of the village of Gagode. The income is about Rs. 1,000 per annum. My paternal

grand-father died three years ago at Wai where the family also owned landed property. My grand-father had three sons-Govind, Nurhar, and Gopal. Govind died about 10 years ago at Wai. As my father was then employed in Baroda my uncle Gopal took charge of the management of the estate and has kept it ever since.

After my attaining 10th year I went to my father at Baroda and remained there till 1916, studying first in the vernacular school, then in the High School and finally in the Baroda College where I studied up to the Intermediate Arts Course. As I wished to study Sanskrit at Benares I became a Bramachari. My father did not approve of it, but I having made up my mind proceeded to Benares in April 1916. I had with me Rs. 25. I put up at Manikurnika Ghaut where I had an acquaintance named Vishwanath Vaman Bedekar whom I knew in the Baroda College and had gone to Benares to join the Central Hindu College. He died from cholera a month after my arrival at Benares.

I studied Sanscrit privately. I remained 3 months in Benares. The climate did not agree with me. I also had intentions of joining Gandhi's Ashram. I wrote to Mr. Gandhi informing him of my wishes. He replied inviting me to join the Ashram, I came to Ahmedabad in June or July 1916 and lived at the Ashram for 10 months. I got ill with malaria, so went for a change first to Wai for 6 months. At Wai I put up for a few days in our family house with my grand-mother, but not thinking it proper to remain there having renounced my family, I moved into a hotel and maintained myself by giving tuitions in English and Mathematics. From Wai I went on tour, visiting Rajgarh, a Fort near Bhore, thence to Thoragad, thence to Poona district visiting the city, Singhar, Lonavala, thence to Satara, Karad, Islampur, Miraj, Tasgaon, Belgaum, lecturing at all these places on the Gita. I returned to the Ashram in March 1911 and have been here ever since, teaching Sanskrit. I do not receive any salary for my services, but I am provided with food and clothes. I mean to devote the remainder of my life to the Ashram.

On the 10th April information was received at the Ashram from Mr. Vallabhbbhai Patel that Mr. Gandhi had been arrested at Delhi. I heard it about 11 a.m. Later in the day we were informed that a meeting was to be held in the bed of the river below the Ellis Bridge that evening. I attended the meeting with several others from the Ashram. About 20,000 persons assembled at the meeting. The bulk of the people were of the middle classes. There were several platforms for speakers. I was near one of them, from which Mrs. Gandhi, Muganlal Gandhi, Indulal Yagnik, Nurharbhai Parekh of the Ashram

National school addressed the meeting. After the meeting was over I accompanied by Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar *alias* Kaka, Hurkare and 2 others whom I do not remember, all inmates of the Ashram, went to Vallabhbhai Patel's house to enquire whether our services were required in connection with any disturbances that might occur during the night. Vallabhbhai said we should attend at his place on the following morning at 7 or 8 o'clock. Accordingly I accompanied by Hurkare, Kalelkar, Jamnadas, Vrijlal, Keshorilal, Rewashanker, Hurihar, and Jugonath came to Vallabhbhai's house. We arrived at his house at about 8 a.m. On the way from the Delhi Gate onwards we met several crowds of labourers assembled in the street. I did not see sticks in the hands of any of them. We advised them to disperse; some complied others did not. Vallabhbhai was not at his house. We were told he had gone to Dr. Kanuga's Dispensary; so we proceeded in that direction, through the three Gates by the Richy Road. We saw a large crowd of people on the Bridge, where Khadia begins. The crowd consisted almost entirely of labourers. They had no sticks. We stopped and tried to persuade the crowd to disperse. After 10 or 15 minutes' admonition some of them dispersed. We proceeded to the Prem Darwaza. There were small crowds of 20 or 30 men whom we asked to disperse. The majority of them were labourers and some may have been shopkeepers. We proceeded to the Railway station and returned by the Richy Road, where the crowd was not as thick as it had been. Near the three Gates there was a crowd of about 2 or 3,000 mostly labourers. The police were firing at them. There were about 6 policemen. We requested the police to stop firing. They complied. We asked the crowd to disperse. They refused and said they would not listen to us. They even accused us of having joined the police party. The crowd were armed with sticks and attacked the police. The police opened fire. We proceeded to Vallabhbhai's house by sideways and lanes. This was about 11. We found Vallabhbhai at home. We found it would be useless to approach the crowd and went back to the Ashram. Out of the 8 who accompanied me from the Ashram only Kaka and Vrijlal returned with me to the Ashram. I did not see the Examination Mandap burned or the Collector's Office and other buildings destroyed. I did not see any wounded persons near Vallabhbhai's house or any wounded persons being removed to the hospital. All 9 of us did not remain together from the time we left Vallabhbhai's house to find him at Dr. Kanuga's. We got separated on the Richy Road and did not meet again. Only Kaka and Vrijlal remained with me throughout.

I may be able to identify some of the persons whom I saw attacking the police. I do not however intend to identify anyone. In short

I refuse to identify because it is against my conscience and against the Ashram rules to support physical force. By physical force I mean the punishment provided by law for persons found guilty of breaking the law. Another reason for refusing to identify the persons is that by doing so I would be looked upon as a Government spy.

Before me,

J. A. GUIDER,
Deputy Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department

Ahmedabad, 20th May, 1919.

(Appendix 51—page 150.)

SHRI K. G. MASHRUVALA'S STATEMENT

(Statement made before the Deputy Superintendent of Police on Special Duty, Ahmedabad, dated 22nd May, 1915.)

My name is Kishorilal Ghanshyamlal Mashruvala. Age 28 years. By caste a Jharola Bania. Occupation teacher in the Rashtriya Gujarati Shala, Sabarmati. I was born in Bombay. Both my parents are dead. My mother died 7 years ago and my father 2½ years ago. My father was a Commission Agent in the Eerars and kept a home in Akola. I have two brothers living. My eldest brother's name is Ishverdas, and my second brother's name is Nanabhai. Both are my elders. Ishwarlal resides in Bombay and Nanabhai in Akola. Ishwarlal is a Cotton Broker and Nanabhai does nothing at present, but looks after the house in Akola. I have no ancestral property in Bombay and only a house and a piece of land surrounding it in Akola. I was practically brought up in Bombay except for short visits to Akola and Agra. I studied in various schools in Bombay, Akola and Agra and eventually matriculated from the Esplanade High School, Bombay. I graduated from the Wilson College and took my B.A. in 1910. I passed the LL.B. in 1913. Between 1910 and 1913 I was an articled clerk to Messrs. Mehta & Dalptaram, Solicitors. After passing my LL.B. I practised for three years in Akola Courts. Thereafter I was for a year or so in Bombay. I wished to give up the profession of a lawyer and so joined my brother in business, but as my health was impaired, I left my brother and joined the Ashram in 1917 June or

July. I have my wife living with me in the Ashram. I receive no salary from the Ashram but am maintained by my eldest brother.

On the 10th April news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest was received in the Ashram at about 10 a.m. from Mr. Vallabhbhai. Mr. Narhari of the Ashram came to see Mr. Vallabhbhai and in the afternoon I came to know that a meeting was to be held in the evening at the Ellis Bridge. I attended the meeting but delivered no address. After the meeting was over, I returned to the Ashram. As it was suggested at the meeting that some of us might be required the next morning to pacify the mob, a couple of the Ashram members went to Mr. Vallabhbhai's house after the meeting and on their return to the Ashram, I was informed that Mr. Vallabhbhai required some of us the next day. Accordingly the next morning, i.e., the 11th April, at about 6.30 I with Harkare, Kalelkar, Hariher, Vrijlal, Rewashanker, Vinayak, left the Ashram. Shivlal and Govind Babu were also with us but I cannot say, whether they accompanied us or followed..... We entered the city through the Delhi Gate. Inside the Gateway there were some shop-keepers assembled, whom we advised to open their shops. Some of them heeded our advice and opened their shops. There was no unruly mob at the time. We then proceeded along the Mirzapur Road and I with two or three others, went direct to Mr. Vallabhbhai's house. The rest got separated in stopping and addressing passers-by. I do not remember who the other two or three persons were who accompanied me to Mr. Vallabhbhai's house, but Mr. Jamnadas Gandhi, whose name I have forgotten to mention up to now, was with me for a longer time than anybody else. Mr. Vallabhbhai was not at home so we proceeded through the Three Gates to Richy Road. The first mob we encountered was near Ratan Pole. This mob was getting shops closed. No stones were being thrown at that time. I and the others tried to persuade the shop-keepers to open their shops and in our endeavours, we proceeded towards Dr. Kanuga's dispensary. On the way I heard the rumour that Mrs. Anusaya had been arrested. At that time I did not know whether the rumour was true or false, yet when asked by persons of the mob, I told them not to be excited over it, as even if it were true, it would only be the consequences of the Satyagraha Oath. I proceeded on to Dr. Kanuga's Dispensary but found nobody there except the compounder and some patients. I was told that I might find Mr. Vallabhbhai and others at the Kalupur Gate, and so I proceeded there. On my way I met large numbers of mill-hands assembling but saw no mischief or violence being committed. Outside Kalupur Gate, I met Jamnadas who informed me that the rumour of Mrs. Anusaya's arrest was false and in order to give this message to the public, persons should be asked

to assemble on the river side there and then. I and Jamnadas then came to the Richy Road through the Kalupur Gate. At the Richy Road Ravishanker and Harihar were with us. I do not recollect where and when they joined us. As we were proceeding we were advising the mob to disperse and collect on the river-side. On the Richy Road Jamnadas and Ravishankar separated and went towards Khadia, I and Harihar went towards Three Gates, but on the way I lost sight of Harihar, I did not notice sticks with the mob or any stone throwing on the Richy Road. After passing the Three Gates I saw volumes of smoke coming from the directions of what I afterwards discovered was the Mandap. So I proceeded towards that place via what may be called the Salepos Road and Lal Darwaza. When I came to the Mandap it was in flames, and a very large mob had collected outside the fencing. I entered the compound of the Mandap and besides asking the mob to disperse attempted to save the chairs and tables which were being thrown into the flames, but my endeavours were of no avail except for inducing a few persons to go away. I was at the Mandap for an hour or more. Towards the end of my stay there, some members of the mob wanted to remove a post and throw it in the fire, but I remonstrated with them and they desisted from that act. Immediately afterwards I noticed smoke coming out of the Collector's office and considering it was hopeless to stay any longer, I went to Mr. Vallabhbhai's house. Ravishanker had joined me at the time. Up to the time I was at the Mandap I heard no shots being fired but shortly after my arrival at Mr. Vallabhbhai's shots were fired: A wounded man was brought to Mr. Vallabhbhai's house and at the request of Mr. Yajnik I and some others removed the injured man on a cot to the Civil Hospital. At the Civil Hospital I learnt that the mob had been fired on at the Pankore Naka and so I proceeded with the cot to Pankore Naka to remove the wounded. There were no wounded there when I arrived and so I returned to Mr. Vallabhbhai's house *via* Three Gates. There were two more wounded in a house near Mr. Vallabhbhai's and these I and others removed on two cots to the Civil Hospital. I then returned to Mr. Vallabhbhai's. When I returned to Mr. Vallabhbhai's house, I did not see Kalelker, Vinayak, Shivrulal and Vrijlal there nor had I seen them since the time I separated from them in the morning. I remained at Mr. Vallabhbhai's till 3 p.m., when I alone returned to the Ashram. I did not return to the city that day and on the next day fell ill with fever. I shall not be able to identify any persons concerned in the destruction of the Mandap or any of the mob, whom I may have met that day. Even if I could identify I would not do so, as it would be an act against my own principles. I do not believe that the present system of meting out punishment does any good either to the individual

punished or the state, and in this particular case I am sure that punishment would not do any good either to the offenders or the state.

Before me.

C. C. PEGGEE,

Deputy Superintendent of Police.

Ahmedabad, 22nd May 1919.

FIRING CASUALTIES ACCORDING TO GOVERNMENT ESTIMATE

(Page 123.)

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Virengam Town	... 6	18	24

(Page 127.)

Ahmedabad City	... 24	110	134
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ATTEMPTS TO INDUCE GANDHIJI TO GIVE UP SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT

(FROM POLICE ABSTRACT OF INTELLIGENCE, 1919.)

Ahmedabad, April 19th.—The Commissioner, Northern Division, writes :—

“Ambalal Sarabhai went to Bombay last night, after a long talk with the Collector and myself, in order to collect some friends and try to bring pressure to bear upon Gandhi in Bombay to induce him to give up his civil disobedience campaign once and for all and permanently. He told us that long ago he and his friends had fears and misgivings about the consequences of Passive Resistance, but Gandhi brushed aside their fears and their advice, assured them that he was an “expert” in Satyagraha—that all would be well and that he knew what he was doing, etc., etc. So they withdrew their objections. They have now realized that Gandhi is supremely unpractical and are very much afraid of his resuming his disobedience (e.g., about going to Delhi) after the lapse of a short interval—under the impression that in that short interval his advice and preaching about the real and true Satyagraha may have sufficiently saturated the masses so as to make them virtuous, orderly and harmless.

"He even threw out a suggestion that Gandhi's friends might be driven to oppose Gandhi himself by Satyagraha and fight him by fasting themselves.

"Ambalal was further under the impression that Government intended to make a sudden swoop and seize all the Satyagrahis including Gandhi, not qua criminals but simply qua dangerous agitators. And he half hinted that if Gandhi definitely abandoned Satyagraha, i.e., disobedience, Government, on its part, might let bygones be bygones and refrain from wholesale arrests of agitators. But he made it clear that he did not suggest any amnesty in the sense of not pressing home the prosecution of rioters and criminals.

"Ambalal is terribly afraid of fresh disorder later on".

P.S.—Gandhi is evidently being subjected to severe pressure. The announcement made in Bombay about temporary postponement of disobedience flatly contradicts what he himself told me and the Collector in Ahmedabad on the 14th instant.

AFTER THE DEPORTATION OF HORNIMAN

(FROM POLICE ABSTRACT OF INTELLIGENCE, 1919.)

Bombay, April 29th.—The arrest of Horniman led to the wildest rumours in the city. It was believed by many to be the first step in a campaign of repression. The news was published by the *Hindustan* and the *Sanj Vartaman* the latter paper describing the action of Government as a gross blunder, and the tone of the announcement was distinctly bad. Many were in favour of a strike next morning, but Gandhi issued a definite manifesto strongly advocating that there should be no strike, and this message, coupled no doubt with the fact that Bombay is full of troops and that Martial Law has been invoked in the Punjab and elsewhere, had the desired effect. Gandhi was visited at his residence on Saturday evening by a number of Hindus and Mahomedans who were in favour of a demonstration to protest against the action of Government, but Gandhi was able to dissuade them from taking such a step.

In many quarters the decision of Gandhi is adversely criticised, and there is no doubt that his inaction has estranged a number of agitators.

Rumours were current this morning in the Share Bazaar that

warrants for the arrest of Jamnadas and Jinnha were out, and there was a slump of 25 to 30 points in the markets. This rumour was contradicted at 1-30 p.m. and the market promptly revived. There is no doubt that many people still expect further arrests, and Omar Sobhani is reported to have gone so far as to make his will, leaving his worldly goods to his brother Oosman. Oosman also published in Urdu a translation of Gandhi's manifesto on Horniman's arrest, which he has widely disseminated.

Gandhi has despatched telegrams to Nadiad and Ahmedabad stating the fact of Horniman's arrest, and adding that no hartal or demonstrations were necessary.

Jamnadas on the other hand despatched a heated telegram to Mrs. Besant of which I attach a copy.

Gandhi has been frequently visited by Jamnadas, Satheye Banker, Omar Sobhani and by a number of Banias and Marawaris, also by Anusuyabai, Pandit Malaviya and Shantaram Narayan Dabholkar. I think there is no doubt whatever that he has used his influence on this occasion in the best interests of Government, and that he has strained every nerve to preserve Law and order.

While the arrest of Horniman at first caused an outburst of indignation against His Excellency the Governor, the opinion is now gaining ground that the order of deportation emanated from the Government of India and that His Excellency was the unwilling channel of service.

A BLESSING IN DISGUISE

Many consider that the deportation is a blessing in disguise, for they think that Horniman will be of far more use to the cause in England than he has been in India. Not a few consider that the deportation was made possible by the weakness displayed by Gandhi in suspending the Satyagraha campaign.

Rauf went to see Gandhi at his house at 7 P.M. on Saturday; he found Gandhi closeted with Jinnah, Jamnadas, Sathaye and others, discussing the future of the *Chronicle*. On his arrival the discussion abruptly ceased, and he was told to come at some other time.

SUSPENSION OF "BOMBAY CHRONICLE".

It is stated that the Shareholders of the *Chronicle* propose starting

another paper. A directors' meeting was held on the evening of the 27th when it was unanimously resolved that the publication of the *Bombay Chronicle* including the Sunday Edition thereof should be suspended pending the decision of the shareholders, as in the opinion of the Directors to continue the publication of the paper subject to censorship would be objectionable, not because it would be humiliating but also because the paper could not be an organ for the free expression of public opinion.

A shareholders' meeting has been called for tomorrow for further consideration of the matter.

Ansuyabai left on Sunday evening.

I have been informed by a friend that the owner of Shantaram's chawl has served a notice on Oomar Sobhani informing him that he will no longer permit the premises to be used as a meeting place for political discussion.

INTERVIEW WITH GANDHI

I had a long interview with Gandhi on Sunday afternoon when Curry and I attempted to persuade him that the modified form of Satyagraha was dangerous, in that he was preparing the ground for a campaign which would inevitably be dangerous if his restraining influence should for any reason become inoperative. I am afraid we did not succeed in shaking him. Amongst other things he told us that he had some doubts as to accepting Horniman as a Satyagrahi when he desired to sign the pledge, because he had always considered, judging by what he had heard of him and by his writings, that Horniman was an advocate of violence who believed that a revolution might be justifiable if justifiable ends could be achieved by no other means. He also said that he attributed the cause of the present unrest to five main factors, which he placed in the following order of importance :—

1. The question of the Caliphate.
2. Unrestrained oratory on public platforms.
3. Rowlatt Acts.
4. The prevailing scarcity, and
5. Forcible recruitment in the Punjab.

He further told us that he considered Jamnadas, Oomar Sobhani, Banker and Horniman to be the main props of the Satyagraha movement in Bombay. He stated his opinion that Horniman

had, since joining the Satyagraha movement, undergone a complete metamorphosis, and had it not been for his untimely removal, he would have developed into a veritable turtle-dove.

Gandhi emphatically claimed that it was the influence of Satyagraha alone that had kept Bombay calm inspite of the provocation of Horniman's arrest. He was gratified to feel that the movement had obtained so firm a hold upon the people. Our reports show that the Satyagraha volunteers were active in moving about and advising crowds reading the special supplement announcing Horniman's arrest to disperse and go quietly to their homes and further to resume their work as usual next day.

I attach copies of Gandhi's message upon the arrest of Horniman.

I am submitting separately a full note of our interview with Gandhi which embraced a wide range.

TELEGRAM TO MRS. BESANT

Copy of telegram from Jamnadas Dwarkadas to Mrs. Besant, dated the 26th April 1919.

There was perfect peace, and order here through Gandhiji and other Satyagrahis' efforts. Stop. Yet today Government have practically closed Chronicle and deported Horniman who was removed from his sick bed to which he was confined after operation. Stop. There can be no justification for this step. Stop. Government is trying patience even of best friends of British Empire. Stop. Horniman was brave loved by people. Stop. I feel exactly as I did when you were interned. Stop. He then fought bravely for you risking everything and I respectfully but earnestly request you to fight for him which I am sure you will do. Stop. Love respects Jamnadas.

COPY OF M. K. GANDHI'S MESSAGE

(FROM POLICE ABSTRACT OF INTELLIGENCE, 1919.)

Brothers and Sisters,

With great sorrow and equal pleasure I have to inform you that the Government have today removed Mr. Horniman from Bombay and he has been placed on board a steamer bound for England.

Mr. Horniman is a very brave and generous Englishman. He has given us the Mantram of Liberty, he has fearlessly exposed wrong wherever he has seen it and thus been an ornament to the race to which he belongs, and rendered it a great service. Every Indian knows his services to India. I am sorry for the event because a brave Satyagrahi has been deported while I retain my physical liberty. I am glad because, Mr. Horniman has been given the occasion of fulfilling his pledge.

The publication of the Chronicle will for the time being be discontinued, because the Directors have wisely decided not to accede to the improper demands of the Government. In reality, however, the continuance of the Chronicle without Mr. Horniman would be like an attempt to sustain a body when the soul has departed.

The condition I have described is truly serious. Satyagraha is on the anvil. At the same time, this is a fine opportunity for demonstrating its purity and its invincibility. It will rest with Satyagrahis and other inhabitants of India to take advantage of the opportunity. I can fully appreciate the deep wound that will be caused to every Satyagrahi by the separation of a dear comrade. The nation will certainly feel hurt to find that the one who presented it with a daily draught of liberty is no more in its midst. At a time like this Satyagrahis and others will, in my opinion demonstrate their true affection for Mr. Horniman only by remaining perfectly calm. It will be sheer thoughtlessness to break the peace. Modern Civilization challenges the Ancient. Satyagraha now going on is based upon the teachings of the Ancient Civilization and if India accepts Satyagraha the superiority of the Ancient Civilization will be indicated. The world will see Modern Civilization in its nakedness and there is no doubt that its votaries will retrace their steps.

The following are the practical suggestions I venture to place before you. There should be no stoppage of business anywhere in Hindustan, there should be no large public meeting of protests, no processions, no violence of any kind whatsoever and every effort should be made to stop any tendency thereto. I ask Satyagrahis and the sympathisers not to lose faith in the efficacy of Satyagraha and firmly to believe that the Satyagraha pledge will be carried out in its entirety.

M. K. GANDHI AND ROWLATT BILLS

Bombay, April 29th.—Below are rough notes of an interview with Gandhi on 27th April 1919.

Gandhi said that the idea that the Rowlatt Act was bad was his own and had not been suggested to him by others. He had not been influenced by anyone's arguments but had studied the Act himself.

2. Questioned as to what he objected to in it, he avoided giving a direct answer as to facts, but said that it was degrading. In reply to a direct question he said that many innocent persons were convicted under the ordinary laws and he did not object to the Rowlatt Act on the ground that it endangered innocent people, but he said that it was without the ordinary safeguards and that it established courts other than the ordinary courts. He objected to special legislation being permanently in force when Ordinances could always be brought out for extraordinary emergencies. He said that the tribunals were created by the Executive. But in reply to the question who creates the ordinary courts he could only admit that they were created by the executive Government. He said that the ordinary Courts had "an atmosphere" and "traditions". Questioned as to the real objects of the Rowlatt Act he said "to deal with revolutionary crime". He objected also because they were passed against the will of the people's representatives.

3. He stated that Horniman had come up to see him at Ahmedabad and Mrs. Naidu, Jamnadas Banker and Umer Sobhani had also come. Horniman professed himself ready to sign the Satyagraha vow. He had asked him whether he really accepted all the principles of Satyagraha. Horniman had replied that he did not accept them as general principles of life, but he did accept them in this particular case for the purpose of opposing the Rowlatt legislation and that he was therefore willing to sign.

4. He said that he could not feel sure that Horniman had never deceived him. He had gained the impression from his writings and from things that he had heard about him that he was in favour of violence as a political weapon. He also said that he (Horniman) had struck him as being prepared even to resort to revolutionary methods to gain ends which he considered justifiable.

5. He said that he did not think that the new modified vow was likely to lead to fresh outbreaks. He repeated his ideas about being able to persuade people to adopt the true principles of Satyagraha.

6. When he said that there was a skilled master-mind behind the revolutionary movement organising it, he referred to Ahmedabad only. He did not mean that a master-mind, or master minds, had organised trouble throughout India.

That would be far vast problem. The present unrest was due to the following causes in order:—

- (1) The Mohammedan question,
- (2) The Inflammatory speeches of agitators,
- (3) The Rowlatt Act,
- (4) The Famine,
- (5) The forced Recruiting in the Punjab,
- (7) He said that Jamnadas, Umar Sobhani Banker and Horniman were the four main props. of the movement in Bombay.
- (8) Gandhi said that he shuddered to think what would happen in India if the Reforms did not come up to expectations.
- (9) He considered the arrest and deportation of Horniman and the virtual suppression of the Chronicle were unjustifiable and provocative acts. He claimed that the influence of Satyagraha alone had been responsible for the absence of disorder on Horniman's arrest.

POLICE CHIEF INTERVIEWS GANDHIJI, 1919

[FROM FILE No. 3001/H/19 OF 1935, POLICE
COMMISSIONER, BOMBAY.]

HEAD POLICE OFFICE,
Bombay, 27th May 1919.

Notes of an Interview with M. K. Gandhi

I sent for Gandhi today in order to inform him that Umar Sobhani had despatched 900 copies of the Ali Brothers' letter to Zahid Ali by rail giving the name of the sender as the Satyagraha Sabha. Gandhi remarked that this was very wrong of him but after a moment's thought suggested that possibly the parcel was despatched before Umar Sobhani knew that he (Gandhi) did not approve of the Ali Brothers' letter. He also thought it possible that Umar Sobhani was guilty of nothing worse than of sending the packet to the station by the hand of a member of the Sabha and omitting to warn him that it was not the literature of the Sabha.

GANDHI AND UMAR SOBHANI

Gandhi informed me that he severely trounced Umar Sobhani for the action he took in connection with the destruction of the 4,000 copies of the Ali Brothers' letter. He said that Umar Sobhani

would not admit even now that his action was unjustified because he stuck to the letter although he may have been guilty of deceiving in the spirit. Gandhi considers this a quibble.

Gandhi has not the faintest information on what points he is to be examined at the Chief Presidency Magistrate's Court tomorrow. He has told no one that he has been summoned and professes to be anxious that no one should know of his appearance in Court. He has asked me in fact to see that the Magistrate examines him immediately he arrives at Court to avoid his having to wait about the premises and so attract attention.

HOLDING A PRIVATE CONFERENCE

Gandhi is holding a private conference at his own Bungalow tomorrow afternoon. He addressed a circular to 5 places viz. (1) Delhi, (2) Allahabad, (3) Ahmedabad, (4) Patna and (5) Madras to the leading Satyagrahis at each place telling them that he considered that the time had come to take stock and inviting them to come down to have an informal conference with him in Bombay. He does not expect more than half a dozen persons will turn up. He informs me that his primary object in calling the conference is to explain clearly and definitely to the Satyagrahis of other provinces that he intends to confine his own activities entirely to the Bombay Presidency and that they must not look to him either directly or indirectly to take an active part in the movement beyond the confines of this presidency. The secondary object of the conference is to discuss general lines of the campaign to be initiated on July the 1st. Personally I consider that the secondary object is really the primary one.

DEMAND FOR COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY

Gandhi tells me that he is about to address a letter to H. E. The Viceroy suggesting the appointment of a strong and impartial Committee of enquiry, who shall be empowered to examine the condition of affairs in the Punjab, assess the justification or otherwise for the employment of martial law and have power to quash sentences passed by the Special Courts in connection with the disturbances which, in their opinion, are excessive or undesirable. Gandhi tells me that he has for some time been reproached for persistently ignoring the course of events in the Punjab. He did not mind these reproaches because he felt that what happened in

the Punjab was not covered by his vow and he also felt that it was not right to resort to the use of the powerful weapons, as he called it, of Satyagraha until he had exhausted every other means of achieving his object. He has been in correspondence with His Excellency the Viceroy for some weeks on the subject of sentences of flogging passed by officers administering martial law, and he was recently very much upset by the order prohibiting Barristers in Calcutta from entering the Punjab. He felt that the time for action had come. After mature deliberation he has come to the conclusion that the course he suggests above will prove a penance for all the evils existing in the Punjab.

GANDHIJI AND ALI BROTHERS

(EXTRACT FROM SECRET ABSTRACTS, C. I. D., BOMBAY, OF 1919, PARA. 629.)

The following is a brief note of an interview I had with Gandhi on the 8th instant :—

I asked Gandhi if he had seen the letter which Mahomedalli and Shaukatalli had addressed to the Viceroy. He replied that Umar Sobhani had shown it to him. He replied that Umar Sobhani had not distributed the pamphlet among Mahomedans and that he had refrained from doing so under his (Gandhi's) instructions. In further conversation he said that while he did not think that Umar Sobhani was a revolutionary, he was frank and open by nature and he (Gandhi) thought that if Umar felt convinced that a revolution was the best way to secure the well-being of India, he would not hesitate to adopt such methods. He thought that in such a case Umar Sobhani would plainly tell him (Gandhi) of his intentions and Gandhi would in that case tell me. He did not think this was inconsistent, even though Umar Sobhani might know that secrecy was essential to the success of the revolution. Gandhi did not know whether or not the letter had been despatched to the Viceroy. He hoped that it had not, because he thought that the letter was unreasonable and foolish. He felt partly responsible for the letter because when the orders prohibiting him from entering the Punjab were served on him he sent a verbal message to Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali advising them to break the orders restricting them under the Defence of India Act, but before doing so to write to the Viceroy a temperate letter setting forth in detail the grievances of the Mahommedans.

Gandhi said that he had written a letter to the Viceroy suggesting that a solution to the Mahomedan question must be found. In reply to a further question he said that he thought that the only solution possible was for Turkey to receive back the territories which she possessed before the war with suitable guarantees for good Government.

He said that affairs on the border and in Afghanistan had caused him to think seriously as to his programme for the future. He had arranged for a meeting of Mahomedans tomorrow. He had not heard since whether it was finally settled that the meeting was to take place or not.

Gandhi showed that he felt the situation in India was very bad and he admitted that the news from Afghanistan made a difference as regards his plan for a hartal. He said that question had presented itself to him immediately on hearing the news but he had decided that hartal should be observed because there was an insistent demand among the people for some such observance and he felt that if they were not given in to, some of the people might break away from control. He did not admit that he had sanctioned a hartal for Sunday against his better judgment. He admitted, however that he had received a number of threatening letters and had also been urged by his followers to hold a hartal. He said he did not know how far the demand came from an insistent minority and how far the minority vocalised the views of the majority but that he had received representations on the subject from all quarters.

GANDHI DECIDES TO POSTPONE SATYAGRAHA

(FROM FILE NO. 3001/4/19 OF 1935, POLICE COMMISSIONER, BOMBAY.)

Gandhiji interviewed the Governor of Bombay at Poona on 12th July 1919 in connection with his proposed Satyagraha Movement and eventually decided to postpone it.

The following note from the Government file gives us an account of a meeting of Satyagrahis on 18th July 1919:--

MEETING OF 18TH JULY

Since Gandhi's interview with His Excellency in the middle of

July, the Satyagraha movement in Bombay has shown little sign of animation. Immediately after Gandhi returned from Poona the rumour spread through the city that the movement was dead and Gandhi received several letters congratulating him on postponing Civil Disobedience. On the 15th July he told S. G. Banker to reduce the clerical staff of the satyagraha office and to provide for the clerks in the Swadeshi stores or elsewhere, and he advised the more enthusiastic Satyagrahis to take to spinning wheels. At a meeting of the Satyagrahis on the 18th, at which about 75 were present Gandhi explained that one reason for postponing Satyagraha, was that he was afraid that all Satyagrahis could not be depended upon to carry out his principles in the right spirit. He also said that His Excellency had given him certain weighty reasons supported by the intelligent opinion of responsible and leading citizens for stopping the Satyagraha movement and that, being to some extent convinced by all these arguments he had consented to suspend it. Several Satyagrahis subjected Gandhi to a series of questions as regards his personal attitude. One of these questions was whether he intended to be present at the Town Hall meeting in connection with the celebration of Peace. To this Gandhi replied that the day could not be regarded as a day of rejoicing for India but at the present time it was a matter of congratulation from the point of view of humanity in general.

SEQUEL TO BOMBAY INTERVIEW

After Gandhi's interview with His Excellency in Bombay on the 20th July 1919, and after his letter which was published in the Chronicle on the 22nd there were some signs of excitement among the Satyagrahis. The idea gained support that Gandhi would persist in agitation until the Rowlatt Act was abolished. His reference to Mohammedan questions also attracted considerable attention. At the same time Gandhi was abused for having led others into trouble and deserted them when punishment was clearly to be expected. People in the cloth Market called him a 'Khuni' (Murderer). This opinion was reflected in the 'Hindustan' and other papers. He was compared very unfavourably with Tilak, as the latter had himself suffered martyrdom in jail. He was called an impostor and a liar. On the 20th he left for Ahmedabad, returning on the 24th. It was clear that his popularity was waning amongst his most devoted followers.

MEETING ON 26TH JULY

At a meeting attended by 200 Satyagrahis on the 26th July he was

mercilessly cross-examined by them. One drew his attention to the wording of the vow, which he had taken, to the effect that Satyagraha should be continued until the act was abolished. Another asked whether he had received any definite promise that the Act would be abolished if he suspended Civil Disobedience. A third asked whether he had started the movement of his own accord or whether he had been led into it by others. A fourth asked him whether he thought it creditable to him to leave people in the lurch, who would not have joined the movement and would not have gone to jail but for him. A fifth suggested that his policy had ruined many and not only that, but it had interfered with the good work that was being done by the Home Rule League and other associations. Gandhi's replies to these questions were somewhat lame and he finally told them if any one wished to continue civil disobedience he was welcome to do so at his own risk. He said that he had not expected that it would lead to violence, and realizing the difficulties that had arisen, he advised them to suspend it. He tried to disperse the meeting, but many shouted that they had questions to ask. He finally escaped stating that he would call another meeting on his return from Surat. This was the last Satyagraha meeting. For some time two or three members have resigned from the sabha. Many who have not resigned refused to take delivery of letters addressed to them from the Satyagraha Sabha Office. I consider that the number of persons who now take any interest in the Satyagraha Sabha can safely be estimated at less than 100.

GANDHIJI INTERVIEWED BY MR. GRIFFITH

Mr. Griffith, Commissioner of Police, Bombay, interviewed Mahatma Gandhi on 1st July 1919, in connection with the latter's intention to start satyagraha.

The following is Mr. Griffith's report of the interview as given in file No. 3001/H/19 of the C.I.D. Bombay :—

Head Police Office,
Bombay, 2nd July 1919.

Returned with compliments.

Gandhi returned from Ahmedabad at mid-day on the 1st instant. Mr. Robertson was on the same train. Mr. Robertson and I interviewed Gandhi at my office at 4 O'clock the same afternoon. Mr. Robertson warned him on the lines of the Government of India telegram.

Gandhi admitted that points (1) and (2) as included in this telegram were correct. He explained the position in the following terms. He had made a very close study for the past 2 months of the position of affairs with special reference to (1) the Afghan War, (2) the feelings of the people and (3) the attitude of the authorities. He had been in particularly close touch with the Mahomedans. While he admitted that he was not in very close touch with the Mahomedan Masses, he was in close touch with a number of Moulvies and he had also visited a large number of better class Mahomedans, including Mahomedan women (who by the way, he says, do not observe Purdah in his presence) and he was quite convinced by what he had seen and heard that they were perfectly quiet. They had given him definite promises that the Mahomedans would not create any disorder should he be arrested. He had made it a point to impress upon Mahomedans that it was their duty if they followed his teachings to do nothing to embarrass the authorities, particularly in view of the Afghan War.

He was quite convinced that the vast bulk of Mahomedans in India had not sympathy with the Afghans and that on that ground alone they would take elaborate care to do nothing that was calculated to prolong hostilities. Moulvi Abdul Bari, a close personal friend with whom he is in intimate touch, bears him out in this conclusion. Further, after innumerable conversations with Hindus and Mahomedans of all classes, he felt assured that his arrest would cause no trouble because the people now realized that the authorities were prepared to meet any disturbance that might arise and moreover that they would be swift to act. He was quite convinced that there would have been no disturbance in April had it not been for the fact that the Mahomedans were behind the Hindus. He put this down to the Mahomedans' fear that the Rowlatt Act had been framed with the express intention of suppressing the expression of their opinions with regard to the Khali-phate question. Had it not been for this fact the Mahomedans would not have instigated the Hindus to violence. He was thoroughly satisfied that had it not been for the incitement of Mahomedans, the Hindus would have shown no violence.

GANDHI'S ANXIETY ABOUT GUJARAT

When Mr. Robertson informed him that there was evidence that racial animosities still existed in Ahmedabad and quoted 2 or 3 concrete instances in support of this contention, Gandhi expressed

the greatest surprise and was anxious for details. He would be ready to forego civil disobedience if he felt that this state of affairs was at all general in Gujarat, or at any rate to postpone civil disobedience until he had conducted a propaganda in Ahmedabad to eradicate the feelings of hostility. He was more nervous about Gujarat than he was about any other part of India. He felt that the people there still retained full confidence in him. The danger was most marked in the Kaira District and he had therefore, been constantly impressing upon them that violence and hatred were entirely foreign to his propaganda. He had taken the people of Kaira very severely to task for the part they had played in the recent disturbances. Indulal Yajnik, his right-hand man at Ahmedabad, was the truest Satyagrahi there. As regards the Mill-hands in Ahmedabad, Anusaya Behn had settled down in the city and as long as she was there he had no fear of any disturbance for the mill-hands regarded her as their mother. She was a brave woman with very great influence and her Association with the mill-hands was a sufficient guarantee that they would abstain from violence, no matter what might happen to him. Anusaya Behn was his hostage in Ahmedabad. On his pointing out to her that the defence of accused persons was contrary to the tenets of Satyagraha Anusaya Behn had abandoned her plan of engaging counsel from Bombay to defend the accused in the Ahmedabad cases. She was now engaged in diverting the energies of the mill-hands into the channel of Swadeshism in view of the probability of his arrest and disappearance. He admitted that large numbers of mill-hands out of work were difficult to control and he would be very nervous were it not for the presence and co-operation of Anusaya Behn. She had promised to perish at her post should there be trouble. In addition to Anusaya Behn, he had infinite faith in the influence of Indulal Yajnik and Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Kanuga and also inmates of his own Ashram. Mr. Robertson reminded him that these gentlemen had not shown up very brilliantly in the recent disturbances and that Dr. Kanuga had been too petrified with fright even to attend casualties lying at his very door. Gandhi agreed that they had cut a sorry figure but said that 2 months' intensive training had worked wonders in them, that they had found themselves and were so transformed that he felt he could safely rely on their staunchness in the event of future disturbances. He was inclined to encourage the diversion of the energies of the bulk of Satyagrahis to Swadeshism because he felt that Satyagraha in the case of the majority of them was a matter of expediency rather than conviction. With regard to Madras he had recently heard from Rajgopalacharya that there was no danger whatever of any violence ensuing in his Presidency, should Gandhi be arrested. His information from the U. P. was the

same and, as regards Bengal, he was certain that nothing would happen because the Bengalis regarded him as a fool. As regards the Punjab, numbers of Punjabis had come to him and apologised for the violence that had taken place in that province and, apart altogether from their sorrow at having acted in opposition to his expressed wishes, he was satisfied that the Punjab was still in such a state of panic that they would in no circumstances resort to violence. In spite of this conviction he had taken full precaution with regard to the Punjab and had seen hundreds of Punjabis in this connection. Nor was there any fear that there would be trouble on his account in Delhi.

As regards point (2) of the telegram Gandhi explained his point of view as follows :—

When the disturbances broke out in April Government like himself, were quite unprepared. Government were now fully alive and very wide awake and he could see no reason why a man should not take advantage of such a condition of affairs. His mission in life was to correct the mental attitude of the people. If evil doers were not inclined to follow his preachings, then he felt that it was quite justifiable to rely upon the measures taken by Government to keep those evil doers in check. He could see nothing wrong in his attitude in this respect No Government could govern by force alone. A good Government was happy blend of force and sympathy. He considered that there was a stronger strain of sympathy in the British character than in the character of any other National and throughout his teachings he had made it a point to emphasise this fact and to make it clear that on this ground alone he was a staunch supporter of the British connection and that any person who did not see eye to eye to him in this respect could have nothing in common with him. By his propaganda he hoped to quicken the sympathy of Government. It was his intention to force Government to yield to public opinion. He had agreed to suspend his programme for one week out of his strong regard for Lord Chelmasford. I asked him whether he had considered the possibility of the mental equilibrium of the Mahomedans being upset by the peace terms offered to Turkey and whether he did not think it advisable on that account to avoid the risk of complicating the situation by going to jail and depriving the Mahomedans of his restraining influence. He replied that he did not think it likely that there would be any danger of trouble on his account if the first week after his arrest passed without incident and he therefore argued that it was unlikely that his incarceration would have any effect one way or the other upon the attitude of the Mahomedans with regard to the peace

terms. He understood that the Peace terms would not be published for another 2 months by which time possibility he might be a free man again. If the terms offered to Turkey were so drastic that they made the Mahomedans disloyal to the British, he would certainly make common cause with the Mahomedans with the double object of restraining them from violence and of assisting them to combat the terms.

Gandhi defined civil disobedience as disobedience against a law which there was no moral obligation to obey, provided always that the penalty for disobedience should fall in full upon the delinquent who openly invites and seeks it and by his action does not harm his opponent.

Gandhi realized that the removal of his personal influence would give his political opponents a chance of counteracting or distorting his teaching, but he did not consider that was a sufficient ground for foregoing his programme of civil disobedience. Referring to the Deccan, Gandhi stated that he was very anxious to convert the Deccanis to his views. The foundation of their political thought and action was anti-British—that was Tilak's creed. Tilak was the apostle of the "tit-for-tat" cult, and declared that the salvation of India lay in retaliation. He himself was very strongly opposed to this cult. He considered that ill will and hostility were fatal to progress and he hoped to insinuate himself slowly but surely in the Deccan and to gain influence with the Deccanis who in his opinion were very valuable material since they were staunch and men of their word. He had a few ardent followers in the Deccan, prominent amongst whom was one Sumant who was doing excellent spade work in Pandharpur. Gandhi admitted that there was a great deal of irresponsible talk about his contemplated campaign of civil disobedience. He himself expected to emerge stronger both morally and physically from his residence in jail. He did not anticipate a long period of incarceration.

GANDHI GAVE A WRITTEN STATEMENT

In conclusion Gandhi made a statement which was reduced to writing, of which I attach a copy. His plans for the future are detailed in that statement. He emphasised the fact that he had not the slightest desire to cause Government more embarrassment than was inseparable from the performance of the duty imposed upon him by his conscience. He promised to give me ample notice of his intended movements and expressed his intention also of warning H. E. himself before opening his campaign. It will be observed that

he went so far as to state that he was prepared to consult the convenience of the authorities, as to the details of his arrest stating that he would choose the route most convenient to the authorities. As at present advised, he thought it undesirable to go to the Punjab. To do so might cause unnecessary excitement in the province which was slowly settling down and he could equally well achieve his object by disobeying his order of internment and leaving the confines of the Bombay Presidency either en route to Madras or to Mount Abu, as might be most convenient to Government.

The gist of our interview with Gandhi was telephoned to Secretary and P. S. G. was informed by cypher telegram.

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT ABOUT HIS PLANS SUBMITTED TO GOVERNMENT

Bombay, 1st July 1919.

I have received through Mr. Robertson the message kindly sent by the Government of India with reference to my plans. I wish to state that whenever I actually resume civil disobedience I shall give due notice to the local Authority. Civil disobedience will be restricted only to myself and my co-workers will not take it up for at least one month after my incarceration except at their own risk. As I have written to H. E. the Viceroy a letter to which I expect a reply and as I have sent a cable to Mr. Montague, in order to wait for reply to these 2 communications, I do not propose to offer civil disobedience up to Tuesday next. The manner in which I propose to offer civil disobedience is by crossing the border of this Presidency at some point. So far as I can think at present it is not my desire to cross the border by attempting to go to the Punjab as I feel that I would be unnecessarily disturbing the process of peace going on there at present and doing an act which might irritate the local Government. If the Government of India or the local Government would wish me to cross the border of the Presidency at any particular point I would gladly do so. My movements up to Tuesday are as follows :—

I intend to take the Guzerat mail on Saturday evening, reach Nadiad on Sunday morning staying in the Kaira district practically the whole of Sunday, during that time if necessary pay a visit to Kathlal for the sake of delivering an address at Kathlal on Swadeshi. In that event I would take the evening train from

Nadiad to Ahmedabad on Sunday and stay in Ahmedabad during the whole of Monday taking the return Gujerat Mail from Ahmedabad to Bombay which accordingly I reach on Tuesday morning at 8 O'clock. The day in Ahmedabad I propose to pass by talking to my friends about the manner of preserving peace after my civil disobedience and I propose to address the same day a meeting of women in Ahmedabad on Swadeshi.

I would like respectfully to state that if the Government desires that I should suspend the resumption of civil disobedience for any definite time not too distant I would consider it my duty to respect their wish as I am most anxious that no action on my part should in any shape or form cause embarrassment to Government save what embarrassment is inevitable by reason of civil disobedience on the ground of the refusal of Government to listen to the appeal for withdrawal of Rowlatt legislation. I have heard on what is in my opinion good authority that it is the intention of the Government of India as also the Secretary of State for India to revise their opinion on the Rowlatt legislation and at a suitable time not very far distant they propose to withdraw the Rowlatt Act and that they have abandoned the intention of proceeding with the sister bill. If my information is correct and if the Government will so far as they can at present give the assurance not for publication that such is their intention, I would indefinitely postpone civil disobedience.

(Signed) M. K. GANDHI.

MEASURES TO DEAL WITH CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT OF 1919

(FROM BOMBAY POLICE COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE FILE NO. 3067/H
OF 1935.)

[On April 18, 1920 Gandhi had advised temporary suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement, when he found it difficult to interest people in peaceful side of Satyagraha. Gandhiji was disturbed by what had occurred at Ahmedabad, Nadiad and Amritsar. There was general resentment in India against the injustice and cruelty inflicted on the Punjab by British Government. The A.I.C.C. had demanded an inquiry into the Punjab wrongs and Gandhiji was pressed to proceed to the Punjab immediately in disregard of consequences. Gandhiji announced his line of action and policy in

a statement which was reproduced in 'Pioneer' of 9th May. Following this publication a correspondence took place between the Government of the Punjab, Government of India and Government of Bombay, regarding the measures to be adopted to deal with the situation. Below is given the text of relevant letters, as traced in the Bombay Police Commissioner's Office File No. 3967/H of 1935.]

No. 929.

From

THE HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E.,
Secretary to the Government of India ;

To

THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY.

HOME DEPARTMENT:
(POLITICAL) :

Simla, the 12th May 1919.

Sir,

The Government of India are of opinion that the definition of the work "association" in section 15(1) of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, which is already in force in the Bombay Presidency would include persons who have subscribed to the Satyagraha vow ; and if in view of local conditions the local Government considers that the effects of such a step would be beneficial they will be prepared to declare such association an "unlawful association" under section 15(2) of the Act. His Excellency the Governor in Council will doubtless not overlook the risk that the use of the Act against the passive resisters may have the result of providing them with easy martyrdom.

I have etc.,

(Signed) H. D. CRAIK,
for the Secretary to the Government of India.

No. S.D.M. 11.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT :

Mahableshwar, 27th May 1919.

rom

J. CRERAR, Esq., C.I.E.,
Secretary to Government, Bombay ;

o

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
Home Department, Simla.

ir,

In reply to your letter No. 929, dated the 12th May 1919, I am directed to say that, so long as the propaganda urging 'civil disobedience' are in abeyance, as is at present the case, the Government in Council considers that a formal declaration under section 15(2) of the C. L. Amendment Act, 1908, would be inexpedient. It will, however, be necessary to reconsider the question as soon as symptoms appear of the revival of the movement.

I have etc.,

(Signed) J. CRERAR,
Secretary to Government.

D.O. No. 993.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL).

Simla, the 19th May 1919.

My dear Crerar,

I enclose a copy of a confidential d.o. letter No. 502 S.W., dated the 14th May 1919, from the Chief Secretary to the Punjab

Government. Before replying to it, the Government of India would be glad to have the views of the Bombay Government on the question raised.

In the Home Department letter No. 929, dated the 12th instant the Government of India expressed the opinion that those who took the Satyagraha vow could be treated as an unlawful association within the scope of part II of the Act XIV of 1908. A suggestion has been made that in view of Mr. Gandhi's recent declaration of policy it would be well to announce publicly that instructions to deal with the Satyagraha movement under the Act have been issued to local Governments. Such an announcement might be taken as a challenge by the comparatively few real fanatics but it would probably make the merely disaffected think twice, and it would be difficult for the anti Satyagraha moderates to denounce the action of Government. On the other hand it is possible that by July the movement will be discredited and Gandhi's influence much diminished.

Will you please let the Government of India know what His Excellency in Council thinks of this suggestion, as soon as possible

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) H. D. CRAIK.

No. 502-S.W.

LAHORE :
14th May 1919.

My dear Marris,

His Honour desires me to draw the attention of the Government of India to the announcement issued in Bombay by Mr. Gandhi which was published in the 'Pioneer' of the 9th.

He would be glad to know what action it is proposed to take in regard to Mr. Gandhi and his policy as formulated in this article. The matter is one of some concern to us in the Punjab, for though Gandhi is at present discredited, it is possible that his efforts to

recover popularity by playing into the hands of the extremesits may start some trouble again.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J. P. THOMPSON,
Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

THE HON'BLE SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E.,
Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department.

No. S.D.M. 12.

MAHABLESHWAR :
27th May 1919.

My dear Craik,

With reference to your confidential d.o. No. 993, dated the 19th May 1919. I am to invite attention to my official letter No. S.D.M. 11, in reply to Home Department letter No. 929 of the 12th May. The situation here at present is that the Satyagraha movement has made little real headway outside the sphere of Gandhi's personal influence. In the Deccan it is regarded with suspicion even by the political leaders as a movement which has not emanated from themselves. As a result of recent events, it shows some signs of disintegration. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, e.g., with others, is reported to be about to sever his connection. The natural result of all this is, no doubt to compel Gandhi to assert himself, but he seems to be hesitating and uncertain. A declaration under Act XIV of 1908 might stimulate him into action. The longer his present phase of inaction lasts, the less likely is any renewal of the civil disobedience movement to receive any general response for the present, therefore, the Government of Bombay consider that the question of a declaration should be suspended. If the movement is resumed, it will, however, be necessary to reconsider the situation.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) J. CRERAR.

ROWLATT BILLS AND SATYAGRAHA

[From GOVT. OF BOMBAY, HOME DEPT., SPECIAL BRANCH,
FILE NO. 521 (16)].

On 28th June 1919, Government of India sent a long telegram to the Government of Bombay regarding Gandhiji's intention to break the

law. Gandhiji had written to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy about his intention of going to the Punjab and of committing Civil Disobedience on July 1st. The Government of India's telegram is reproduced below :—

Confidential.

Telegram from Home Department, G. of I., No. 1357-Poll.,
dated 28th June 1919, P. 141 of file.

Gandhi avowed his intention of breaking the law which he has again expressed in the correspondence forwarded by the P. S. to the Viceroy to H. E. the Governor, rendering it necessary to consider carefully question of action against him. Government of India have also been informed that it is his intention to visit the Punjab in defiance of the orders passed in this matter. The Government of India feel that the law must be enforced and they note that the Bombay Government have already arranged to stop Gandhi from leaving the Presidency. If other measures fail he will have to be prosecuted. At the same time, though various information points to his having lost his influence, they cannot overlook the likelihood that, as on previous occasions, his arrest may lead to excitement, hartals and possible disorders which it is highly desirable to avoid. They suggest therefore for the consideration of the Bombay Government that the Chief Secretary or the I. G. P. or the Commissioner of Police should interview Gandhi on the following lines. He announced intention of resuming civil disobedience in July because (1) people by then would have acquired self-restraint and (2) Government would have ample forces available. But Government warn Gandhi that after all that has occurred there can be no sort of guarantee that excitement, disorder and suffering may not again ensue if he constrained them to uphold the laws by arrest and prosecute him. Point two of course be handled cautiously.

The facts are that with the Afghan negotiations imminent it would be highly undesirable for more disorder to occur as this would have the effect of strengthening the Amir's hands if not of leading to renewal of hostility. But it should suffice Gandhi that eve of conclusion of hostilities is a most unsuitable occasion to risk the provocation of internal disorders. Gandhi must therefore clearly realise and be prepared to take the responsibility for the grave consequences of his acts.

Provided that this warning be plainly given there is no objection to persuasion being also tried, but in any case Gandhi should be asked to say what he intends and the purport of the communication from him. His reply should be reduced to writing and its gist wired to the Government of India who will then consider what other steps be necessary if it appears that his arrest is inevitable.

GOVERNMENT'S WARNING TO GANDHIJI

(Page 189 of the file.)

On 20th July 1919 Gandhiji received the following letter from the Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay :--

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT,
SECRETARIAT :
Bombay, 20th July 1919.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am to inform you that the Government of India have desired His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to convey to you a grave warning of the consequences which must inevitably be anticipated from the resumption of any action or propaganda involving disobedience of the law and of the heavy moral responsibility that must lie on those who take or advise this course.

In making this communication to you, I am to say that His Excellency would add a further warning that any assumption that such action can be undertaken without most serious consequences to the public security, is entirely unwarranted by the situation in this presidency.

for Political Secretary to Government.

To,

M. K. GANDHI, Esqr.

TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

In response to this warning and other considerations Gandhiji decided not to resume Civil Disobedience for the time being. The

following letter appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 22nd July 1919 :—

MR. GANDHI AND CIVIL RESISTANCE

(Page 197 of the File.)

Temporary Suspension to continue.

To

THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE".

The Government of India have given me, through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, a grave warning that resumption of Civil Disobedience is likely to be attended with serious consequences to the public security. This warning has been enforced by His Excellency the Governor himself at interviews to which I was summoned. In response to this warning and to the urgent desire, publicly expressed by Dewan Bahadur Govinda Raghava Iyer, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several Editors, I have after deep consideration, decided not to resume Civil Resistance for the time being. I may add that several prominent friends belonging to what is called the Extremist party have given me the same advice on the sole ground of their fear of recrudescence of violence on the part of those who might not have understood the doctrine of Civil Resistance. When in common with most other Satyagrahis I came to the conclusion that time was ripe for the resumption of the Civil Resistance part of Satyagraha I sent a respectful letter to His Excellency the Viceroy advising him of my intention so to do and urging that Rowlatt Legislation should be withdrawn, that an early declaration be made as to the appointment of a strong and impartial committee to investigate the Punjab disturbances, with power to revise the sentences passed and that Babu Kalinath Roy who was, as could be proved from the record of the case, unjustly convicted, should be released. The Government of India deserve thanks for the decision in Mr. Roy's case. Though it does not do full justice to Mr. Roy the very material reduction in the sentence is a substantial measure of justice. I have been assured that the Committee of Inquiry such as I have urged for is in the process of being appointed. With these indications of good will, it would be unwise on my part not to listen to the warning given by the Government. Indeed my acceptance of the Government's advice is a further demonstration of the true nature of Civil Resistance. A Civil Resister never seeks to embarrass Government. He often co-operates and does

not hesitate civilly to resist where Resistance becomes a duty. He attains the goal by creating good will, believing as he does that unflinching exercise of good will even in the face of unjust acts of a Government can only result in good will being ultimately returned by the Government. Further suspension of Civil Resistance is, therefore, nothing but a practical application of Satyagraha.

Yet it is no small matter for me to suspend Civil Resistance even for a day while Rowlatt Legislation continues to disfigure our Statute Book. The Lahore and Amritsar Judgments make suspension still more difficult. Those judgments read by me with an unbiassed mind have left an indelible impression that most of the Punjab Leaders have been convicted without sufficient proof and that the punishments inflicted on them are inhuman and outrageous. The Judgments go to show that they have been convicted for no other reason than that they were connected with stubborn agitation against Rowlatt Legislation. I would, had I my way, have therefore preferred to court imprisonment to retaining the restricted liberty vouchsafed to me by the Government of India. But a Satyagrahi has to swallow many a bitter pill and the present suspension is one such. I feel that I shall better serve the country and the Government and those Punjabi Leaders who in my opinion have been so unjustly convicted and so cruelly sentenced, by suspension of Civil Resistance for the time being. But this suspension while it lightens my responsibility by reason of the feared outbreak of violence makes it incumbent upon the Government and the eminent public men who have advised suspension to see that the Rowlatt Legislation is removed without delay.

I have been accused of throwing lighted matches. If my occasional Civil Resistance be a lighted match, Rowlatt Legislation and persistence in retaining it on the Statute Book is a thousand matches scattered throughout India, and the only way to avoid Civil Resistance altogether is to withdraw that legislation. Nothing that the Government have published in justification of that legislation has moved the Indian public from the attitude of opposition to it.

I have thus suspended Civil Resistance to hasten the end of that Legislation. But Satyagrahis will pay for its removal by their lives if it cannot be removed by lesser means. The period of suspension is for Satyagrahis an opportunity for further discipline in an enlightened and willing obedience to the laws of the

State. The right of Civil Resistance is derived from the duty of obedience voluntarily performed. And Satyagraha consists not merely, or even chiefly, in civilly resisting laws, but mainly in promoting national welfare by strict adherence to Truth. I would respectfully advise fellow-Satyagrahis and seek the co-operation of all great and small in the propagation of pure Swadeshi and promotion of Hindu-Moslem Unity.

Swadeshi is, I hold, a necessity of national existence. No Englishman or Indian can view with equanimity the huge enforced waste of the labour of twenty crore peasants during half the year. That labour, can be quickly and immediately utilised only by restoring to the women their spinning wheels and to the men their handlooms. This means the elimination of the unnatural Lancashire interest and the Japanese menace. The elimination of the unnatural Lancashire interest purifies the British connection and makes the position of equality possible. The elimination of the Japanese menace will avert a national and Imperial disaster. Extension of Japan's hold upon India through her commerce can end only in India's degradation or a bloody war.

The Hindu-Moslem Unity is equally a national and Imperial necessity. A voluntary league between Hindus, Mahomedans and Englishmen is a League in my conception infinitely superior to and purer than the league of Nations, just formed. Permanent Union between Hindus and Mahomedas is the preliminary to such Triple Union. That Unity can be materially advanced by the Hindus whole heartedly associating themselves with the Mahomedans in their very just aspirations regarding the Caliphate, the holy Mecca and the other holy places of Islam. .

The Swadeshi propaganda and work for Hindu-Moslem Unity require powers of organisation, honesty of purpose, integrity in trade and immense self-sacrifice and self-restraint. It is therefore easy enough to perceive that Swadeshi propaganda on the purest lines and promotion of Hindu-Moslem Unity cannot but have an indirect, though nonetheless effective, bearing on the movement for securing withdrawal of Rowlatt Legislation, for which the Government can claim no justification—little as they claim even now—when we give an unexampled demonstration of the qualities named above.

Yours, etc.,

M. K. GANDHI.

Laburnum Road, July 21.

Letter, dated 20th August 1919 from the Commissioner of Police, Bombay to the Secretary to Government of Bombay, Political Department.

On 20th August 1919, the D.I.G. of Police wrote to Government of Bombay as follows :—(page 225 of the file).

Confidential.

HEAD POLICE OFFICE :
Bombay, 20th August 1919

My Dear Crerar,

A meeting of Satyagrahis was held in Bombay yesterday evening. The Meeting was timed to begin at 9 O'clock, but Gandhi arrived three-fourths of an hour late, and on this account proceedings were somewhat hurried. Gandhi announced that according to his information it was not likely that the Rowlatt Acts would be abolished, and it would therefore be incumbent on him to resume Satyagraha. But before doing so he intended to give Government an opportunity of reconsidering position, and with that object in view he would submit a petition, signed by a large number of the public, showing that the majority of Indians were opposed to the Rowlatt Acts. He would draft the petition in consultation with the Executive Committee of the Satyagraha Sabha and with certain lawyers, and would then take on it as many signatures as he could get. He was open enough to submit one as a matter of formality before reopening his campaign. He further explained that by adopting this course he might placate such men as Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Hon. Mr. Shafi and Rangaswamy Iyer who had advised him to give up the passive resistance movement.

It would appear that Gandhi feels that he must do something to keep himself in the public eye, and it is a satisfactory likelihood that the preparation of the petition and the collection of signatures upon it will keep Gandhi out of mischief for some time to come.

Gandhi stated that he had been advised by many of his friends to institute a Guzerati paper on the lines of Young India, and he intends to do so at the earliest opportunity.

He leaves Bombay for Ahmedabad on the 22nd inst. and is expected to return on the 25th or 26th idem.

I am informed that Gandhi refused to open the Krishna Stores on the 19th instant, alleging that the Stores was not a pure Swadeshi concern since it sold Foreign goods as well as Swadeshi articles.

A move is on foot to open a Swadeshi Store on Kalbadevi Road with a paid up capital of one crore of rupees and to manage it upon the lines of the Army and Navy Stores. Narayendas Purshotumdas is the leader of the movement. He is to build new premises for the stores and it is expected that a year must elapse before the stores can be opened.

All continues quiet in the Mill Districts and there are no signs so far as we can see of likely trouble on pay day.

Yours sincerely,

J. CRERAR, Esq. C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to Government (Bombay),
Political Department.

RESTRICTIONS ON GANDHIJI'S MOVEMENTS WITHDRAWN

Eventually the restrictions imposed on Gandhiji in regard to his entry into the Punjab were withdrawn by the Government of India, as will be seen from the following communications. (Page 267 of the file).

Copy of a letter No. 2073, dated Simla the 1st October 1919, from the Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab, and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi:—

With reference to the correspondence ending with your telegram No. 233-S dated the 10th September 1919, I am letter 5004-S.B., 16th directed to say that the Governor General in Council has decided that the restrictions imposed on Mr. Gandhi should be withdrawn on the 15th October unless reasons to the contrary present themselves before that date. I am to request that (with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor) effect may be given to this decision by the withdrawal of the order passed by the Local Government under rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, on the date mentioned.

DEPORTATION OF B. G. HORNIMAN

[B. G. Horniman came to Bombay as Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* and 'rapidly established himself as a prominent member of the extremist section, and his career as a dangerous agitator and organiser of political movements hostile to Government must be regarded concurrently with the editorial activities' (Letter by J. Crerar, Bombay Government, Secretary to the Government of India). He was a leading member of the Home Rule League. He carried on his agitation 'to encourage youths and students to take part in political movements' and to awaken 'the credulous and excitable temperament of the labouring classes' to participate in India's movement for Home Rule. Horniman's fighting journalism created a tremendous awakening among the educated classes. His propagation through the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle* of the Satyagraha movement in 1919 and his tirade against the Bombay War Conference and the Willingdon memorial in 1918 made him an eyesore for the Government, who peremptorily deported him to England (26th April 1919) to save themselves from his attacks. The peaceful Hartal in Bombay on 11th May in protest of the deportation was so successful that Gandhiji congratulated the people of Bombay for "setting a worthy example to the whole of India". Even in England Horniman carried on his fight for Indian Home Rule. He was, however, eager to return to India and in spite of government's refusal to give him a passport for India, Horniman persuaded the British authorities to give him a passport for visiting France and Italy on health grounds and from Paris he sailed for India, obtaining a passport from the French Authorities. He arrived in Madras on 12th January 1926, the Government of India looking on helplessly. Horniman has to be recognised among the few foreigners who took a leading part in India's struggle for Freedom, as a past master in the art of carrying on propaganda through journalism.]

(FROM H. D. FILE No. 204 ; PERIOD : 1907 TO 1926.)

Summarised.

On 25th June 1918, news was received by the Government of Bombay that Mr. B. G. Horniman, Editor, *Bombay Chronicle* "may apply for a passport to proceed to the United Kingdom." The Government thought that "in England Horniman would be regarded as a degenerate and the Home Authorities would find no difficulty in dealing with him," (From letter No. S.D. 638 from L. Robertson, dated 26th June 1918, addressed to the Home Department, Simla).

The Government of India concurred in the above view of the Government of Bombay. But as the voluntary departure of

Mr. Horniman did not occur, Government thought it expedient to deport him. Thus under instructions from the Government of India the Bombay Government served the order of deportation on Mr. Horniman on 26th April 1919, under the Defence of India Act of 1915. Horniman was convalescing after a surgical operation when the order was served upon him. He was examined by doctors and declared fit to travel by S.S. Takda. He was placed on a stretcher and taken in an Ambulance to the Ballard Pier. The party reached there at 4-15 p.m. and he was installed on board at 4-30 p.m. Mr. Horniman was asked by the Police authorities whether there was any truth in the rumour that he was anxious to proceed to England but was afraid that he would not be granted a passport. To this he replied that he had hoped to be able to go home for 6 months in the previous year; but that he had given up the idea as the agitation had begun to grow.

The Secretary of State asked the Government of India to send them details about Horniman's activities in India, which was done by letter No. S.D. 523, Judicial Department, dated 6th May 1919 (The letter is given under Appendix A).

Although Gandhiji had advised people not to observe Hartal, the demand by the public was so persistent that he called a meeting of the Satyagraha Sabha on the night of 4th May 1919 and the Sabha decided "after mature deliberation that next Sunday 11th instant should be the day of observance of Hartal, fasting for 24 hours reckoning from previous evening and private religious devotion in every home".

The Hartal was observed as decided on 11th May and contrary to Government fears it passed off quite peacefully. Gandhiji issued a statement on 12th May congratulating the people on the success of the Hartal. (This statement is given under Appendix B.)

In his speech before the House of Commons on Indian Budget Mr. Montagu made certain charges against the Bombay Chronicle, in connection with Horniman's deportation. This was on 22nd May 1919. Mr. Jinnah sent a cablegram to Mr. Montagu refuting the charges in his speech. (The cablegram is given under Appendix C.)

Mr. Horniman, in the meantime, applied for a passport to go back to India, Mr. Montagu refused to grant a passport and added that the matter was entirely in the discretion of Sir George Lloyd.

Mr. Nariman asked the Government of Bombay on 26th April 1922 for a copy of the order of deportation served on Mr. Horniman. The Government replied on 12th July 1922, that Mr. Nariman should write to Mr. Horniman for a copy of the order.

Questions were asked in the Bombay Council in July 1922, asking for reasons for continuing the ban on Mr. Horniman even after the repeal of the Defence of India Act, under which he was deported. Government replied that it was considered undesirable for Mr. Horniman to return to India. The questions were repeated by other councillors in subsequent sessions and similar replies were given. Government, however, found a new argument in stating that it was not the ban that stopped Horniman from coming. He could come if he could obtain a passport from the authorities in England (13th August 1923).

On the 19th February 1924 Mr. V. J. Patel brought a resolution in the Central Assembly at Delhi for the removal of the restrictions in the way of Mr. Horniman's return to India. After a heated debate in which Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Home Minister, was cornered by Mr. Jinnah in a well argued and spirited speech, the Assembly voted in favour of Mr. Patel's resolution.

The European Association got nervous over this verdict of the Central Assembly and the Chairman of the Bombay Branch wrote to the Governor of Bombay that the Association was opposed to the return of Mr. Horniman to India. (Letter dated 10th March 1924). Bombay held a public meeting under the Chairmanship of Mr. H. P. Mody. The meeting passed a resolution congratulating the Central Assembly on the resolution passed by it and requesting the Governor of Bombay to give immediate effect to the resolution. Similar resolutions were passed by the Journalists' Association of India, and other public meetings held at different places.

Mr. K. F. Nariman brought a similar resolution in the Bombay Council on 19th March 1924. Sir Maurice Hayward, the Home Member of the Bombay Government, opposed the resolution making false and undignified accusations against Mr. Horniman. At the time of the voting, thanks to the active canvassing on behalf of Government by the Hon. Mr. B. V. Jadhav, who persuaded the members of the non-Brahmin party to vote with the Government, Mr. Nariman's resolution was defeated by a small majority, giving a marginal victory to the Government benches. This gave a new stick to the Government of Bombay, who maintained throughout after this that popular opinion in the Presidency was against Mr. Horniman's return to India. It was on this ground that the Bombay Government withheld their consent for issuing a passport to Mr. Horniman for returning to India.

The India office prepared a note on the case of Mr. Horniman, which gives the Government version of the episode. (The note has been given under Appendix D).

When, inspite of persistent applications and representations, British Government in England refused to grant a passport to Mr. Horniman, the latter applied for passport for visiting France and Italy on health grounds. This demand could not be refused and the London passport Office granted him a passport for the two countries on 13th October 1925. Mr. Horniman went to Paris on the force of this Passport and he left Paris in a French boat on 18th December 1925 for India, obtaining a passport from the French authorities. This news caused a stir in the Government of India circles. They began to discuss whether it would be possible for them to stop Horniman's entry into India. But as the passport regulations then stood, no one coming from Ceylon or French possessions in India required a passport or permit to enter India. It was too late to amend the passport regulations. Government of India were thus nonplussed and had to wait with folded hands to see what Mr. Horniman would do.

Mr. Horniman who was travelling on the French boat D'Artagnan landed at Colombo on 7th January 1926. From Colombo he came to Madras reaching there on 9th January 1926. He was given a fitting reception there. From Madras, he left for Bombay and reached the V. T. Station on Tuesday 12th January 1926. The people of Bombay gave him fitting reception and he was greeted by all leaders including Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Horniman was away from India for seven long years and it was only by playing an ingenious trick with the British Government that he could return to his much beloved country—India.

Appendix "A".

CHARACTER SKETCH OF HORNIMAN

[FROM FILE NO. 204, HOME DEPARTMENT, SPECIAL
BRANCH (CONFIDENTIAL).]

No. S.D. 523 of 1919.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT:

Bombay Castle, 6th May 1919.

From

J. CRERAR, ESQR., C.I.E.,

Secretary to Government of Bombay;

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

Home Department, Simla.

Sir,

With reference to your telegram No. 795-Political, dated the 2nd May 1919, I am directed to submit the following summary of

the circumstances which led to the service on B. G. Horniman, late Editor of the "Bombay Chronicle", of an order under Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915 requiring him to remove himself from British India to England. The manner in which effect was given to the order has already been fully reported in my confidential letter No. S. D. 445, dated the 28th April 1919, and its accompaniments.

2. A general account of Horniman's character and antecedents will be found in the history sheet drawn up by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, a copy of which was furnished to the Director of Criminal (now Central) Intelligence and to which reference is invited.

3. Within a short period of his arrival in Bombay as Editor of the "Bombay Chronicle", Horniman rapidly established himself as a prominent member of the extremist section, and his career as a dangerous agitator and organiser of political movements hostile to Government must be regarded concurrently with the editorial activities. The "Bombay Chronicle" became the recognised organ of extremist politics. It was conspicuous for consistent misrepresentation of the policy and intentions of Government for personal attacks on individual officers of Government, and for the prominence given to all and reports likely to arouse racial animosity. For the present purpose it will suffice to confine attention to a brief notice of Horniman's proceedings in the years 1917, 1918 and 1919.

4. As a prominent member of the Home Rule League in 1917, Horniman took a leading part in the agitation against the order passed by the Government of Madras on Mrs. Besant, and addressed or presided at various protest meetings, notably at Madras in June*, at Surat on July 1st† and Bombay on July 30th‡. During July the "Chronicle" published statements of an alarmist and inflammatory character alleging outrages on women by men of the labour Corps then quartered in Dadar Camp. (Please see correspondence ending with Mr. Roberson's letter No. 92, p., dated the 26th July 1917). These led to great uneasiness and some violence on the part of the mill-hand population and the Government of Bombay found it necessary to pass an order under the Defence of India Act prohibiting any reference to the subject. On August 12th, 1917, Horniman gave notice§ of a motion in the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee advocating passive resistance, which

* Bombay Police Abstract, 1917, Para 701 (k).

† Para 815 (m).

§ Bombay Police Abstract, 1917, Para 880 (t).

‡ Para 859 (l).

he followed up by a speech in the same sense on September 2nd *. This is to be noted as indicating that the movement which culminated so disastrously in the past few weeks had long been contemplated by him and his followers as a political weapon. During this year, Horniman prosecuted vigorously both personally and by his paper, propaganda in two significant directions. The first was to encourage youths and students to take part in political movements and subject them to the virus of extremist agitation. As instances of this may be mentioned his election as Vice-President† of the Young India Society in September 1917, and an address‡ delivered by him on October 4th, 1917, to the Bombay Presidency Students' Federation. The second line of propaganda above referred to was the fomenting of labour and industrial disputes and the attempt to play upon the credulous and excitable temperament of the labouring classes as instanced in the Dadar incident above referred to.

On September 16th, he made bitter attack on Government in a lecture on the Mesopotamian campaign.

In October 1917, he became Secretary to the Home Rule League.

About October 20th, by a *coup d'etat* in the Directorate of the "Bombay Chronicle" press, Horniman obtained complete control of the paper§, the tone and policy of which became progressively more and more virulent and hostile to Government.

5. On February 20th, 1918, the maximum security of Rs. 2,000 was taken from Horniman as keeper of the "Bombay Chronicle" press under section 3 of Act 1 of 1910. In April of this year, Horniman took an active part in the agitation engineered in regard to the refusal of pass ports of Tilak and his party for their proposed journey to England. This was followed by a campaign of a virulent and seditious character extending from the 22nd April 1918 till the end of July, in connection with the Imperial, and, later, the Bombay Provincial War Conferences. This in turn was succeeded by a campaign initiated about the middle of November in connection with a proposed memorial to His Excellency Lord Willingdon.

* Para 949 (').

† Bombay Police Abstract, 1917, Para 994.

‡ Para 1065.

§ Bombay Police Abstract, 1917, Para 1079.

6. During 1919, the "Bombay Chronicle" pursued a course of the most reckless license. This was initiated about the middle of January by a series of articles, leaders and letters from correspondents on the Rowlatt Bills, which developed into the Passive Resistance (*vide* leading article in its issue of the 1st March 1919) and Satyagraha Movements (ditto of 8th March 1919). Horniman was one of the signatories of the Satyagraha Vow, and there can be no question that he joined the movement deliberately in full recognition of the disastrous consequences which would necessarily ensue. Such consequences did actually ensue and of the connection between them and the propaganda of the "Bombay Chronicle" there can be no reasonable doubt.

Attention is also invited to the publicity given during March and April to letters purporting to be written by British soldiers, the transparent purpose of which is to inflame discontent and prejudice discipline.

7. In the order forfeiting the security of the "Bombay Chronicle" press, of which a copy is attached, a selection has been made of typical passages of a seditious and inflammatory character. Reference should also be made to the leader entitled "Dangerous Secrecy" in the issue of the 23rd April 1919, in which the following passage occurs: "It is now becoming clear as noon day that Government in meeting the trouble, which is evidently not a spontaneous outburst, are exercising horrid and detestable power of torture and terrorisation".

8. It is not however possible by considering individual and isolated passages to estimate the profoundly and comprehensively mischievous effect on the political situation and the public of the insidious and malevolent course consistently pursued by the "Bombay Chronicle" and its Editor over an extended period. Great cunning has been exercised for the most part in avoiding any extreme and palpable infringement of the law in single utterances: but the collected and cumulative effect of the whole is beyond question. A selection has been made and is attached to this letter, of references to matter which has appeared in the "Bombay Chronicle" since April 1918 in connection with—

(a) The Bombay Provincial War Conference,

(b) The "Willingdon Memorial",

(c) The Rowlatt Act Satyagraha Movement.

These should be carefully examined as a whole if a just appreciation is to be arrived at of the policy and intentions which inspire them.

9. In conclusion, I am to add that while the Government of Bombay were of opinion and were legally advised that in respect of the matter appearing under the last named category, a prosecution should have been successfully initiated under section 124-A and 153-A of the India Penal Code, they considered that there were the strongest grounds of public interest for resorting to a more expeditious means of removing one of the most dangerous elements in the situation in the person of the prime mover in these persistent and malignant attacks on Government. The recent events at Delhi, in the Punjab and in Gujarat had inevitably had profoundly disturbing effect on the Bombay populace, which Horniman had made every effort to attract to his side. The fact that the rioting in Bombay on the 11th April did not terminate in bloodshed on an extensive scale was due entirely not to the temper of the mob, which was truculent and aggressive, nor the efforts of the extremist leaders, who were either ill-disposed or impotent but to the impressive display of military force and the efficient dispositions made by the General Officer Commanding, Bombay Brigade, and the Police authorities and not less to the admirable tact, resolution and judgment displayed by the police and Military on that day. The tension, however, remained acute and there was every reason to apprehend that, during the inevitable delay entailed by a criminal prosecution, there would be a recrudescence of disturbances on a wide scale attended by great loss of life and property. Apart from this general state of tension, there were, and still are, symptoms of great uneasiness among the Mahomedan population in regard to the Caliphats and allied questions, and it was evident from Horniman's allusions to these subjects that he intended to exploit to the uttermost this exceedingly dangerous and inflammable material when a favourable occasion, shortly to be anticipated, should arise. The swift and secret execution of the order of deportation, and the selection of a moment when popular excitement was temporarily allayed, have so far been fully justified by the results. There has been no disturbance or demonstration, and the Central element in the extremist organisation having been removed, there is every sign of the absence of unity and activity in their counsels.

BOMBAY'S HARTAL ON 12th MAY 1919

(FROM FILE NO. 204, H. D. SPECIAL.)

Confidential.

Gandhi Congratulates the people

Brothers and Sisters,

Bombay covered itself with glory by preserving perfect calm, and the citizens have shown by their peaceful *hartal* THEY HAVE UNDERSTOOD A PORTION OF *Satyagrah*. They have done true honour to Mr. Horniman and demonstrated to Government that they disapprove of his deportation. Bombay has set a worthy example to the whole of India. It is a matter of pride for Bombay, from the *Satyagraha* stand-point, that some shops were open. This fact proved the voluntary character of the *hartal*. Many causes contributed to the success of this remarkable demonstration, but the chief among them was the performance of their duty by volunteers under Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani. They had commenced operations from the commencement of the talk of *hartal*, and we had the results of their efforts yesterday. Our thanks are due also to the police. If aggressive military dispositions had been made, the people would have become excited and the task of preserving peace would have been much more difficult.

A nation enjoying or desiring to enjoy Swaraj must possess the following four attributes :—

- (1) The police should be the least needed for self-protection and there should be concord between them and the people ;
- (2) Jails should be the least patronised ;
- (3) The hospitals should have few cases ; and
- (4) The law courts should have the least work.

Where people do violence, commit crimes and not exercising control over their senses and committing a break of nature's laws become diseased and engage in perpetual quarrels resulting in law-suits, they are not free but in bondage.

We shall learn the first chapter of Swaraj and Liberty when India adopts the example of Bombay as a permanent way of life.

M. K. GANDHI.

Appendix "C".

JINNAH REFUTES MONTAGU'S CHARGES.

(FROM FILE No. 204, H. D. SPECIAL.)

The following telegram has been sent by Mr. M. A. Jinnah Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Indian newspaper Co. to the Rt. Hon. E. S. MONTAGU, Secretary of State for India, Whitehall, London :—

I am desired by the Board of Directors of the Indian newspaper Company to state that after a careful enquiry into the allegations made in your budget speech reported in India on Tuesday the 3rd instant against the "Bombay Chronicle" the Board find, that the Statement made by you that the "Chronicle" was distributed free to the British troops in Bombay hoping to excite insubordination is absolutely without foundation. The board have ascertained that no copy of the Chronicle was distributed free to the British troops in Bombay.

With regard to the publication of the use of soft-nosed bullets in Delhi the Board wish to draw your attention to the following facts :—

"On Saturday, April 5th "Chronicle" published a telegram dated April 4th from its Delhi correspondent, stating that evidence to his knowledge proved that soft-nose solid nickel tube and velopex bullets were used.

On Wednesday April 16th a Government of India communique was published to the effect that careful enquiries proved that there was not the slightest foundation for the allegations that soft-nosed bullets were used. The communique further proceeded to state that it is possible that some of the bullets fired by the troops should have flattened themselves, or mush-roomed on striking the masonry or iron gates at short range,

AN UNDELIVERED MESSAGE

On April 17, the Delhi correspondent of the "Chronicle" sent an express telegram to the paper regarding the Government communique withdrawing the reference to the use of soft-nosed bullets. That telegram was never received in the "Chronicle" office, we believe owing to the censorship in Delhi. But on Tuesday, April 29th, that is three days after the issue of the orders of deportation of Mr. Horniman, per censorship and forfeiture of the security of the paper when the publication of the "Chronicle" was suspended, the office received by post from the Delhi correspondent the following copy of the express telegram sent to the "Chronicle" :—

"Seven telegrams have been sent since the 16th one of which seems to have reached you. One of these sent on the 17th was regarding the Home Department communique dealing with the allegation about the use of soft-nosed bullets on March 30th. It was stated in that telegram that the nickel casing of 303 service cartridge bullet which had been shown to me was misleading inasmuch as quarter of inch of the nose of the said casing appeared to be stuffed or solid and the rest of the gullet casing, the lead of which seems somehow to have dropped out and looked like hollow bullets. Hence the mistake. It has now been definitely ascertained that the misleading nickel casing did not belong to a bullet to which the term 'soft-nosed' could be applied and I am therefore pleased to withdraw the reference to soft-nosed bullets in my former telegram. I may, however, add, that I utterly repudiate any insinuation that it was intended to publish a libel on the Majesty's troops. It was a 'Bona fide' mistake largely helped by a number of misleading pieces of evidence".

The Board regret that the statement regarding the use of soft-nosed bullets appeared in the Chronicle. The regret would have been expressed earlier but for the delay in the correspondent's message reaching the office as stated above and the suspension of the publication of the paper.

Appendix "D".

NOTE ON HORNIMAN CASE

(By the India Office of London.)

(FROM FILE No. 204-A, H. D. SPECIAL.)

Confidential.

Mr. B. G. Horniman who was at the time Editor of the "Bombay Chronicle" was deported from Bombay on the 27th April 1919 under Rule 3(d) of the Defence of India Regulations which gave the

Government power to order any person who acted or was about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India to remove himself from British India in such manner and by such route and means as were specified in such order and not to return thereto.

There had been riots in Delhi on the 30th March, in Bombay and Calcutta on the 12th April, in Ahmedabad on the 10th April and in Lahore and Amritsar on the 10th April and the whole of India was disturbed by Gandhi's Satyagraha movement of which Horniman was strong supporter. On the preceding day 26th April 19' the security of the "Bombay Chronicle" had been forfeited under the Press Act on account of 4 particular recent issues of the paper and pre-censorship had been imposed on it. Mr. Montagu on the 22nd May 1919 in the House of Commons stated what in his opinion were the principal reasons for the deportation. He said "This gentleman began to use his paper in the middle of riots resulting in loss of life spread (See issue of Chronicle dated 23rd April) and to fan the flame, and opened his columns (See issue of 5th April.) to an accusation that British troops had been using soft-nosed bullets in the streets of Delhi ; his paper was being distributed free to British troops in Bombay in the hope of exciting disaffection and insubordination. The justification for the third statement in this quotation was a private telegram from the Viceroy dated 27th April and the fact that letters purporting to be from soldiers had been appearing in the paper expressing great discontent. Mr. Montagu went on to say that in normal times Horniman "Would have been tried there being plenty of case to put before the Law Courts". This statement was justified by a paragraph in the telegram of the 15th May.

Mr. Montagu was assailed in the House of Commons some time afterwards by a number of questions on this subject, namely No. 6 dated the 24th March 1920, Nos. 3,4,14 and a written answer on the 21st April 1920, two written answers on the 22nd April 1920, Nos. 4 and 10 on the 5th May 1920 and written answers on the 6th and 19th May 1920. He held to his statements without any modification except that he made it clear that he did not charge either Horniman or the manager of the papers with being responsible for its free distribution to British troops, though he insisted that free distribution was a fact. He also proclaimed his readiness to justify all his statements in the House if a motion was made, No motion ever was made, but Sir Thomas Bramsdon, M.P., who is personally acquainted with Horniman, at Mr. Montagu's suggestion came to the India office and was shown all the articles that he had published in the "Bombay Chronicle" which had formed the grounds for the action taken

against him. Sir Thomas was informed that he could communicate to Mr. Horniman all the information given to him except one small detail which had not been obtained officially from the Government of India.

Most of these questions followed immediately after the rejection of an application made by Mr. Horniman to the Privy Council in which he prayed that his case might be referred to the Judicial Committee in order that the order of the Government of Bombay might be annulled. The application was accompanied by a copy of the order issued by the Government of Bombay in which it was stated that Mr. Horniman had acted, was acting and was about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety. It was probably with reference to this fact that Mr. Montagu asserted in the House of Commons on the 21st April, "There is no question of finding out what the offence is; Mr. Horniman knows perfectly well". That assertion has never been challenged in the House, though Mr. Horniman is always saying that he does not know why he was deported.

Not long after reaching England Mr. Horniman began to contribute to the press articles of a nature similar to those which he had written in India. He wrote in the Labour Leader on the 11th March 1920. He wrote a penny pamphlet called "The agony of Amritsar and our duty to India". A year later he began in the "Catholic Herald" a series of articles on India which lasted from the 4th June 1921 to the 18th February 1922. Their contents were so bitter and unjust against every aspect of the British Government of India that it was necessary for the Secretary of State to telegraph regarding most of them to the Government of India. That Government, after some hesitation, due mainly to its belief that the articles would get to India anyhow, formally excluded the paper from entry into India. The question of prosecuting Mr. Horniman for these writings in this country was examined by the Home office; but difficulty of proof, and expense, stood in way. Mr. Horniman continued his literary work with articles in the "Daily Herald" from January to March 1922, but thereafter he contributed more especially to the discreditable paper called "Hind". Most of the articles in the "Catholic Herald" and specimens of those which appeared in the "Daily Herald" and the "Hind" are available for examination. It would be impossible for any Government attacked in the way in which the Government of India is attacked in them to refrain from using all its powers to keep the writer as far away as possible.

Mr. Horniman has made reported efforts to obtain permission to return. He applied on the 30th December 1919 to the Passport Office.

The Secretary of State for India, when referred to, said that the passport should be refused. In January 1920 he wrote 3 letters to Mr. Montagu who replied to the effect that the order of the Government of Bombay still stood. On the 2nd October 1920, Mr. Horniman again applied to the Passport Office alleging that he had urgent business in India. The Governor of Bombay was consulted and gave his opinion that it would be highly dangerous to allow Mr. Horniman to return. Mr. Horniman applied again to the Passport office on the 22nd July 1921 and the Governor of Bombay was again consulted privately with the same result. Up to this point it had been possible to rely on the continued existence in force of the Defence of India Rules. Before they expired the Government of India passed a passport Act under which it was possible to exclude from entry into India any person who was not in possession of a passport valid for India. It was, therefore essential in order to keep Mr. Horniman out of India that the Foreign office should always refuse to grant him a passport. In this way the responsibility for keeping him out of India which up till the middle of 1921, rested solely upon the Government of Bombay, was shared from that date with the foreign office. The foreign office of course had no grounds for refusal other than the fact that the Governments in India advised that a passport should not be granted.

Mr. Horniman next applied on the 15th September 1921, an application which was eventually settled by two letters to him from the Foreign office. The first dated the 13th October 1921 informed him that under the Indian Passport Act, 1920 and the rules made thereunder, the Government of India have power to refuse admittance to India of any person who is not in possession of a passport valid for British India and that a passport valid for British India was in his case refused at the request of the Secretary of State for India who had consulted the Governor of Bombay.

The Second letter dated the 24th November 1921 stated in reply to a protest from Mr. Horniman that the issue or refusal of a passport is a matter within the discretion of the Secretary of State exercising, on behalf of the King, His Majesty's prerogative in this regard. Mr. Horniman next applied on the 9th May 1922 to the Passport office. The Governor of Bombay was again consulted. He replied that it would be most unwise to give Horniman any facilities for returning to India; that his bitter and unscrupulous propaganda, which he would certainly start upon his return, would be sure to cause a fresh recrudescence of lawlessness and disorder. The Foreign office were, therefore asked to maintain their refusal. Mr. Horniman again applied to the Passport Office on the 13th September 1923. The Governor of Bombay being again consulted replied that his own view

was still definitely that Horniman, if he returned, would immediately become a rallying point for agitation. But Sir George Lloyd suggested that a further reference should be made to his successor after his arrival. The foreign office was informed on the 1st October that the Secretary of State for India as at present advised maintained his previous decision. The most recent application is that made to the passport office on the 15th January 1924 on which the Government of India was consulted. The reply was dated the 1st February 1924 and has already been communicated in full to the Foreign Office.

The important points in considering whether or not the continued exclusion of Horniman from India can be justified appear to be the following :—

In the first place he chose a period when lawlessness was breaking out in violent forms in three of the most important Provinces of India to make bitter and unjustified attacks on the Government and to do all that he could to increase and give point to the agitation. In the second place as soon as he reached England he began and he continued for four years to write equally unfair and inflammatory articles in any paper that could take them. He has gradually descended in this way from comparatively decent papers to the rag (Hind) edited by G. S. Dara. In the third place the existing situation in India, though perhaps not so critical as it was during April 1919, is sufficiently perplexing and full enough of dangerous possibilities. There is the existence of an anarchical body of youths in Bengal willing to commit robberies and assassinations to further their plans. There is the dangerous movement among the Sikhs in the Punjab which, if aided by the misdirected energies of a publicist like Mr. Horniman, might extend its perils over much larger areas. And lastly there are the materials for a new grievance in the political demand of the Swaraj Party and the uncertainty whether the methods likely to be adopted in support of it may not lead to a repetition of the events of April 1919.

XI
MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS

SAMARTHA AND GANGANATH VIDYALAYA AND OTHER MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS

[The following extracts contain memorials including one proposed to be submitted to the British Parliament (1890) requesting the Parliament to expand the legislatures and extend the elective principle to them and Reports of provincial Conferences-Poona 1892, Belgaum 1895, Karachi 1896, etc. The extract on the formation of the Deccan Sabha Poona (1896) gives the picture of the mind of those who had left the Sarvajanik Sabha. This step the founders of the Sabha were required to take, they say, "to give adequate expression to the spirit of Moderate Liberalism which animates the more thoughtful leaders of public opinion on this side of India". This work was being done by the Sarvajanik Sabha for the preceding 25 years. "Recently however, the conditions which ensured cautious balance of judgment have been to a large extent disturbed". The extract at its end has mentioned the article in the Kesari which is famous for its satire and sarcasm.

The Samarthā Vidyālaya was one of the early institutions started for imparting national education. That was the product of the national agitation of post-partition days. Prof. V. G. Vijapurkar (B. 1863-D. 1926) was made to resign from the Rajaram College (Kolhapur). He was a source of inspiration to the students. He was intimately connected with Tilak and Gokhale and enjoyed their confidence. He was prosecuted and sentenced to three years for publishing a Vedic Prayer in his journal 'Vishva Vritta', with his colleague Vaman Malhar Joshi and the writer Pandit Satavalekar. He started the Samarthā Vidyālaya first at Kolhapur (1906) and shifted it to Talegaon (near Poona) after about fifteen months' existence at Kolhapur and Miraj. In 1910 the Vidyālaya was required to be closed under orders of Bombay Government. The same was restarted in 1918. Prof. Vijapurkar was an embodiment of Swadeshi and gave inspiration to hundreds of students who came in touch with him. His name and the name of the Samarthā Vidyālaya

remain inseparably connected with the movement of National education in Maharashtra.

Shri Ganganath Bharatiya Sarva Vidyalaya was another important institution started (May 1907) in Gujarat with similar objects. The name of the Vidyalaya was derived from Ganganath, a sacred place with a temple of Shiva on the banks of the Narmada near Chandod (then under the Rewakantha Agency). Shri K. G. Deshpande was then in the Baroda State service and was a close associate of Shri Arvind Ghose, who also was serving in the state. As stated by Deshpande, Shri Arvind conceived the idea of the Bhawani Mata Mandir, a spiritual organisation for training Sanyasi workers for the political emancipation of the country. But somehow the idea could not take form and in its place the Ganganath Vidyalaya was started. Shri Arvind and Keshwarao Deshpande used to visit Brahmandji, the Yogi who was living at Ganganath. With his help the institution was started at that place. But the same was removed very soon (1909) to Baroda. Keshwarao Deshpande was the moving spirit of this institution. Deshpande and Arvind were co-students in England and had developed close friendship. After his return to India Deshpande started practising in the Bombay High Court. He was also the editor of the *Indu-Prakash* (English section 1890-95). After Shri Arvind joined Baroda service, Deshpande also joined the State service. He was a spiritually minded man and was one of the most able and dutiful servants of the State at that time. Maharaja Gaikwad was compelled to discharge him from his service due to the suspicion of the Bombay Police (1912). In 1920 he came to Bombay and started the Sadhakashram (Vileparle). He was trusted and respected by Gandhiji. The Ganganath Vidyalaya was his creation and he worked for it day and night after attending to his office duties as a Deputy Collector. The curriculum of the Vidyalaya and also the text books used in it continued to receive constant attention of the Residency. The teachers included V. L. alias Mama Phadke, V. B. Joshi (Nasik conspiracy), Vaman Shastri Datar (Nasik conspiracy), Kaka Kalelkar, N. V. Gunaji (Belgaum) etc., most of whom had revolutionary leanings; some of them had connections with the Abhinava Bharat society of Nasik. Training in arms was a part of the curriculum in which General Nanasaheb Shinde, the C. in C. of the State, and other military officers used to take interest and participate. There was nothing seditious in the curriculum; the organisers were inspired with a sense of patriotism. The Government of India were however full of suspicion about the institution and even the report of the Diwan Mr. Seddon, who was a European, that there was nothing seditious in it did not satisfy the Political Department and the Vidyalaya was compelled to be closed in 1911.]

MEMORIAL TO HOUSE OF COMMONS

(EXTRACT FROM SECRET POLICE ABSTRACTS, 1890.)

[It is not known whether the memorandum was actually submitted or not; it is, however, given here as the contents are important.]

Poona, February 4th.—The following is a draft memorial which it is proposed to submit to Parliament and which is now being circulated in Poona by Mr. W. V. Lele, with the object of obtaining signatures thereto :—

“To

THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS

of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament Assembled.

The humble petition of*.....
residents in †..... of ‡..... situated in
the Districts of §..... in the Presidency
of Bombay of Her Most Gracious Majesty's Indian Empire,

Sheweth :—

That your humble petitioners are British subjects, resident in the Bombay Presidency, India, and crave leave to approach your Honourable House, with their earnest prayer that your Honourable House will take into its most favourable consideration the subject of the expansion and reform of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils of India, with a view to increase their powers and responsibilities, and make them really representative by the introduction of the elective principle into their constitution.

2. Her Majesty the Queen Empress took over the direct administration of India in November 1858, and soon after, Your Honourable House passed the Indian Councils' Act, 24 and 25 Vict., Chapter 67. Under its provisions the selection of additional members to assist the Executive Councils for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations was authorized by law, and during the

* Here insert the number of persons signing the petition.

† Here insert “village, town, city or taluka” as the case may be.

‡ Here insert the name of such village, etc.

§ Here insert the name of the district.

last 30 years the Local Governments and the Supreme Government have, in accordance with these provisions, selected non-official members for assisting Government in the making of new Laws and Regulations. The choice of such members was left by the Act absolutely in the hands of the Executive; there was no recognized principle laid down for the guidance of Government in their selection, and no qualifications with regard to the members to be selected were fixed. The results of such a system of selection have naturally not been satisfactory. Care has not always been taken to nominate persons possessing the confidence of the people. Indeed, in some cases it has seemed as if the trusted leaders of the people were carefully avoided. These nominated members, however, anxious to represent the side of the public, have always been in a hopeless minority. The sphere of usefulness, again, of these selected members is very narrow. They are not permitted to raise any questions in regard to administrative matters, and have no right even to secure a discussion of the Budget, unless measures of new taxation are contemplated.

3. During the last 30 years great changes have taken place in the moral, material and political condition of India. Her commerce and trade has more than trebled during this period. The whole country has been covered by railways and telegraphs, which have brought the most distant parts of the land together in a way not dreamt of before. The spread of higher and primary education has also been unparalleled. The Native Press has now become a power in the land. The revenue and expenditure of the country have been doubled. Municipal and Local Boards, partly nominated and partly elected, have been established in all the Presidencies. The country has thus vastly progressed in all directions, and the time has now arrived when a fresh advance should be made in the direction of associating the people with the Government in the administration of the country. New aspirations have grown up, which have found expression in the growth of political associations throughout the land, and have culminated in the establishment of the Indian National Congress, which meets every year in some large town of the country to discuss the political condition of the people. This new spirit, which seeks its share of the responsible duties and privileges of British citizenship, is the direct offspring of Western education so graciously imparted to the people of this country by the British Government. The most valued privilege of British citizenship is the right of being represented in the Councils of the Empire. The principle of "no taxation without representation" is the most precious lesson of British history, and British rule in India, for

a century and more, has taught and trained the people of this country to demand that they should be allowed a voice in the administration of their own land, consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy. The earnest desire of the nation on this question has been declared unmistakably in the deliberations of the five Congress meetings held since 1835 in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Allahabad and Bombay again in December each year, and your humble petitioners pray that your Honourable House will be pleased to grant the unanimous request of the people of British India to be represented in the Councils of the land by persons elected by them.

4. The Honourable Member for Northampton has undertaken to introduce a Bill in this connection in your Honourable House early this session, and he bears with him the matured views of the Indian people on the subject of this reform. Your petitioners do not desire to enter into any details here, and would leave them to be settled in such wise as your Honourable House may deem fit and proper. Your petitioners have learnt with satisfaction that in this matter the Government of India and the Secretary of State agree with non-official European and Native public opinion in thinking that the enlargement of the Council both in numbers and in the extent of their powers, is a necessity. But your petitioners are greatly disappointed to find that the official proposals do not contemplate the concession of the principle of election. Your petitioners humbly beg to point out to your Honourable House that no system other than that of election by the people can satisfy the public. The system of selection has been tried for over a quarter of a century, and it has failed to give satisfaction. It has clearly outlived its time and under the altered circumstances of the country, falls greatly short of the people's requirements. Your petitioners also beg to point out that non-official opinion—both European and Native—is agreed in suggesting that the time has arrived when the principle of election should be recognised in the constitution of the Councils.

5. Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your Honourable House will be graciously pleased to pass a measure, giving effect to the prayer of the Indian nation for the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils of India by directing—

(1) That the number of Members of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils should be increased;

(2) That half of such Members should be elected by the people; and

(3) That the powers of these Councils to discuss the Budget and raise questions in regard to executive matters should be enlarged and made effective for administrative purposes.

And your petitioners shall, as in duty bound, ever pray. January 1890."

PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, POONA, 1892

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT, 1892.)

Poona, November 9th.—The first meeting of the 5th Provincial Conference was held at Hira Bagh, Poona City, on the morning of the 7th instant, and another meeting on the afternoon of the same day. There were about 70 delegates present from the mofussil and Bombay City. Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Barrister-at-law, was elected President. About 400 persons from the city and cantonment attended the meetings. Prince Sainatsing from Palitana was also present, having come to Poona for the purpose.

On the afternoon of the 8th instant the delegates again met at the same place, after which the conference dissolved.

The following programmes show the subjects discussed at the conference :—

"Fifth Provincial Conference

7th November 1892

Morning Sitting

1. After the delegates are assembled, Rao Saheb K. G. Natu will welcome the delegates on behalf of the Reception Committee.

2. Rao Bahadur Nilkant Janardan Kirtane (Poona) will propose and Rao Saheb Pundalik Narayen (Sirsi) will second the proposition that Mr. Pherozshah M. Mehta be elected President of this year's Conference.

3. The President will then deliver an address.

4. The Subject Committee will be then appointed.

5. After the appointment of the Committee the following propositions will be brought forward before the Meeting :—

I

That this Conference expresses its sense of deep sorrow at the loss which the public has suffered on account of the death of Sirdar Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh and resolves that the same be communicated to Rao Bahadur's family.

Proposed by Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide (Poona).

Seconded by Mr. V. N. Apte (Poona).

II

That this Conference, composed of representative gentlemen from the different parts of the Presidency, sincerely congratulates Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on his recent election to a seat in Parliament and heartily thanks the Liberal electors of Central Finsbury for the honour they have done to their unrepresented fellow-subjects in India and the sympathy they have shown with the political aspirations of the natives of this country.

Proposed by Mr. Amrudin Tyabji (Bombay).

Seconded by Prof. G. K. Gokhale (Poona).

III

That in view of the unanimous expression of public opinion against the Mhowra Bill recently passed by the local Legislative Council this Conference earnestly prays that His Excellency the Viceroy will be pleased to veto the measure.

Proposed by

Seconded by

8th November 1892.

RESOLUTION VII.—That this Conference heartily thanks Government for their recent Resolution on the subject of mitigating the hardship of the administration of the Forest Department, and trusts that Government may see their way to remedy the state of things described in the last year's resolution of the Conference

regarding the concessions as to grazing and the ownership of trees in occupied warkas lands.

Proposed By Mr. K. A. Guruji (Satara).

Seconded by Mr. Sadhale (Thana).

Supported by Mr. Bali Sadhoji Patel (Satara).

Supported by Mr. Khanderao Vaidya (Poona).

RESOLUTION VIII.—This Conference generally approves the remarks of the Commission known as the Deccan Act Commission with reference to the system under which revenue is collected, and in particular begs respectfully to press on the attention of Government the recommendations of the Commission about (1) relaxing the rigidity of the collection of revenue by granting timely and more frequent remissions, (2) in fixing more convenient times of instalments, and (3) advocating a liberal system of Government loans at further reduced rates of interest. But the Conference regrets that the Commission is not in favour of the conciliation and voluntary arbitration systems, which are in themselves ancient institutions of this country, and which, besides being an educative step, have proved practically useful.

Proposed by Rao Bahadur R. P. Karandikar (Satara).

Seconded by Rao Bahadur V. M. Bhide (Poona).

Supported by Mr. C. H. Schoni (Kolhapur).

RESOLUTION IX.—That this Conference is of opinion that the recent enhancement of the Government assessment carried out under the Revision Survey Settlement is burdensome and is calculated to retard the improvement of the rayat.

And that this enhancement of assessment as carried out in the Devgad Taluka of the Ratnagiri District has the effect of seriously injuring private rights of property in that taluka.

Proposed by Mr. D. A. Khare (Bombay).

Seconded by Mr. Dhamankar (Thana).

Supported by Mr. Phansalkar (Satara).

Supported by Mr. Nimbkar (Nasik).

Supported by Mr. Raghopant Vechalkar (Satara).

RESOLUTION X.—That, as one of the main objects of the extension of Local Self-Government was to educate the people and to

develop or create, if need be, a capacity for self-help, it is desirable that direct Government control should not be exercised as frequently as now.

That some measure should be devised by which Municipalities or groups of Municipalities may vest executive power and responsibility in a single executive officer on somewhat similar lines to those laid down in the municipal constitution of the City of Bombay.

Proposed by Rao Saheb M. B. Namjoshi (Poona).

Seconded by Rao Saheb J. E. Nimbkar (Nasik).

Supported by Rao Saheb K. B. Limaye (Nagar).

RESOLUTION XI.—That this Conference re-affirms its resolutions of previous years on the subjects of Salt, Abkari, Police and Village Sanitation, and prays that Government be pleased to give effect to the recommendations contained therein at an early date.

Proposed by Mr. D. E. Wacha (Bombay).

Seconded by Mr. Chimanlal H. Setalvad (Gujarat).

RESOLUTION XII.—That the next Provincial Conference be held in Bombay or Gujarat, to be settled hereafter, and that Messrs. D. E. Wacha and Chimanlal H. Setalvad be appointed Secretaries of the same.

Proposed by

Seconded by

RESOLUTION XIII.—That this conference sincerely thanks the Committees of the Town Hall and the Deccan Club for the assistance they were pleased to give to the gathering of this year's Conference.

Proposed by Mr. R. R. Awasti (Nasik).

Seconded by

RESOLUTION XIV.—That the Conference heartily and sincerely thanks the Honourable Mr. Pherozshah M. Mehta for having ably presided at this Conference.

Proposed by

Seconded by

SIMULTANEOUS I.C.S. EXAMINATIONS, 1893

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT, 1893.)

Poona, July 5th.—A meeting, which was attended by some seven or eight hundred people, was held in the Poona City on the 3rd instant. Mr. Waman Abaji Modak, pensioned Principal of the Elphinstone High School, Bombay, occupied the chair.

The memorial which was read and adopted by the meeting is given below :—

Memorial

“TO THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled—the humble petition of the inhabitants of the City and Cantonment of Poona, in the Presidency of Bombay, India, in public meeting assembled, most respectfully sheweth :

That your petitioners, who are loyal subjects of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, respectfully venture to approach your Honourable House with this humble expression of their deep sense of gratitude that your Honourable House was pleased to pass, on the 2nd of June 1893, a resolution that ‘all open competitive examinations, heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India, shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit.’

Your petitioners beg respectfully to submit that sixty years have elapsed since the pledge was first given by Parliament to the people of this country that no native of India shall by reason only his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment’, under the British Government; and thirty-five years ago, on the transfer of the Government of this country from the East India Company to the Crown, this promise was solemnly re-affirmed by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress in her noble Proclamation. During this long interval, the competitive examinations have been in theory opened to the natives of this country, but owing to various restrictions this step has failed to secure to the Indian people any substantial equality of advantages with their British fellow-subjects. Parliament was pleased in 1870 to take further steps to

remedy in some measure this inequality, and other palliative measures were adopted, but owing to the grudging spirit in which the executive authorities gave effect to these remedial measures, they failed to give effect to the noble intentions of Parliament and of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress. And your petitioners submit that no arrangement which does not give effect to the resolution adopted by your Honourable House on June 2nd, 1893, can satisfy the just and legitimate expectations formed by the natives of this country on account of the pledges repeatedly given to them.

Your petitioners are not unmindful of the fact that residence in England for a couple of years at least is a necessary qualification in the case of those natives of this country who are desirous of entering the Civil Service of India ; and your petitioners are willing that those who pass the first competitive test of the Civil Service in India should be required to spend at least two years at some English University before they are finally enrolled as members of the Civil Service. As matters stand at present, Indian youths, desirous of qualifying themselves for entrance into the Civil Service, have to leave their homes at an early age, and have to incur enormous expenditure for the mere chance of passing a very difficult competitive examination. Indian parents, therefore, are naturally reluctant to send their sons to England to study and appear for the Indian Civil Service Examination, and this circumstance, your petitioners respectfully submit, virtually operates as a race dis-qualification.

The resolution of your Honourable House has been forwarded to the Government of India for report. Your petitioners hope that the Government of India will see its way to carry out the resolution, but past experience suggests the fear that there are likely to be difficulties raised in various quarters, and your petitioners believe that nothing short of distinct instructions issued by your Honourable House can ensure the success of the policy announced in the resolution of June 2nd.

Wherefore your petitioners most humbly and respectfully pray that your Honourable House will be pleased to direct that early effect should be given to the resolution passed by your Honourable House on the 2nd of June that the competitive examination for the Civil Service of this country should be held simultaneously in England and India.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray."

(BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT, 1893.)

Poona, December 5th.—The District Superintendent of Police reports as follows :—" Mr. Hume, accompanied by Mr. Brown, visited Poona to-day. They arrived in the afternoon. A reception on a most elaborate scale was given them. Amidst great demonstrations they were escorted to the Hira Bagh. Seven triumphal arches had been erected along the route. School-boys were in full force. Banners bearing inscriptions relative to the cow were displayed, the cow-protection party being strongly represented. The rabble, for it was little better, numbered some thousands.

"The meeting at Hira Bagh was presided over by Rao Bahadur Laximan Jagannath, late Diwan of Baroda. Amidst great enthusiasm proceedings commenced about 6 p.m. They lasted about 3 hours. An address to Mr. Hume, got up by the members of the Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona, was read.

"After speeches from the leaders *below noted Mr. Hume addressed the meeting. He made a characteristic speech. He acknowledged the reception given him, and referred to the lavish praise bestowed upon him, which he said he was more than thankful for. He alluded to a great change which has come over Poona society for the better. He pointed out, however, that much remained to be done. Poona is placed, he said, in the first rank of the few towns which have shown intellectual development. He remarked that every principle of the Congress programme can be easily understood by thousands of the people. He deprecated the idea of a statue being raised in his honour, but urged for help in the great national work which he has undertaken. He remarked that a great step had taken place in the constitutional history of India since his last visit, no greater change having been witnessed by the country for the last 400 years. He made disparaging remarks regarding the Government, and referred to the present year as having witnessed the inauguration of a democratical government in the reconstitution of the Councils by representatives elected by the people. The seed sown by the Congress had taken root at home in the British Committee, which he likened unto 'a growing shoot of a gigantic banyan tree, spreading its branches over the vast Empire in the soil of local self-Government ; a tree that is to be prolific of the richest blessings to the whole country (desert I call it) blasted by the blowing hot winds of Monarchial

* They were Kashinath Govind Natu, Ramchandra Moreshwar Sane and Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Government.' A democratical government is wanted, and it must be had, whereby the people will obtain peace and plenty. Government officers are referred to as knowing nothing, or next to nothing, about the people. The laws they make are highly injurious instead of being for the good and welfare of the people ; and a proper local knowledge is wanted. Until then good legislation cannot be expected. United force is called for, when the Government they desire will soon follow. A good work done by the Congress is brought forward, viz., the question of ' simultaneous examinations ' in India and England. The House of Commons passed the resolution. This was one thing ; but it was quite another thing to get the Government of India to obey it. Allusion is made to the income-tax as an abomination to the country. The people are congratulated on the great strides made by the Congress ; one good end has been accomplished, viz., the constitution of a great brotherhood. The Congress may have cost lakhs, but rights have been extracted from Government, which are worth crores of rupees. People who even question the success of the Congress are put down as idiots. All are implored to fight for their rights and their country ; and so long as he (Mr. Hume) is spared he promised to stand by them and further the cause. The back of Bureaucratic Government in India had been broken, and this was put down as a great achievement. The Collector and District Officers can now no longer do what they like. In face of the Congress they have now to pause and think."

MAHARASHTRA PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, 1895

(BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT, 1895, PARA. 745.)

Belgaum, May 20th.—The District Superintendent of Police writes as follows regarding the Conference held in Belgaum on the 12th, 13th and 14th instant :—

"The proceedings commenced on the 12th about 4 p.m. about 2,000 people being present in the mandap. Mr. Anandrao Manay read an address of welcome. Mr. Bhate then proposed Mr. Vacha to be elected President seconded by Mr. Jattar, late Director of Public Instruction, Warad. This having been carried unanimously Mr. Vacha took the chair. The President then read his opening address. The subjects committee was duly appointed and this closed the first day's business. The number of the audience on the next two days was about the same as on the first.

"The resolutions passed at the Conference are given below. The Conference closed on the evening of the 14th.

"The Honourable Mr. Mehta attended only on the 1st day and was absent, through reported ill health, from the subsequent meetings. Whether there was any split in the camp is as yet not known. Mr. Vacha left on the 15th. Some of the delegates met in the mandap on the 15th morning and discussed the subject of vernacular languages being introduced in the curriculum of the Bombay University. Mr. Jattar was in the chair. Most of the delegates left Belgaum on the 15th."

SOME OF THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE EIGHTH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, BELGAUM

Second Day, 13th May 1895.

RESOLUTION I.

Authorising the president to submit a Memorial to the Government of India through the local Government.

Proposed by Mr. S. A. Chhatre (Belgaum).

Seconded by Prof. G. K. Gokhale (Poona).

Memorial

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
Calcutta.

Sir,

On behalf of the 8th Provincial Conference of the Bombay Presidency, which is at present holding its sittings in Belgaum, I have the honour to respectfully submit, for the favourable consideration of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, the following representation in regard to the rules which have been drafted by the Bombay Government to regulate first admissions to the Provincial Service of this Presidency.

2. These rules were never authoritatively communicated to the public by the Bombay Government, but an outline of them, subsequently admitted to be accurate by the Honourable Mr. Birdwood on behalf of Government, appeared in the *Times of India* early

last year. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha thereupon submitted an exhaustive memorial on the subject to the Government of India, praying that His Excellency the Governor-General in Council might be pleased to withhold his sanction to the rules and direct a modification of them on the lines suggested in the memorial. With the views set forth in that memorial, the Provincial Conference is in entire accord. And as President of this Conference, I have the honour to request that, in consideration of the large interests involved in the matter, Government will be pleased to—

(1) raise the competitive test for entrance into the service at least as high as the B.A. Examination of the University,

(2) include all Mamlatdarships in the service,

(3) prescribe open competition and promotion from the lower grades as the only two modes of recruitment, and

(4) set aside all considerations of race or caste, now sought to be introduced for the first time in making appointments to the Public Service, in the distribution of posts to be thrown open to competition.

3. The Conference is aware that, in their reply to the Sarvajanik Sabha, the Government of India have expressed a desire to give a trial to the rules as drafted at present before considering suggestions for their modification. The Conference, however, is firmly of opinion that the injury to public interests which will result from the enforcement of the rules must be so great that it will be difficult to remedy the evil by the adoption of subsequent measures. The exclusion of Mamlatdarships from the service will inevitably demoralize the subordinate branch. The low test prescribed for competition will bring into the Provincial Service men not qualified by their educational attainments to discharge properly the duties of their office. The introduction of race or caste considerations will prove most harmful to the cause of administrative efficiency, and will, besides, not help in any way the real progress of the backward classes, which can be secured only by giving them special facilities to come up educationally in a line with the more advanced sections of the community. Lastly, any large power reserved by Government in their hands to make direct nominations to the service is sure to expose the service to the same risk of failure which interfered so effectually with the success and usefulness of the Statutory Service. For these reasons, the Conference respectfully prays that His Excellency the Governor General in Council will be pleased to direct a reconsideration of the rules in the direction

suggested above. The delay that has taken place in the promulgation of the rules leads the Conference to entertain the hope that its prayer will not have been made in vain.

I have, &c.,

D. E. WACHA,
President of the 8th Provincial Conference.

Belgaum, 13th May 1895.

RESOLUTION II.

Protesting against the enhancements of the revenue assessment in various parts of the presidency.

Proposed by Mr. Daji Abaji Khare (Ratnagiri).

Seconded by Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay).

RESOLUTION IV.

Demanding reorganization of Civil Medical Service on basis of such service in other civilized countries.

Proposed by Dr. K. R. Bahadurjee (Bombay).

Seconded by Prof. B. G. Tilak (Poona).

Third Day, 14th May 1895.

RESOLUTION VI.

Demanding reforms in forest laws in consultation with local leaders.

Proposed by the Honourable Mr. V. R. Natu (Belgaum).

Seconded by Mr. B. R. Sahasrabuddhe (Satara).

RESOLUTION VII.

Requesting Government to appoint a committee to consider ways to effect separation of the Judicial from the Executive.

Proposed by Mr. N. V. Gokhale (Bombay).

Seconded by Mr. B. G. Tilak (Poona).

RESOLUTION IX.

Recommending Government revision of Act VI of 1873 and II of 1884 so as to accelerate the independent growth of self-Government.

Proposed by Mr. M. B. Namjoshi (Poona).

Seconded by Mr. S. B. Bhate (Belgaum).

PROTEST AGAINST POLICE TAX IN POONA, 1897

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT, 1897, PARA. 1122.)

Poona, July 28th.—The following is a substantially correct account of a meeting held in Poona during the week (Saturday, 17th July) to protest against the imposition of the Punitive Police Post.

The Honourable Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak took a back seat in the proceedings.

Mr. Gopal Chotiram Gownday, Pleader, then read the following memorial which it was proposed should be submitted to Government on the subject and he asked that it might be approved and adopted by the meeting. He was seconded by Dr. Sunderlal Lallaji. The proposition of Mr. Gownday was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The memorial read as follows :—

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD SANDHURST,
G.C.I.E., Governor and President in Council, Bombay.

Most Respectfully Showeth,

That the inhabitants of the city of Poona were painfully surprised to read in the *Government Gazette, Extraordinary* of Tuesday the 29th June 1897 a notification by which Government was pleased to impose upon the citizens of Poona for the period of two years additional Police at an annual cost of Rs. 115,207 and the initial cost of Rs. 32,128 in exercise of the powers conferred upon Government by section 25 of the Bombay District Police Act of 1890. In the preamble of the notification it is stated that the temporary increase in the strength of the police is occasioned by the conduct of the inhabitants of the city of Poona, and that the cost of such additional police is to be recovered from the inhabitants of the city or such section thereof as Government may hereafter direct according to sub-section (2) of the aforesaid section 25 of the Police Act. Had the nature of the conduct been specified in the notification it would have been possible to give a satisfactory explanation or remove any misapprehension, but the citizens are now practically left in the dark as to what could have induced Government to treat the whole community as a delinquent and impose a heavy burden upon them. Section 25 of the Bombay District Police Act clearly defines under what circumstances any additional police may be employed in

any local area and the cost thereof recovered from the inhabitants therein. That section is manifestly applicable to those cases only when any community or a considerable section thereof have been found guilty of some specific misconduct or misbehaviour and the existing strength of the police is insufficient to keep order. The memorialists, however, respectfully submit that none of these conditions can be reasonably considered to be fulfilled in the case of Poona. The atrocious and dastardly murders of Lieutenant Ayerst and Mr. Rand are looked upon by the citizens of Poona with as much abhorrence and detestation as by the other loyal subjects of Her Majesty. They also fully appreciate and sympathise with the anxious desire of Government to do every thing in its power to speedily bring the culprits to justice and to repress such outbursts of lawlessness by inflicting proper punishment upon the miscreants. But at the same time with the greatest deference to the views of Government they think it their duty to respectfully point out that the imposition of the punitive police will inflict a double injury on the citizens by throwing a heavy burden on them, which they are unable to bear, and by punishing the innocent along with the guilty. The city has not yet recovered from the disastrous effects of plague and famine, and the heavy burden of the additional police charges is sure to retard its progress for many years to come. The memorialists further beg to point out that the conduct of the citizens of Poona has always been very peaceful and that even during the time the plague operations were going on, while many of the inhabitants had left the city, those that remained behaved in a remarkably lawful and peaceful manner. The very effect of the penalty is, therefore, likely to be defeated by grouping together hundreds and thousands of loyal subjects of Her Majesty with a few unknown guilty individuals whose horrible deeds not only never received any sympathy from, but are actually held in abhorrence, by the inhabitants of the city.

The memorialists therefore respectfully pray that your Excellency in Council will be pleased to reconsider the subject of the aforesaid notification and either withdraw the same or at least put off its execution until the results of the present inquiry are known. It is manifestly unjust that a whole community should be made to suffer before it is found guilty, and your memorialists confidently trust that your Excellency will be graciously pleased to prevent anything from being done which will crush thousands of innocent people for the crimes of a few individuals. And for this act of kindness your memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray.

A sub-committee of Rao Bahadur Bhalchandra Trimbak Bapat, Rao Bahadur Dr. Vishram Ramji Ghole, Dr. Ganesh Krishna Garde, Mr. Nana Narayan Bhore, and Mr. Vinaik Ramchandra Patwardhan was appointed to take all measures in connection with the due submission of the memorial to Government.

BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, KARACHI, 1896.

(FROM SECRET POLICE ABSTRACTS, 1896, PARA. 632.)

Karachi, May 9th.—Further meetings of the delegates to the Ninth Provincial Conference were held on the 3rd and 4th instants.

About 80 delegates attended these meetings. Of these 15 came from Hyderabad (Sind), 5 from Satara, 4 from Tatta, Karachi District, 4 from Shikarpur, and 2 from Larkhana. The vast majority present were Hindus. The Muhammandan Zamindars were not represented, and except on the first day there were none among the audience. The District Magistrate adds :—"The Assistant Collector of Jerruck states that his leading Zamindar received telegrams asking them to attend the Conference. Some of them replied that they would not as it was in opposition to Government."

The following resolutions were framed and passed :—

Resolutions passed at the Conference

Second day, 3rd May 1896.

RESOLUTION I.—That in view of the approaching revision of quinquennial Provincial Contracts this Conference desires to express its opinion that the time has arrived, when a further step should be taken in the matter of financial decentralization by leaving the responsibility of the financial administration of the different provinces principally to the local governments, the Supreme Government receiving from each local government only a fixed contribution levied in accordance with some definite equitable principle, which should not be liable to any disturbance during the currency of the period of contract except in cases contemplated by Lord Ripon's Resolution so as to secure to local governments that fiscal certainty and that advantage arising from the normal expansion of the revenues, which are so essential to all real progress in the development of the resources and in the satisfactory administration of the different provinces.

Proposed by Mr. D. E. Wacha (Bombay), Seconded by Mr. Tahiram Khemchand (Karachi), Supported by the Honourable Mr. D. A. Khare (Bombay).

RESOLUTION II.—That this Conference is strongly of opinion that in order to secure a better and more efficient judicial administration for the Province of Sind, it is necessary to raise the status and improve the constitution of Sadar Court, by either turning it into a division of the Bombay High Court sitting in Sind, or converting it into a Chief Court composed of not less than three Judges, and it respectfully urges that Government will be pleased to sanction a scheme for the purpose at an early date.

Proposed by Mr. Dowlatram Jethmal (Karachi), Seconded by Mr. P. B. Kotwal (Karachi), Supported by Dewan Thawardas (Hyderabad).

RESOLUTION III.—(a) That this Conference places on record its regret that the rules drafted three years ago to regulate first admissions to the Provincial Service against which the Provincial Conference entered an emphatic protest last year, as also in 1894, have received the sanction of the Government of India and have been promulgated.

(b) That the Conference once more expresses its firm conviction that the rules are highly retrograde in character and are calculated to prove detrimental to the purity and efficiency of administration.

(c) That the Conference also protests against the grievous injustice involved in the rules to the Province of Sind, in that members of the Provincial Service in Sind cannot rise in the judicial line above Rs. 400 a month and in the Executive line above Rs. 700 a month, whereas for the rest of the Presidency the highest posts on the two sides carry a salary of Rs. 1,600 a month, and the Conference is of opinion that Sind ought to be placed on the same footing as the rest of the Presidency in the matter.

Proposed by Professor Gokhale (Poona), Seconded by Mr. H. Harchandrai (Karachi), Supported by Dewan Nirbdas (Hyderabad). Supported by Mr. Moizudin (Karachi).

RESOLUTION IV.—(a) That this Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived when the right, already accorded to members of the Legislative Council in the Matter of addressing questions to Government should be extended by allowing the interrogating members

to preface their questions by brief explanations of the object with which the questions are put.

(b) That while acknowledging the expediency of allowing representation to the Jagirdars and Zamindars of Sind, the Conference is of opinion that the interests of the general community of the Province, which are at present not directly represented in the Council, also require to be provided for, and the Conference trusts that the Government will be pleased to make such provision at the next revision of the rules.

(c) And that the Conference repeats its protest of the last two years against the exclusion of the entire native mercantile community of the Presidency from all participation in the franchise.

Proposed by Mr. Karandikar (Satara), Seconded by Mr. Hiranand (Hyderabad), Supported by Mr. Thakurdas Khemchand (Hyderabad). Supported by Mr. N. N. Apte (Poona).

RESOLUTION V.—That this Conference while acknowledging the efforts made by the local authorities to suppress the evils of the Besai System in Sind, which has proved to be a source of great oppression to the people, regrets to find that those efforts have generally proved unsuccessful, and respectfully suggests that the Government may be pleased to appoint a mixed committee composed of official and non-official members to devise the most effectual means for remedying this mischief.

Proposed by Mr. Hiranand (Hyderabad), Seconded by Mr. Lekhraj Tilokchand (Hyderabad).

RESOLUTION VI.—That this Conference, while reiterating the need that exists for the separation of judicial and executive functions, regrets that no steps have been taken by Government to satisfy itself of the feasibility of the reform, and again respectfully urges that Government be pleased to appoint a mixed commission of officials and non-officials to devise means to bring about that reform in this Presidency including Sind.

Proposed by the Honourable Mr. D. A. Khare (Bombay), Seconded by Mr. Dhruva (Bombay), Supported by Mr. Himatsing (Shikarpur), Supported by Mr. Dowlatram Jethmal (Karachi), Supported by Mr. L. Gokhale (Poona).

RESOLUTION VII.—That this Conference in reaffirming its resolutions of previous years on the subject of the revision of revenue assessments and the hardships entailed by such revision in Alibag, Panvel and other talukas once more invites the attention of Government to the deplorable effects of the policy of Government in the matter of the enhancements of the revenue assessments on the agriculturists in the various parts of the Presidency, and places on record its regret that the Government have not yet seen their way to remove the grievances of the Khots in the Devgad Taluka in Ratnagiri District in spite of the fact that the existence of these grievances was fully admitted by Government nearly four years ago.

Proposed by the Honourable Mr. D. A. Khare (Bombay), Seconded by Mr. Dhruva (Surat).

RESOLUTION VIII.—That this Conference reaffirms its resolutions of previous years on the subjects of Forests, Abkari, Police, the separation of the Military branch of the Indian Medical Service from the Civil, and the inconvenience and hardship of third class railway passengers.

Proposed by Mr. D. E. Wacha (Bombay), Seconded by Mr. Karandikar (Satara), Supported by Mr. Thakurdas Khemchand (Hyderabad).

RESOLUTION IX.—(a) That in the opinion of this Conference the contribution of Government from the Provincial revenues to public education in the Presidency is entirely inadequate to meet the educational requirements of the people.

(b) That this Conference is of opinion that the time has come when Government might make a beginning in some of the more important towns in the Presidency in the direction of imparting free primary education to the children of all poor parents.

(c) And that the Conference once more urges upon the attention of Government the necessity of devoting larger funds to technical education in the Presidency with a view to placing that education on a sounder and more satisfactory basis.

Proposed by professor Gokhale (Poona), Seconded by Mr. P. J. Padshah (Karachi).

RESOLUTION X.—That the Provincial Conference for 1897 do assemble at Satara and that Messrs. D. E. Wacha, A. M. Dharamsy, Karandikar,

Sahsrabudhe, Ranade, and Phuntalka be the Secretaries of that Conference.

Proposed by Mr. Kulkarni, Seconded by Mr. Tahiram Khemchand (Karachi).

RESOLUTION XI.—That the best thanks of the Conference be tendered to the Reception Committee and the Honorary Secretaries.

Proposed by the President.

RESOLUTION XII.—That this Conference tenders its most cordial thanks to its President, Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, for his able conduct in the chair.

Proposed by Mr. Harchandrai (Karachi), Seconded by Mr. Dowlatram (Karachi).

DECCAN SABHA, 1896

(FROM BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACT, 1896, PARAGRAPH 1563.)

Poona, November 16th.—A new Sabha has been started in Poona under the designation of "The Deccan Sabha." The following is a substantially correct statement of its objects and reasons as published in most of the leading papers :—

"For some time past, the conviction has been forcing itself on many earnest lovers of political progress in the country that it was necessary to take effective steps to give adequate expression to the spirit of moderate liberalism which animates the more thoughtful leaders of public opinion on this side of India. When the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha was first established twenty-five years ago, it was intended by its promoters to serve as an exponent of such public opinion in the Deccan generally in matters of public interest, and for many years this function was admittedly discharged by that body to the satisfaction of the whole country. The Sabha always aimed at securing the co-operation of all classes and it scrupulously avoided identifying itself with any preponderant sectional interest. Recently, however, the conditions which ensured this cautious balance of judgment have been to a large extent disturbed : and taking a technical advantage of a certain laxity in the constitution of the Sabha, sectional interests have now obtained an ascendancy, which, added to the general spirit of reaction, has alienated the sympathies of those whose long association with the Sabha was principally instrumental in building up for it whatever

prestige it possesses and securing to it the measure of success it has achieved as an intermediary between the Government and the people. One result of this alienation has been that for the last year and a half the voice of the Sabha has almost been silent on the great public questions of the day and it has busied itself with small matters in a spirit which is not calculated to further true public interests. It was hoped by those of its friends who had devoted their best energies—almost a life-time's work—to its advancement that things would correct themselves after a temporary departure from the old traditions. But all those who had cherished this hope most fondly have been forced by stress of circumstances to admit that there is now no chance of such a result being reached, and that the only way to set matters right is not to abstain from all public movements, but to put their own shoulders to the wheel, and by guarding against the possibility of old mistakes repeating themselves to secure a well-conducted political organization, which will subserve, in these more advanced times, the interests identified with moderate and liberal public opinion.

“To make such an organization more effective, it is proposed to make an endeavour to secure to it the active co-operation of the District Associations which have recently been established in most of the Deccan districts. Purely District Associations have their uses, but singly they can never command that potential voice which alone can ensure the confidence of Government. Thanks to the Congress gatherings of the last twelve years, the necessity of such a union, or rather such mutual co-operation, is now felt to be the most pressing requirement of the times. For the next year or two, this part of the country is threatened with a repetition of all the horrors of famine and pestilence which will tax all available resources of the people and of Government to the uttermost, and it therefore now becomes more than ever necessary that an effort should be made to bring together the wisdom and practical experience of all thoughtful people everywhere, independently of class differences.

“It is with this view that the present Association has been started, and the names of the signatories to this declaration will, it is hoped, be a sufficient guarantee that no pains will be spared to ensure its success. Liberalism and Moderation will be the watch-words of this Association. The spirit of Liberalism implies a freedom from race and creed prejudices and a steady devotion to all that seeks to do justice between man and man, giving to the rulers the loyalty that is due to the law they are bound to administer, but securing at the same time to the ruled the equality which is their

right under the law. Moderation imposes the conditions of never vainly aspiring after the impossible or after too remote ideals, but striving each day to take the next step in the order of natural growth by doing the work that lies nearest to our hands in a spirit of compromise and fairness. After all, political activities are chiefly of value not for the particular results achieved, but for the process of political education which is secured by exciting interest in public matters and promoting the self-respect and self-reliance of citizenship. This is no doubt a slow process, but all growth of new habits must be slow to be real. It was in this spirit that the work of the Sarvajanic Sabha was till recently conducted, and those who took part in the work propose to continue it on a new and enlarged basis in the Association which is now started under the name of the Deccan Sabha.

“It need hardly be said that by those whose best work was given so long to the Sarvajanic Sabha, this step has been taken most reluctantly and after a severe mental struggle. The rupture of old ties in the case of some, as dear and strong as any ties could be—is always painful, but there are occasions when public duty requires even this great sacrifice. It is felt that the present is one of those occasions and only a deliberate conviction that this is so reconciles them to the step now taken and the effort which it costs.”

This Sabha is formed entirely of members of the reform party in Poona headed by Mr. Justice Ranade, and may be regarded as a rival of the Sarvajanic Sabha which is now entirely in the hands of the Honourable Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the anti-reform party.

Mr. Tilak, in his paper the *Kesari*, this week, has a lengthy vernacular article on the new Sabha, in which he ridicules it and runs it down, calling it the “Rao Bahadurs’ Pinjrapol” and “Ranade’s Mela”. The office of the new Sabha is in Kibe’s Wada, Budhwar Peit.

SARVAJANIK SABHA CIRCULAR, 1896

(FROM BOMBAY POLICE ABSTRACT, 1896, PARAGRAPH 1573.)

Poona, November 16th.—The following is a translation of a printed Marathi letter which is being freely distributed in the city and districts of Poona by the Sarvajanic Sabha asking for information

to enable it to submit a representation to Government on measures to be adopted in connection with the famine :—

“Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona,
1st November 1896.

If information on the following points is supplied to the Sabha, it will enable it to go to Government from time to time with suggestions as to measures to be adopted in connection with the famine :—

(1) Have Government on account of the famine started grain shops, relief works, &c., or made any other arrangements in your locality? If so, where and of what sort?

(2) Have any applications been made to the Collector from your village for a remission of the assessment? If so, how many?

(3) Is there sufficient grain in the village or in the taluka for your requirements? What was the selling price of grain (rice, wheat, bajri, jowari, pulse, gram, nagli, wari, &c., &c.) two months ago and what is it now?

(4) Is there sufficient fodder for animals? If not, what arrangements are recommended? Have the Government forests been thrown open? What was the price of *karbi* and *grass* two months ago and what is it now?

(5) Is there any necessity for relief works, or have they been started? If not started, how long will it be before they are necessary and how many persons will there be likely to go to them?

(6) Are there any Local Fund Works in progress?

(7) Is there sufficient water? If not, what arrangements can be made by the Local Fund or Government to give an adequate supply?

(8) How many persons have left their village on account of the famine? How many were there in the village before the Census and how many are there now? Are people still leaving or not?

(9) How many cattle have died from want of fodder? How many have been taken away and at present how many are there? Is cattle-disease prevalent or not?

(10) What is the estimate of the *Kharif* and *rabi* crops this year?

(11) State what villages suffered, and to what extent, by the heavy rain and floods this year.

(12) What have the local officials reported to the district authorities as regards the famine in your locality, i.e., have

they recommended remissions and the starting of relief works or not?

(13) Has there been any falling off in the scale of spirits or toddy owing to the famine?

(14) Give information regarding the market value of horses, cattle, &c., as it was two months ago and as it is now.

(15) State whether any petitions have been made from your locality to Government suggesting the closing of all liquor-shops during the prevalence of the famine, to prevent ignorant and poor people from wasting their substance in drink in place of saving it for their sustenance.

(16) State whether petitions have been made to Government asking for the opening of the forests to the free grazing of cattle, &c., for the opening of grain shops at the expense of the Famine Fund, and for the free supply of canal water &c. &c.

(17) State what arrangements have been made in your locality to prevent young and starving Hindu children from falling into the hands of Christians.

If true and reliable information on the above heads is supplied to the Sabha, it will be able to keep Government informed.

(Signed) SHIVRAM MAHADEO PARANJPE, M.A.,

(Signed) ACHUTT SITARAM SATHE, M.A.,

Secretaries of the Famine Committee
of the Sarvajanic Sabha."

EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT—1908

(G. D. Vol. III/1908, PAGES 149 to 155.)

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

No. 2395.

Bombay Castle,
30th September 1908.

RESOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT.—His Excellency the Governor in Council observes with extreme regret that the advance of education in this Presidency, towards which Government contribute largely from the resources of the Province, has been accompanied by relaxation of discipline and a lowering of the standard of manners in schools and colleges. This has lately culminated in flagrant offences

against school rules, while complaints of the rudeness and discourtesy of boys in public are becoming too frequent.

2. His Excellency in Council feels certain that no parents can wish that there should be a breaking up of family life, that authority should be disregarded and that the way to anarchy should thus be prepared. These are the necessary results of any weakening of that discipline which the wisdom of the East has always recognized to be the indispensable preliminary to a right use of the independence of manhood. It is in well governed families, schools and colleges, and there only, that youths can be trained to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. There only can they learn the habits of obedience, mutual respect, tolerance, self control, self-sacrifice and devotion to a common good which are vital to the existence of organized society. Where these lessons have not been learnt, there can exist only a mob of individuals knowing no law but inclination, no good but personal gratification and self-aggrandisement, and unable to rise to a conception of national progress. This is one of the most certain lessons of history, and its truth has never been questioned in India, where it has been powerfully re-inforced by religious sanction.

3. The traditional feeling of boys towards their Guru in this country have always been one of respectful awe and the attitude of children towards their parents and elders has always been one of implicit obedience carried on even into mature age. It must be the fault both of parents and of Guru that the reverence accorded to them even a quarter of a century ago is now being lost.

4. His Excellency the Governor in Council is convinced that the growing laxity of discipline and disregard of authority are in some measures due to the tendency on the part of boys and students to associate themselves with political demonstrations. Whatever may be the merits of any political propaganda there can be no question that the participation in it of youths in the state of pupilage is gravely injurious to the progress of education. Not only are immature minds impressed with ideas before powers of judgment have been acquired, but the mental excitement thus induced is necessarily prejudicial to an orderly process of learning. In the words of Dr. Edward Caird addressed to the students of Balliol College, Oxford: "To undertake such work would be to anticipate life in such a way as to hinder your preparation for it." These words express a universal truth, and the Governor in Council has come to the conclusion that, in the interests of educational progress, which are now plainly suffering, the incursions of boys and students into political affairs must be checked.

5. When boys live in hostels, the responsibility of the parent is for the time suspended and that of the master is complete. In day-schools, the master is responsible during school hours and at other times the parent. There must therefore, be co-operation between master and parent. Nowhere in the past has there prevailed a more attractive type of manners and a higher standard of courtesy than in Indian house-holds. Both masters and parents are well aware of this. They know the sentiments with which they were inspired and the outward forms of respect that were exacted from them when they were boys. The Governor in Council expects that they will do their utmost to inculcate the same high tone of feeling and standard of behaviour in their own children and pupils. This is manifestly demanded alike in the interest of the parents, of the boys and of the country as a whole.

6. The Governor in Council is therefore, determined that breaches of discipline in schools and lawlessness, rudeness and discourtesy in or out of school shall not be tolerated in schools maintained or aided by Government and any measures which managers or masters may take to enforce authority and to check the growing laxity of manners will receive the fullest support.

7. Masters are too prone to believe that their success is to be measured by the number of boys in their schools. This is an entire mistake. Rude, undisciplined and disobedient boys should be ruthlessly weeded out. Boys taking part in seditious or disorderly proceedings should be expelled. In their own schools and in those which they aid, Government attach much more importance to quality than to numbers.

8. Inspecting officers will be directed to pay surprise visits to schools, and warn the masters, if necessary, that they are not acting up to the standards required by Government. It is expected that the managers of aided schools will recognize that they ought to maintain the same standard of discipline that Government will exact in their own schools, and that the acceptance of aid from Government implied a general willingness to fulfil as far as possible the requirements of Government. There is no obligation to contribute to the support of Institutions which are not rendering effective service to the people.

9. The Governor in Council believes that good would result from more frequent consultation between managers of schools and Government officials both of the Educational and the Revenue Departments. Parents also should be called into Council as much as possible and the objects of Government should be explained to them. The Government will endeavour to provide in their own Institutions, as high a standard of education as financial conditions will

permit, and will continue their aid to other schools and colleges. It must, however, be clearly understood that hostility to Government is incompatible with retention of students in the former and with grants to the latter.

10. In all Government and aided Secondary Schools, His Excellency requires a strict observance of the following conditions :—

(a) Strict regularity and implicit obedience must be exacted in class.

(b) Any reported or observed objectionable conduct out of school must be sternly punished.

(c) Parents must be given to understand that they cannot dictate to managers, but that the managers have a right to say on what conditions they will admit or retain boys in their schools. A great deal of the prevailing laxity in schools comes from the fatal oriental habit of yielding to importunity.

(d) The present habit of appearing both in class and in public in dirty and untidy dress must be suppressed. Decent native cloths are very cheap and are easily kept clean.

(e) Politeness and courtesy must be inculcated and any approach to rudeness or ungentlemanly speech or conduct should be punished.

(f) Such papers only as Government from time to time sanction shall be admitted to reading rooms of schools and hostels or subscribed to by students.

(g) No school-boy shall attend or take part in the organisation or conduct of any public meeting of any kind.

11. The above rules will apply to all schools and colleges, Government or aided, except that college students may attend public meetings with the previous permission of the Principal to whose discretion it shall also be left what papers are admitted into the college.

12. It is expected that the managers of aided primary schools in large centres will give effect to these rules so far as they are applicable in their cases. Separate instructions will be issued to profusill school-masters.

(Signed)

Secretary to Government.

TO MASTERS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE MOFUSSIL

Accompaniment to Government Resolution, Education Department,
No. 2396, dated the 30th September 1908.

1. The Sarkar has heard that some of you disobey the rule which forbids you to go to political meetings or speak in public on politics. You must obey the rule.
2. You are not to take newspapers into school or to allow any one else to take them in.
3. Some of your boys are often rude to people in the streets. It is your business to teach them to be well-behaved and to punish them if they do not obey you.
4. You are to try to persuade parents to make their boys obedient and polite and to make them regular in attendance at school.
5. When political meetings are held you are not to allow your boys to go to them and you are to try to persuade parents to help you in keeping them away from them.
6. You are to make your boys be as clean and tidy as possible.

THE SAMARATH VIDYALAYA DECLARED UNLAWFUL

(FROM H. D. SPECIAL FILE No. 20, 20A, PAGE 223.)

[The Samarth Vidyalaya was a residential school designed to impart national education. Government was suspicious about the aims and objects of this institution. They saw sedition in question papers of history, in prayers sung by the students and in the newspapers that were subscribed and read by the students and teachers of the school. On 7th April 1910, Chiplunkar's essay, "The State of our country", was notified by Government as objectionable under section 12 of the Indian Press Act of 1910. This essay was included in the curriculum of the Samarth Vidyalaya. The D.S.P. Poona secured a search warrant and searched the premises of the school. The notified essay as well copies of certain notified and forfeited books were found there. The Government came to the conclusion that the school was a centre for preaching sedition and issued a special notification on 14th June, 1910, declaring the Samarth Vidyalaya an unlawful association.]

CHARGES AGAINST THE SCHOOL

J. D. letter No. 11-M.—2677, dated the 12th May 1910.

From

THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,

Bombay ;

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

Home Department.

I am directed to request that the Educational Institution known as the Samarth Vidyalaya at Talegaon in the Poona District of this Presidency may be declared to be an unlawful association under section 14 of Act XIV of 1908.

2. This school has long been suspected, of antagonism to Government and the education given there is being calculated to produce extremists so that as the boys emerge they are likely to constitute inflammable material of the same type as the Nasik conspirators ready for any outrage.

3. Evidence in this sense has been steadily accumulating, and there is now sufficient evidence in the opinion of the Bombay Government to prove that these suspicions have been well founded and to justify the action proposed.

4. The following is a summary of the evidence. Of the present masters two are shown in the latest report as 'on leave These are Professor Bijapurkar and Vaman Malhar Joshi, who in the recent trials at Kolhapur were convicted by a specially deputed British Judge of offences under sections 302, 115 and 124-A, Indian Penal Code, and each sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment which they are now undergoing.

Professor Bijapurkar was the founder of the school, and the accompanying translations of two documents found when his house was searched show that his object was by a system of National Education to prepare the way for the overcoming of England. Those marginally noted are or were all share-holders in

- (1) Rajaram Damodar Desai.
- (2) Janardhan Sakharan Karandikar.
- (3) Janardhan Vinayek Oke.
- (4) Balkrishna Keshav Kulkarni.
- (5) Purshotam Keshav Kotwal.

Bepin Chandra Pal's Hind National Agency and of these No. 3 who took charge when Bijapurkar was arrested was previously Head Master of the Neill school at Nagpur, and is understood to have been forced to resign on account of a political disturbance among the students there. On June 7th, 1902, he adopted

a somewhat obstructive attitude at a meeting of subscribers called in Poona to decide the form which the Queen Victoria Union should take. No. 4 was chosen by the Bombay National Union as a delegate to the proclaimed Extermist Congress at Nagpur. No. 5 was expelled from Indore for dabbling in pernicious politics. Another master, V. D. Patvardhan, publicly advocated boycott in Bijapur in 1908. Another M. P. Moghe has been arrested in the Nasik Conspiracy Case : he seems to have resigned shortly before the murder. Another C. A. Modak was expelled from Indore ; three recently joined about whom nothing is known.

Next, the school is by the showing of its annual reports supported by the Vidya Prasarak Mandali, an association founded by Tilak, Deshmukh, Khare, C. V. Vaidya, and Bijapurkar, everyone of whom is a notorious Extermist. In these same reports are to be found passages characterising the policy of Government as 'repressive,' speaking of the country as 'in dire misfortune' condemning the present system of education and advocating a totally different kind of training for the rising generation 'on national lines' and referring to the 'gross ignorance prevailing among the people about the condition of their country'.

The second Annual Report gives a list of prominent visitors, about onethird of whom are known extremists, and goes on to say that one of them recited the national song Vande Mataram and other Swadeshi songs, and the other (the notorious khare of of Nasik) recited a national song composed by himself also addressed the boys a few words of advice. Tilak is spoken of with the greatest honour and respect and in the last report given the

title 'Lokamanya'. The marginal extract from a speech made last September by B. V. Phadke in Bombay shows how the school is regarded by extremists. Further from various police reports it is known that the proceeds of the performance of a seditious play since prohibited were sent to the school. It is known that the students are taken to historical Forts and other places of National Training 'to give them practical training'. It is not known exactly what is meant by 'practical training', but there is good reason to believe it includes advance in skirmishing order and sham fighting.

Information was received by Government that the curriculum includes the seditious Essay on "The state of our Country" by Chiplunkar which has been recently declared forfeited under section 12 of the Press Act, as well as selected essays from the Kesari. The Institution was accordingly searched for this and other notified documents on 25th April. In the search were discovered the marginally noted documents which have been forfeited under section 12, and one little boy of 12 was found copying out the objectionable essay. Practically every room contained a photograph of Tilak, and the accompanying extracts from notes taken during the search show beyond question the pernicious atmosphere of the place. An officer of the Poona District wrote a year and a half ago that the Brahmin officers of the Poona Taluka regarded the school as a great public danger. The Bombay Government share that view and think that the Institution ought to be closed by the only means that seems available, a Notification under section 16 of Act XIV of 1908. I am to attach a draft Notification.

DECLARED TO BE UNLAWFUL

(PAGE 239.)

No. 644.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT

(POLITICAL).

Simla, the 10th June 1910.

Notification.

Whereas the Governor General in Council is of opinion that the Association styled, "The Samarth Vidyalaya" situated at Talegaon in the Poona District of the Bombay Presidency has for its object interference with the maintenance of law and order and constitutes a danger to the public peace :

In exercise of the power conferred by Section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, the Governor General in Council hereby declares the said Association to be unlawful.

(Signed) A. EARLE,
Officiating Secretary to the
Government of India.

ALLOW US TO EXPLAIN

(PAGE 233.)

Telegram dated the 11th June 1910.

From

J. V. OKA, Samarth Vidyalaya, Talegaon ;

To

PRIVATE SECRETARY, Governor of Bombay, Ganeshkhind.

Regarding Simla telegram in Times of India announcing Extra Gazette declaring Samarth Vidyalaya unlawful Association, I on behalf of the Vidyalaya pray that opportunity be accorded to me of submitting numble' explanation regarding its character and working and that Government may be pleased to stay execution of orders pending consideration of the prayer. I respectfully submit the Vidyalaya is regular private school open to public inspection and not an Association.

THE SCHOOL MUST BE CLOSED

Government, however, did not accept any representation and ordered that the school should be closed by 28th June 1910. It was closed accordingly.

SHRI GANGANATH BHARATIYA SARVA VIDYALAYA, BARODA

(SUMMARISED FROM POLITICAL RECORDS OF THE BARODA STATE.)

A National School was started near Baroda by Barrister K. G. Deshpande and many other gentlemen of his cult. Barrister Deshpande had intimate friendship with Babu Arbindo Ghose and both of them had drawn up a scheme under the name "Bhavani Mandir" about national education.

Shri Ganganath Bharatiya Sarva Vidyalaya was an outcome of that scheme. Ganganath is a temple of Mahadev situated on a hillock on the banks of the Narmada near Chandod. It was under the jurisdiction of the Rana of Mandwa under Rewa Kantha Agency. A Brahmachari named Brahmanandji was in charge of the temple and the premises round about. Brahmanandji gave his consent to

start the institution in the temple and the institution was first started on 7th May 1907. The office bearers of this Vidyalaya included an advisory body of seven persons and a controlling board of five, while the secretaries were :

1. Hari Balkrishna Talvalkar of Baroda, 2. Ramchandra Moreshwar Jog, Late Karbhari of Jawhar State, 3. Ganesh Bhaskar Sane of Baroda, 4. Govind Balwant Saswadkar of Baroda.

Most of the persons on the executive were residents of Baroda and many of them were in Baroda Government service.

The object of the institution was to impart in the Vernacular Language, physical, moral and religious instruction. Sanskrit Vedic Religion, Indian history by Indian authors and similar subjects comprised in what is called National Education were also to be taught along with the usual subjects of instruction such as Mathematics, drawing, etc., so that the students might be prepared to serve their mother land.

The Resident of Baroda having heard about this Institution inquired under his confidential D.O. No. C-1, dated 1st June 1908 about the aims and objects of the Institution, the curriculum of studies and the names of its supporters.

The Minister replied that the Ganganath Temple was not situated in the Baroda Territory and that, therefore, the necessary enquiries about the Institution might be made of the political Agent, Rewa Kantha.

Immediately after this, the political Agent, Rewa Kantha, having it would seem, insisted upon the Rana of Mandwa to sever his connection with the Institution, the latter put pressure upon the promoters to shift it elsewhere. The Institution was, consequently, closed there and started at Baroda in about August 1908 in the Kashivishveshwara Temple belonging to Gopalrao Mairal. The name of the Institution was, however, not changed.

Ever since the transfer of the Institution to Baroda, its proceedings as also the movements of its teachers and students were being watched by the Criminal Intelligence Department of the British Government.

PROSCRIBED BOOKS INCLUDED IN THE CURRICULUM OF THE INSTITUTION

On the 14th January 1910 the Resident wrote to the Minister of Baroda that the books entitled (1) Life of Mazzini by Sawarkar (2) Ramdasi Buva by Laxman Ramchandra Pangarkar and (3) Anandashrama a translation of the famous Bengali novel "Anand Math" by Babu Bankim Chandra were included in the curriculum of the Vidyalaya. About Ramdasi Buva he wrote that book was a reprint of the eight articles published in the "Mumukshu" newspaper, and that the object of the writer was to expound and recommend to the people of Maharashtra, the principles and methods of political agitation professed and followed by Ramdas, the political preceptor of Shivaji. The proprietors being asked to explain stated that one of the teachers at the Vidyalaya (name not mentioned) of his own accord used to read portions from the life of Mazzini by Ghanekar (but not Sawarkar) and also from Ramdasi Buva, to three or four grown up boys. Since the transfer of the Institution to Baroda the said teacher had left it and that the Institution had now a regular course of text books in which the aforesaid three books were not included.

OBJECTIONABLE TEACHERS AND STUDENTS AT THE INSTITUTION

The Baroda Resident, from time to time made inquiries about objectionable persons connected with the Vidyalaya. The following persons were among them :—

1. *Vithal Balkrishna Joshi*.—This gentleman had joined the conspiracy set on foot at Nasik by Ganesh Damodar Sawarkar which terminated in the murder of Mr. Jackson, the Collector. He was arrested by Nasik police and admitted in the course of investigation that he had joined the Gangnath Vidyalaya as a teacher under the assumed name of Vishnu Balkrishna Rahalkar, in the year 1907-08.

2. *Vithal Laxman Phadke*.—This gentleman came from Ratnagiri and was suspected to have written threatening letters to the Collector of the place saying that "When kings did wrong it was right to kill them", "kill the English", "kill the Collector" etc. He had also started a library at Ratnagiri in which all the seditious papers were subscribed to. As he was marked down by the British Police, he came to Baroda and obtained employment as a teacher in the Gangnath Institute. The Residency insisted

upon removing this man from the Vidyalaya. He was, accordingly removed but on the recommendation of Barrister Deshpande, the Minister Mr. C. N. Seddon got him employed in the Antyaja school of the state. The Resident, however, disapproved the action of the Minister and Phadke was ultimately discharged in August 1911 and he left Baroda in January 1912. This Phadke is Mama Phadke, the well known social worker of the Panchmahal District.

3. *Vaman Keshav Datar Vaidya alias Shastribuwa*.—This Vaidya of Nasik who had come to Baroda was a great friend of Savarkar brothers. He had opened a Dispensary of Native Medicines in the Dandia Bazaar, Baroda and he was employed as medical adviser to look after the boys of the Vidyalaya. On the advice of the Minister, the services of Datar Shastri were dispensed with by the Gangnath Institution in January, 1911.

Other teachers connected with the Vidyalaya were Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Nagesh Vasudev Gunaji of Belgaum. No mention of these two gentlemen, however appears in the Records.

Some students who were obliged to leave the Samarth Vidyalaya, Talegaon, occasionally sought admission to the Gangnath Vidyalaya.

THE DIWAN'S OPINION

Mr. C. N. Seddon, the then Dewan of the Baroda State, wrote about the Gangnath Vidyalaya as follows :—

“Two or three days ago, I paid a visit to the Gangnath Vidyalaya. There have been 100 admissions but there are only 62 boys now in the school. The severity of the course is said to have driven the rest away. Most of the boys are about 15 or 16 years of age, they are well behaved and I was favourably impressed by their manners. The full charge is rupees 12 a month, but no boy pays full charge ; they vary from nothing to about Rs. 8. The feeding is fairly good, the work is hard ; in addition to the literary course, there is physical training, and also a good deal of religious teaching of a kind that both Hindu sects can assent to. There is an attached school of weaving and carpentry but there are only ten boys in it at present. The students are mostly Deccani Brahmans and Gujarati Patidars, but any Hindu is eligible. The boys must be unmarried and are to stay till they are twenty. The monthly cost of maintenance is about Rs. 750 and this is met from fees and subscriptions. Subscriptions are collected in the Districts and elsewhere. The

Institute has about Rs. 10,000 in reserve. The school is held in a Dharmashala which, however, is not altogether satisfactory. Mr. Deshpande told me that he had heard that the Bombay Government had prescribed the scholars of the shool (what that means I do not exactly know). He said that he was applying to the Baroda Educational Department to examine the school, that he welcomed all inspection, that he felt certain that the prejudice against the school was largely due to ignorance of the truth about it, that if any books in the curriculum were not liked, he was ready to cut them out at once ; but that he knew of nothing objectionable himself.

It is of course well known to me that the Gangnath school is regarded with much suspicion ; the grounds for this suspicion are not, however, quite clear ; nor do I know what evidence there is in support of the allegations against the school. My description of it may be taken for what it is worth ; it is not indeed very difficult to deceive a visitor and I do not pretend that there would be any particular difficulty in concealing from my eye anything that would be likely to displease me. But if the school is seditious I should very much like to know what the evidence is. The fact of the matter is that there is nothing directly seditious. With the declared objects it is impossible for any reasonable, fair-minded man to quarrel. And if the tendency of the education imparted is towards the creation of a class of men not likely to be very actively loyal in the old fashioned style, matters will not be mended by a pinprick policy. In other words, if any particular act, or course of action, or subject of study, or book, or teacher, is objected to, cannot the matter be put straight to the Baroda authorities. And if it is only a tendency that is deplored, is it not best to recognise the inevitable and meet it with tact and such sympathy as we can manage to raise ? ”

Due to the pressure of the British Government the Institution was closed in December 1911 and the moffussil students attending it left Baroda. The property of the Institution including the balance was proposed to be handed over to some society or trust having an educational object in view.

MOSLEM LEAGUE MEETING AT BOMBAY, 1915

[The year 1915 was the year of Home Rule Propaganda by leading nationalists of Bombay. Mrs. Besant had requested the

executives of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League to draw up a joint scheme for the formation of a Home Rule League for India. Mr. Jinnah was then a staunch nationalist. He was with the younger Congress leadership in the demand for Self Rule for India. With a view to try for a rapprochement between the Muslim League and the Congress, he insisted that the 1915 session of the Muslim League should be held in Bombay where also the session of the Indian National Congress was being held that year. The Government, it seems, was against unity among the Hindus and Muslims for a joint campaign for Self Rule in India. The Sunni Muslims led by Sardar Suleman Kassam Mitha were opposed to Jinnah and his Shia followers. The Police Commissioner Mr. Edwardes had strongly expressed his view that the Muslim League should not meet in Bombay. The League Session, however, was held in Bombay in spite of opposition from a section of Muslims and the Bombay Government. But on the second day there was an uproar caused by supporters of the opposition, and the President of the session, Mazhar-ul-Haq, had to declare the meeting adjourned sine die. This incident caused a stir amongst nationalists. The Bombay Presidency Association and the Sarvajanic Sabha of Poona sent letters of protest to the Governor, charging the Police Commissioner Mr. Edwardes with having helped the opponents of the League Session by his refusal to co-operate with the organisers of the session in keeping the rowdy elements away from the pandal. The nationalist press led by the Bombay Chronicle charged Government of coming in the way of Hindu Moslem Unity. The three extracts that follow present the versions of the Nationalists, the Police Commissioner and the Government of Bombay, regarding the breaking up of the Bombay Muslim League Meeting of 1915.]

B. P. ASSOCIATION CHARGES POLICE COMMISSIONER
(FROM J. D. FILE NO. 470 OF 1916, CONFIDENTIAL, PAGE 37.)

Strictly Confidential.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION,
APPOLLO BUNDER,
Bombay, 1916.

To

HIS Excellency THE RIGHT HON'BLE
FREEMAN FREEMAN-THOMAS,
Baron Willingdon of Ratton, G.C.I.E.,
Governor and President-in-Council, Bombay.

May it please your Excellency,

The Council of the Bombay Presidency Association feel it their duty in the public interest to approach Your Excellency's

Government with the following representation regarding the events which culminated in the breaking up of the public sessions to the All India Moslem League in Bombay on the 31st December last, under circumstances which have created a deep and deplorable impression on the public mind in this city and in many parts of the Bombay Presidency and of other Provinces and Presidencies in India.

2. The Council have been very careful to ascertain the facts from such sources as have been available to them, and respectfully state them below for the consideration of Government in support of their earnest request that Your Excellency in Council may be pleased to take such measures as are obviously necessary to protect the right of public meeting where the loyal subjects of His Majesty may express constitutionally their opinion on matters of the greatest public importance and of vital interest to the country.

3. The facts, so far as the Council have been able to ascertain them are as follows :—

I. On the 26th April last a requisition signed by almost all the leading Mohomedans of Bombay was sent to the Secretary of the All-India Moslem League to be placed before the Council of the League, inviting the League to hold its sessions in Bombay in December last.

II. Before the requisition was posted there was no sign of any disagreement or of want of harmony among the signatories ; but about the middle of May last a sharp and sudden division was manifested and from the 31st May to the 10 June correspondence in the press took place in which serious allegations were made on the one side and refuted on the other.

III. There were persistent rumours which were calculated seriously to disturb the public mind. It was widely given out and largely believed that the Bombay Government was opposed to the holding of the Sessions of the League in Bombay and that the Police Commissioner had used his powerful influence to induce some of the signatories to the requisition to withdraw their assent.

IV. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who had taken a leading part in sending the requisition and who was absent from Bombay from the 26th April to the beginning of June, saw Mr. Edwardes the Police Commissioner on his return to Bombay. The interview

took place on or about the 15th June and Mr. Jinnah has informed this Council of which he is a member, of what took place at that interview.

V. The Police Commissioner admitted to Mr. Jinnah that—

(a) He (Mr. Edwardes) was opposed to the Sessions of the League taking place in Bombay;

(b) He had already advised Sirdar Sulleman Cassum Mitha and others who had gone to him to seek his opinion and advice that they should not allow the League to come to Bombay;

(c) Mr. Edwardes understood that the object in holding the Sessions of the League in Bombay at the same time that the Congress met in Bombay, was to bring about a coalition between Hindus and Mahomedans;

(d) As a friend of the Mahomedans Mr. Edwardes thought it was suicidal for the Mahomedans and highly prejudicial to their vital interest; and as a friend of the Mahomedan Mr. Edwardes would not advise such a course.

VI. Mr. Jinnah assured Mr. Edwardes that there was no foundation for the statement that the object was to bring about a coalition, and that it was beyond the range of practical politics at the time to bring about such a coalition between the Hindus and the Mahomedans. All that Mr. Jinnah and those acting with him desired was, good will between the two communities and co-operation on such matters as were of common interest to both.

VII. Mr. Jinnah requested the Police Commissioner to leave the Mahomedans to decide the question for themselves and told him that his interference was most undesirable. Mr. Jinnah asked Mr. Edwardes to make his position clear by such an intimation to Sirdar Sulleman Cassum Mitha and others who were under his influence.

VIII. The Police Commissioner remained firm and refused to budge in any way from the position he had taken up.

IX. In the early part of July Mr. Jinnah saw His Excellency the Governor and placed the above facts before His Excellency, and stated that the whole cause of the trouble was improper influence on the part of the Police Commissioner. The Secretary to Government (Mr. Robertson), who came in subsequently

at His Excellency's request, said that as far as he knew Sirdar Sulleman Cassum Mitha and others had gone to Mr. Edwardes and sought his advice, and Mr. Edwardes had told them that his opinion was against the League coming to Bombay, and had advised them accordingly. His Excellency the Governor then told Mr. Jinnah that His Excellency would send for Mr. Edwardes and discuss the matter with him, and inform Mr. Jinnah later of the result.

X. On the 7th July last the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor wrote to Mr. Jinnah that "As regards the matter of the invitation of the Moslem League to Bombay Mr. Edwardes shared His Excellency's opinion that this is a matter of purely domestic concern for the local Mahomedans themselves to settle."

XI. Mr. Vazir Hassan the Secretary to the All-India Moslem League then came to Bombay to ascertain the true position, and report it to the Council of the League, so as to enable the Council to decide the question of holding the sessions of the League in Bombay. His report was made and sent round to all the members of the Council of the League all over India. On the 10th November last the Council of the League met at Lucknow and decided by 49 votes to 4 that the sessions should be held in Bombay.

XII. Mr. Vazir Hassan again came to Bombay on the 12th November to make arrangements for carrying out the decision to hold the sessions in Bombay; and on the 19th November a Committee was appointed, with the Honourable Mr. Abdul Hussein Adamji Peerbhoy as Chairman, to help Mr. Vazir Hassan.

XIII. The opponents of the movement then made an attempt to call a public Meeting through and under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay to protest against the decision of the Council of the League to hold the sessions in Bombay. This attempt failed: But in the meantime serious and dangerous misrepresentations on the strength of certain words in a telegram from His Highness the Aga Khan to the Secretary of the Moslem League were made, so as to import religious prejudice into a purely political question. Sirdar Sulleman Cassam Mitha openly declared that if the League came to Bombay there would be rioting and bloodshed. The friends of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Vazir Hassan had reason to apprehend danger to the persons and even to the lives of them both.

XIV. On the 30th November last Mr. Jinnah obtained another interview with His Excellency the Governor and explained the whole situation emphasising his conviction, formed upon the facts within his knowledge that there was no real opposition to the holding of the League sessions in Bombay but a fictitious and got up opposition was encouraged by the Police Commissioner.

XV. The Police Commissioner was at the Secretariat and His Excellency the Governor asked him to come in. Mr. Edwardes admitted that there was some truth in what Mr. Jinnah had stated but denied that he himself was at the bottom of the opposition or had encouraged it. Mr. Edwardes added that he had already taken steps in the matter and assured His Excellency that there would be no disturbance at all at the sessions of the All-India Moslem League in Bombay. As regards the threats which had been held out Mr. Edwardes was of opinion that they were not worth notice.

XVI. Four days after the above interview a public meeting of Mahomedans was held on the night of the 4th December last. It was got up at hardly 36 hours' notice. It was held in the Bhendy Bazar on a vacant spot belonging to the City of Bombay Improvement Trust. It was calculated to excite a highly inflammable element in that part of the city, and to create an erroneous impression about the situation.

XVII. On the 9th December His Excellency the Governor held at the Secretariat an informal meeting of representative Mahomedan gentlemen to discuss questions that had arisen with reference to the holding of the Moslem League sessions in Bombay. Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Vazir Hassan were invited to the meeting and Mr. Jinnah was also asked to take other friends, not more than three in number. Mr. Vazir Hassan had left Bombay and Mr. Jinnah went to the meeting with Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji and Mr. Sheriff Dewji Kanji. There were also present

Sir Syed Ali Imam ;
The Hon'ble Mr. Sheppard, Member of Council ;
Mr. L. Robertson, Political Secretary ;
Mr. Edwardes, Police Commissioner ;
The Hon'ble Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy, Kt. ;
The Hon'ble Mr. Rafiuddin Ahmed ;
The Hon'ble Mr. Suleman A. Wahed ;
Sirdar Sulleman Cassum Mitha ;
Hakim Mahomed Dayam.

XVIII. His Excellency the Governor presided at this meeting and Mr. Robertson read out certain terms which, he was informed, the parties had almost agreed upon. When these terms were read out Mr. Jinnah said that to his knowledge they had not been agreed upon, and that it was not possible to accept them. After a good deal of discussion an agreement was arrived at and signed by the Mahomedan gentlemen then present.

XIX. The Council are informed by Mr. Jinnah that it was also understood that, if it was so desired, a Resolution with regard to separate electorates for the Municipal and Local Boards might be passed; and also such other Resolutions as Members of the League might desire, provided there was no serious controversy or opposition among the Members themselves regarding them or any of them.

XX. Mr. Vazir Hassan accordingly drafted certain Resolutions for the consideration of the Council of the Moslem League on the 27th December in Bombay, previous to their submission to the meeting of the League in Bombay on the 30th December.

XXI. When those draft Resolutions were received in due course by the Honourable Mr. Rafiuddin Ahmed and Sirdar Sulleman Cassum Mitha as Members of the Council of the League, they went to the Secretariat and took strong objection to the wording of one of the Resolutions as being contrary to the compromise and a breach of the understanding. Mr. Robertson thereupon asked Mr. Jinnah to see His Excellency the Governor but as Mr. Jinnah was laid up with fever he was unable to go. Mr. Vazir Hassan the Secretary, however, saw the Honourable Mr. Sheppard and Mr. Robertson, and at once agreed to drop the wording objected to. On the 20th December a supplementary agenda was issued and the draft Resolution, so altered, was sent to the Members of the Council of the League by the Secretary.

XXII. Later, on the 24th or 25th December, after His Excellency the Governor had left Bombay for his Sind tour, Mr. Robertson sent a letter to Mr. Jinnah asking Mr. Jinnah to go along with Mr. Vazir Hassan and see him. They both went to Mr. Robertson who informed them that if they introduced any fresh Resolution of a controversial character over and above the Resolution which had been agreed upon, Government would stop the sessions of the All-India Moslem League. Mr. Jinnah replied that he saw no reason for such a threat; that they as honourable men were bound to stand by the arrangement to which they had

given their assent and that they would carry out their part in the matter. At the same time Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Vazir Hassan pointed out to Mr. Robertson that under the Rules of the League they had to elect their President, Vice Presidents, and Secretaries, and they trusted that such election of the office bearers would not be considered a breach of the arrangement. Mr. Robertson said that the office bearers could be elected according to the Rules, and he took a note on his file to that effect.

XXIII. On the 27th December last the Council of the League met in Bombay when Sirdar Sulleman Cassum Mitha and the Honourable Mr. Rafiddin Ahmed were present. The Resolutions agreed upon as above were placed before the Meeting and were passed without any dissent.

XXIV. The Meeting of the All-India Moslem League was held on the 30th December when the addresses of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and of the President of the League were delivered, and Resolutions I and II were passed. The proceedings passed off satisfactorily and there was no indication of any dissent. The Meeting was adjourned to the 31st December and Resolutions III to XI, were placed on the Agenda for that day's Meeting. The third and fourth Resolutions were put from the chair and were passed. When the fifth Resolution for the appointment of a Committee to formulate and frame a scheme, of reforms etc., was about to be moved in the terms agreed upon, a disturbance arose quite unexpectedly. No complaint had been made and no notice of any complaint had been given either to the Secretary or to any of the organisers of the sessions of the League.

XXV. The disturbance was caused by Sirdar Sulleman Cassum Mitha assisted by a few Kabuli and other rowdies. The latter had no right to take any part in the proceedings. Nothing had occurred to excite or provoke them at the meeting. They insulted the President and made highly offensive and indecent remarks with obscene gestures alleging that they resented the President's style of dress, his shaved face, and his not speaking in Urdu. They did not know English and could not follow the proceedings. They had evidently come prepared and determined to create a disturbance at a given signal. As a breach of peace was apprehended the President had to adjourn the Meeting.

XXVI. There was a large body of Police inside the League Pandal in plain clothes including two European Police Officers. They did nothing to prevent the unseemly disturbance, or to

assist the members of the League who had assembled for a lawful and legitimate purpose. Several ladies were present and left through fear without a single officer or policeman coming to their aid or to offer protection. Moreover, the evidence in the possession of the Council shows that one of the chief disturbers of the meeting was given a signal to rise from his seat and take part in the disturbance, by one of the Police Officers there present.

XXVII. The Council are informed that before the Meeting commenced, there was a large body of Policemen including a number of European Police Officers outside the League Pandal. The Police Commissioner and the Assistant Police Commissioner (Mr. Harkar) were also there. The presence of the Acting Chief Presidency Magistrate (Mr. Setalvad) was also noticed. When the session was adjourned, several of the leading members of the League retired to the President's tent for deliberation; and Mr. Jinnah proceeded from the tent after some time to see the Police Commissioner and inform him of all that had occurred and seek his assistance.

XXVIII. Mr. Jinnah met the Commissioner outside the Pandal and told him under what circumstances the meeting had to be adjourned. Mr. Jinnah stated further to Mr. Edwardes that it was the general desire of the members of the League, who were present at the meeting, that the meeting should continue its deliberations in the Pandal, undisturbed by those who were not entitled to enter the Pandal; or by those who, if entitled to enter it, had no right to take any part in the proceedings according to the League's constitution. Mr. Jinnah further informed the Commissioner that the public had been admitted into the Pandal by leave and license and by courtesy only, and those of them who had entered by purchasing tickets could have their money refunded to them at once. Mr. Jinnah added that in view of what had occurred it was necessary and desirable to exclude the general public entirely, and to confine the proceedings and deliberations to the Members of the League; and Mr. Jinnah appealed to the Police Commissioner for help to prevent any one who was not a member of the League from forcing himself into the meeting, by placing Policemen at the entrances to the Pandal. The Police Commissioner refused such help, and said to Mr. Jinnah "If you apprehend any serious danger I am prepared to take charge of the Pandal and clear everybody off", Mr. Edwardes further told Mr. Jinnah that he would advise that the meeting should not be held at all.

XXIX. When Mr. Jinnah reported the above to the President and to those who were present in the President's tent, it was decided that the matter should be considered further and more carefully at the President's Bungalow at about 5 p.m. The Council are further informed that shortly before this meeting took place at the President's Bungalow a Hotchkiss Landaulette was seen near the Government House Gate in Walkeshwar Road. The Landaulette belonged to Sirdar Sulleman Cassum Mitha. The Sirdar and two European gentlemen were seen walking towards the Government House grounds. One of the gentlemen was the Police Commissioner. The other gentleman has not been definitely identified.

4. These facts disclose a state of things to which the Council of the Association think it their duty to request the serious attention of Your Excellency's Government.

5. The conduct of the Police Commissioner from first to last—from the time he advised Sirdar Cassum Mitha and others to oppose the holding of the Moslem League Sessions in Bombay, to the time when he was publicly seen in the Sirdar's company soon after the Sirdar's success in breaking up the League Sessions was all that it should not have been.

6. The Council of the Association feel it their duty to protest emphatically against the interference of a Government Officer, holding the high and responsible post of Police Commissioner, in a dispute between the citizens as to the desirability of a contemplated political movement. They submit further that it was not open to the Police Commissioner of Bombay to advise and encourage opposition to a political movement on the plea that the coalition of Hindus and Mahomedans in politics was suicidal for the Mahomedans, and that as a friend of the Mohomedans he did not approve of the Moslem League holding its Sessions in Bombay at the same time as the Indian National Congress.

7. The Council of the Association submit with great respect that it cannot possibly be to the public interest for the Head of the Police to declare himself, or to be publicly regarded as, a friend of one particular community in a city like Bombay. On the contrary it is fraught with serious consequences for it must obviously tend on the one hand to create in the mind of the unruly element from which no community is free, a mischievous confidence, and on the other an equally mischievous suspicion; either of which state of mind is incompatible with the public tranquillity which it is the duty of the police to preserve and to ensure.

8. The Council further submit that such an attitude on the part of a high Officer of Government and more especially of an Officer in the position of the Police Commissioner is calculated seriously to shake the confidence of the public in the impartiality of the Government.

9. That such mischievous confidence as the Council allude to was created, is clear from what occurred, even after His Excellency the Governor's action in July last. The threats of riot and bloodshed and violence to the person of Mahomedan leaders, whose policy the Police Commissioner had at one time so openly discountenanced and disapproved, have left a deplorable impression on the public mind in and outside Bombay. The success of Sirdar Sulleman Cassum Mitha in breaking up a public meeting held for a lawful and legitimate purpose could not easily be dissociated in the public mind from the belief that the Sirdar and his partisans had the sympathy, if not the encouragement any longer, of the head of the Police. The obvious unwillingness of the Police to prevent the disturbance that led to the breaking up of the meeting has been widely attributed to the Police Commissioner's views and bias, which had been too well known at the commencement to be concealed at the end. The Police Commissioner's refusal, when appealed to by Mr. Jinnah, to render any help for enabling the Members of the League to carry on their deliberations undisturbed in the Pandal, has very gravely accentuated the situation. That the Sirdar should retain the Police Commissioner's friendship, and should appear publicly in friendly companionship with the Police Commissioner within less than two hours after the part Sirdar Sulleman Cassum had played in the League Pandal, has been regarded as a public scandal which the Council respectfully submit, the Government cannot afford to ignore.

10. The Council earnestly submit that it was the duty of the Police to prevent the disturbance, and that the failure of the Police to perform that duty ought not to remain unnoticed. Even if it is claimed that it was in the discretion of the Police Commissioner to refuse the help Mr. Jinnah asked for, the Council confidently submit that the facts show that in the exercise of that discretion Mr. Edwardes was not free from the bias he had entertained from the first.

11. That all this should have taken place after and inspite of the views and wishes of His Excellency the Governor and after and inspite of the policy laid down by His Excellency as Head of

the Government and published for general information, has not tended to lessen but to render all the more acute the anxiety with which the public not only in this City and Presidency, but in many parts of India outside this Presidency, has regarded the whole history of this deplorable incident.

12. The right of public meeting is one of the most valuable and cherished rights which the people owe to British Rule. The facts stated hereinabove raise a question of great public importance whether the loyal Moslem subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperor, who met constitutionally to deliberate and to express their opinions on matters of vital interest and paramount importance to the community and the country, are not entitled to protection against the premediated action of a few illiterate roughs and ignorant Kabulis, and of those who availed of their mischievous service? The Council of the Association cannot presume, and have no desire, to dictate the course Your Excellency in Council should adopt under the circumstances; but they earnestly request that Government should take every step to protect the exercise and enjoyment by the public of a most valuable right unimpaired by the disfavour or bias of officials. And the Council also pray that Your Excellency's Government will be pleased to deal with this subject in such a manner as to allay the uneasiness in the public mind to which this regrettable incident and its intimate connection with the Head of the Police in this City have unfortunately given rise.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

Chairman.

D. E. WACHA,
C. H. SETALVAD,
AMIRUDIN TYABJI,
N. M. SAMARTH.

Honorary Secretaries.

The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona also made a petition dated 18th March, 1916 on the same incident.

POLICE COMMISSIONER'S VERSION

Note on the disturbance at the session of the All-India Moslem League on Friday, December 31st, 1915.

(FROM J. D. FILE No. 470 OF 1916, MOSLEM LEAGUE.)

1. It will be remembered that from the outset there was considerable opposition on the part of the Bombay Sunni Muhammadans to

the holding of a session of the All-India Moslem League in Bombay during Christmas week 1915. Mr. Jinnah, who was the chief representative in Bombay of the pro-League party, is not regarded by the Sunnis of Bombay as a Muhammadan, and his avowed object in bringing the League to Bombay, viz., to form a political coalition with the Hindu National Congress, in order to present a joint Hindu-Muselman demand to the British Government for concessions and self-government did not commend itself to the Sunni Musalmans of Bombay, who believe that if such a scheme fructified they will be left in the lurch, all the advantages being swallowed by the Hindus and minor Mussalman sects, like the Khojas, who are attracted to the Hindus. They further emphasized their belief that it was perfectly useless to worry the British Government for concessions, etc., while war was still being waged, and that, as Sunni Muhammadans bound by deep sentimental ties to the person of the Khalifa, their wisest course would be to remain quiet until peace had been declared, and then submit their claim to recognition by the British Government. M. A. Jinnah, on the other hand, was equally determined to force the League meeting upon Bombay and to come to some mutual understanding with the Hindus on the subject of self-government, and to aid him in his campaign he gathered round him a handful of Khojas and Bhoras, all Shias, and one Sunni Muhammadan of means, who acted as members of a Reception Committee and as Secretaries of the local pro-League party.

2. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, it may be incidentally mentioned, had originally been one of the signatories of the letter inviting the All-India Moslem League to Bombay. But on finding that opposition to the League's Session was considerable and having been spoken to rather sharply by Sirdar Saheb Sulleman Cassum Haji Mitha on the subject, he, in company with others, withdrew his signature and stated that he did not approve of the League meeting in Bombay. From that date Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy has acted as a human pendulum, being forced this way by one party and now in the opposite direction by the other party, and retiring to bed whenever feeling became acute, or the members of either party became too importunate. He put the coping-stone on this inglorious career of vacillation by retiring to Calcutta for Christmas week and remaining there till all danger of disturbance had passed away.

3. As regards His Highness the Aga Khan, it will be remembered that he originally wrote a letter to Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy stating that in his opinion no meeting of the League should be held this year. But subsequently when Messrs. Vazir Hassan and Jinnah made it

clear that they would brook no opposition from the local Muhammadans, he sent a telegram from England to Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy for delivery to Mr. Vazir Hassan, stating that if the Congress was going to hold its sessions he saw no harm in the League doing so too, and suggesting various resolutions for it to pass, one of which, referring to British victories over "all the King's enemies", was obviously highly dangerous, considering the attachment of the Sunni Muhammadans to Turkey.

4. The opposition of the local Muhammadans to the League continued and culminated in a monster meeting held on Sandhurst Road, and attended by about 10,000 Muhammadans at which a resolution was passed protesting against the holding of the Session of the League in Bombay. Haji Yusuf Haji Ismail Sobhani was the President of the meeting and representatives of all sects, including Bohras and a few Khojas were present. (The heads of the local Pathan and Julhai sects were all present at this meeting.) This meeting may be said to have finally established and clinched the opposition on a firm basis. Mr. Jinnah was alarmed at the turn affairs had taken and wired immediately for Vazir Hassan to come down from Lucknow. At the same time free use was made of the columns of the Bombay Chronicle, a Congress organ, to belittle and irritate the leading men of the anti-League party by pseudonymous communications and violent leading articles. The part played by the Bombay Chronicle from the commencement of the opposition has been most unfortunate; and it is largely due to its malignancy that the feelings of those opposed to the League Session were roused into irritation and anger. There is little doubt that the articles and pseudonymous letters were issued with the approval of Mr. Jinnah and his following particularly the Adamji Peerbhoy family, and that the Hindu Congress party in Bombay pronounced a tacit benediction upon a campaign, which was calculated to rouse to fury those who were in opposition to Mr. Jinnah and the League.

5. As Government are aware matters at last reached a pitch at which His Excellency the Governor felt it desirable to intervene and try and effect a settlement. The terms of the compromise which was arrived at in the Secretariat in the presence of His Excellency the Governor and Sir Ali Imam are well known, and need not be repeated here. But it is worth recalling to mind the fact that Mr. Jinnah definitely stated at the meeting that although he himself was prepared to carry out the terms of the compromise in the spirit and to the letter, he could not vouch for the attitude which would be taken up by the hotter-headed and less amenable members of the League from Upper India. It is important, in the light of subsequent events, to remember

this statement of Mr. Jinnah. He knew at the time that the compromise would not be acceptable to some of the members of the League from Upper India.

6. For the time being, however, opposition quieted down but some of the local Mahomedans (Sunnis) were not wholly pleased with the compromise, and warned Mr. Sulleman Cussum Haji Mitha that if the terms were not strictly adhered to by the opposite side, they would consider it their duty strongly to protest. They were further irritated by the list of members of the Committee (appointed to draft a scheme of reforms in consultation with the Congress) which Mr. Vazir Hassan proceeded, after the compromise, to print and circulate. The members whom it was proposed to appoint from the Bombay Presidency were found to consist (with, I believe, a single exception) of Khojas and Bohras, and the Sunni Mussalmans, who had opposed the session of the League, felt that they had been deliberately boycotted by Messrs. Jinnah and Vazir Hassan and the Moslem League. Meanwhile the *Bombay Chronicle* continued to publish articles in a strain calculated to irritate the League opponents and thereby nullify the spirit of compromise, which His Excellency had endeavoured to bring about. Rightly or wrongly, the local Muhammadans felt that they had to some extent played into the hands of the League, by agreeing to a compromise with people, who were apparently not prepared to play straight with them or allow them any voice in matters (such as the reform scheme) which are of vital interest to the Sunnis as well as the Shias. The *Times of India* in a leading article on December 31st, 1915, echoed the feeling of the local Muhammadans in the following words :—

“The advisability of holding a session at the present time was obviously a question for the Muhammadan community to decide. But there can be no two reasoned opinions as to the procedure adopted. If the League is to be regarded as an organized body, the constituent members of that body cannot be ignored ; to invite the League to Bombay, and to ignore the Provincial Branch of that League, was politics pour rire. And whom did the League represent in these conditions ? Certainly not the Muhammadans of Bombay. So far as their feeling could be tested by a public meeting it was overwhelmingly opposed to the session. It is only necessary to glance through the exiguous list of the Reception Committee to drive home the point. It did not represent the Punjab, for that great province was equally opposed to the session. Elsewhere, if we are to accept the analysis of the voting, opinion was also divided. So it is not easy to decide in these circumstances precisely what body of Moslem opinion was represented at yesterday's session, etc. etc.”

7. That irritation still lingered in the minds of the local Muhammadans was apparent from confidential reports received in this office, and there was still a feeling current in the community that after the monster protest meeting the League ought not to have been permitted to hold its session in Bombay. On the 25th December the President-elect, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq, was due to arrive in Bombay, and on the 24th December I received a letter from the Secretaries of the local Reception Committee, Mr. Mirza, A. M. Khan and Mr. Tyabji, stating that it was proposed to take the President in procession up Sheikh Memon Street and thence through Bhendi Bazar and Nul Bazar to Sandhurst Road. Private information received by me showed that if Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq passed through Bhendi Bazar and Nul Bazar he would have one or two shoes thrown at him, and I, therefore, advised the Secretaries not to take the procession by that route. The Secretaries eventually decided to keep the procession entirely to the Hindu quarters of the city, in fact to follow the route laid down for the President of the Congress.

8. After Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq's arrival, information reached this office that a Subject Committee meeting had been held to decide what resolutions should be brought before the meeting of the League on the 30th and 31st December. There were present at this all the local supporters of the League as well as members of the League from Upper India. The meeting was rather a stormy one, according to report, as several Moslems from Upper India desired resolutions to be brought forward which were not in accordance with the terms of the compromise, and Mazhar-ul-Haq himself is said to have complained of the restrictions placed upon the League by the terms of the agreement concluded by Mr. Jinnah and Vazir Hassan. Possibly to quiet the Upper India delegates, a secret list of resolutions was drafted, which might, if necessary, be placed before the League Meeting. Some of these resolutions directly offended against the terms of the compromise arrived at in the Secretariat.

9. Ultimately the subject upon which the local Muhammadans definitely decided to protest was the presidential speech of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq. It may be mentioned in the first instance that his speech was printed at the "Bombay Chronicle" Press and instead of being distributed prior to its delivery to members of the League and the public as is said to be usually the case, it was kept secret and in fact was not distributed until after the address had been delivered on the first day. This no doubt was done purposely, in the view of the fact that the presidential speech deliberately transgressed the spirit of the compromise arrived at, by dealing with a variety of matters which the Bombay Mussalmans had declared that they would not

allow to be mentioned. The speech was in fact a deliberate attempt on the part of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq to render nugatory the compromise agreed to before His Excellency the Governor, and one part of his speech, dealing with the suppression of seditious Musalman papers and the detention of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali was a direct attack upon the action of the Government of India. What the Bombay Mussalmans chiefly objected to was the fact that the speech ran directly counter to the spirit both of their original objections and of the terms of the compromise.

10. The opening day of the session was remarkable for two or three circumstances. Firstly the local pro-League party had introduced into the pendal certain hirelings of their own, doubtless with a view to overawing the Bombay Musalmans and their illiterate supporters. The Criminal Investigation Department noticed one Allarakhia Abba and certain "roughs" from Kasai Moholla, coupled with some Julhai weavers, who probably were brought from the Adamji Peerbhoy Mills or Mr. Sobhani's Mill.

Secondly there was a very large proportion of Congress Hindus in the audience and on the dias who loudly applauded various portions of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq's speech. The presence of this large number of Congress Hindus annoyed the Bombay Muhammadans greatly, the original idea of the latter being that the League should not be permitted to become part and parcel of the Congress.

Thirdly, the proceedings being conducted entirely in English, the local Muhammadans who had come prepared to protest immediately against anything savouring of a breach of the terms of the compromise, were, unable to do so, as they did not understand what Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq was actually saying.

11. By the morning of the 31st, the second day's session, however, the presidential speech had appeared in all the vernacular papers and had been eagerly read and discussed. The local Muhammadans declared that the speech was a direct violation of the terms of the compromise, that the loyalty resolution ought to have been brought forward first and that Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq had clearly defied their wishes. From that moment there is little doubt that they determined to protest and, if necessary, break up the session.

Their anger was fanned by an apparent misunderstanding of two points in the presidential address. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq was reported to have referred to the pro-League and anti-League party (i.e. local

Sunni Musalmans) as first class and second class. The local Musalmans mistook his meaning and assumed that he had referred to them as "second class people".

Again the President made some historical reference in his address to Hindus holding high office in Kabul; and this annoyed the Pathan element in the city, which misunderstood his meaning and the context.

12. By the time, therefore, the League met again on 31st at 2 p.m. matters were ripe for a disturbance. It is noteworthy that Mr. Jinnah's party had again brought a certain number of hirelings to the pandal, though apparently not in such numbers as on the first day.

It is also noteworthy that a member of the League from Aligarh, who disapproved of the compromise arrived at in the Secretariat, had already warned the President and others after the first day's session was concluded, that he would protest against the arrangements and would claim the right to move other resolutions than those decided upon according to the terms of the compromise. This man was Maulvi Fazl-ul-Hassan Hasrat Mohani of Aligarh.

As on the first day Mrs. Annie Besant occupied a seat of honour on the dais.

13. After all were assembled the President read the first and second resolutions for the day one after the other and declared them duly carried.

Before the President called upon Mr. Jinnah to move the third resolution Maulvi Fazl-ul-Hasrat Mohani of Aligarh stood up and asked the permission of the President to speak. The President very peremptorily ordered him to sit down. He sat down for a second and then stood up again with some request. The President again ordered him to sit down. This aroused the indignation of some other Mohammadans who arose and told the President that he should be allowed to speak, as it was a public meeting of Muhammadans, where Muhammadans particularly had a right to speak.

The President ruled them out also. At this juncture there was much shouting, and some League volunteers came up and told the audience to sit down, according to the President's order. They did not sit down. Then some of the audience shouted out that the opposers should be ejected. This enraged them all the more and they left their seats and came to the central passage protesting against the manner in which they were being treated. Here the

President quoted some words from the Koran in Arabic which were interpreted by the opposers as meaning "What I (the President) say is the word of God". This infuriated the Mussalmans, who replied that the President was not God and that if he was a Muhammadan he should have dressed as a Muhammadan and borne the appearance of a Muhammadan.

They also wanted to know why the proceedings were conducted in English and not in Urdu, which would have been understood by all and have given them an opportunity to reply. Here Sardar Sulleman Cassum Mitha came into the pandal and on hearing what had happened supported the opposition saying that it could not be called an All-India Muslem League Meeting as it was entirely conducted by Shias and no Sunni had any voice in it and that the Congressmen had joined and supported it. He also said something about separate election which could not be heard owing to the confusion. It was also said that the prime-movers of the League had not adhered to their promise which brought about the compromise and had exceeded the limits laid down. They ought to have passed the Loyalty resolution first and foremost of all. The opposers further said that they had not understood fully what the President had spoken yesterday, but they had now read the whole thing in the papers and had discovered the League in its true colours.

At this juncture excitement reached its pitch and some of the audience approaching the platform exchanged hot words with the other party. Jinnah was heard to say that the police should be called in, and a volunteer rushed forth to call in the police, but was immediately called back. After this, the President declared the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

14. The disturbance which fortunately was not marred by rioting or physical violence was clearly commenced by Mohani from Aligarh, who was opposed to the terms of the compromise, and advantage was taken of his behaviour by the Bombay Muhammadans to press home their own opposition to the League. After the meeting had been dissolved Superintendent Sullivan came up to me outside the pandal, where I was standing with Messrs. Griffith and Harker, and stated that one of the local Secretaries of the League had asked him to take a message from Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq to me to the effect that as there were ladies in the pendal he would be obliged if I would order the police to clear every body out. I told Superintendent Sullivan to inform the Secretary that the request should be given to me in writing, as I apprehended that if I acted on oral request, an attempt would subsequently be made to use compliance with the request against

the police and to show that we had forcibly cleared people out of the meeting. Mr. Sullivan returned a few minutes later and stated that they refused to put the request in writing and also reported that there were no ladies in the pandal. I can only regard the oral request, therefore, as a subtle ruse to drag in the police, after the disturbance had died down.

Again some few minutes later, while people were still standing about in groups and talking quietly, Mr. Jinnah came out and asked me to assist the League to continue its session in the pandal by driving out and keeping out the general public. He claimed that the pandal was a "private place", whereas it was obviously a "public place", and stated that if the police would keep the public out, he would refund the money paid by the public for tickets of admission. I pointed out to Mr. Jinnah that if the police did this, they would be taking sides with Mr. Jinnah and his party against the other party, whereas the sole duty of the police was (a) to control traffic, and (b) to put down serious and violent disorder, which had not in my opinion occurred. I told him that the police could not take sides in the manner he proposed, when he said that they proposed to go on with the League Session in the pandal, confining the audience to members of the League. I replied that I advised him not to hold the session (i.e. in that place and at that time); and I said this because it appeared to me that to hold the session in these circumstances would practically amount to an invitation to the opposing party to create further and perhaps more serious disturbance. I am perfectly certain that I was right in my contentions viz.: (a) that unless physical violence and rioting broke out, the police had no right to interfere in the internal business of the meeting, (b) that the police had no right to keep the public out, particularly as they had been invited by hand bills. These hand-bills which invited people to come and see "Mulvi Mazhar-ul-Haq" were directly responsible for the presence of more than one Pathan at the pandal, they believing that Mazhar-ul-Haq must be some very learned exponent of Islamic teaching. It was a shock to them to find a clean shaven person dressed in European garb instead of a bearded and reverend Signor. In order to get Muhammadans to attend, the League issued a considerable number of free tickets to the public and advertisements to attend the President's arrival and pay for admission to the session and (c) that to have attempted to continue the session that afternoon in the pandal, after it had once been broken up and adjourned would have certainly led to further disturbance perhaps of a more violent character. Mr. Jinnah's report of his interview with me, which appeared in the Press, gives an entirely erroneous impression of my attitude in the matter and of

the position to which I adhered. This I believe he has purposely done in order to bring me into disrepute, as he persists in believing that I was responsible for the disturbance, whereas actually it was commenced by a member of the League itself of Aligarh and was carried on by the Bombay Muhammadans who had been irritated for weeks by Mr. Jinnah's tactics and by abuse levelled at them in the Press and had been finally incensed by Mazhar-ul-Haq's patent disregard for the spirit of the compromise effected by his Excellency the Governor.

15. In view of the above facts I think it would be desirable for Government to issue early a Press Note on the subject, particularly as Mr. Jinnah and his local supporters are considering in what way they can best get me into trouble, for what is supposed to have been my complicity in the plot to wreck the session of the All-India Moslem League.

16. I append a cutting from the Advocate of India which to some extent corroborates my view as to the reasons for the actual disturbance.

(Signed) S. M. EDWARDES,
Commissioner of Police.

Bombay, 6th January 1916.

In view of the fact that comments have been passed upon the presence of Rao Bahadur C. H. Setalvad outside the pandal, I may add that the Acting Chief Presidency Magistrate was not summoned by the police, as there was no necessity for his presence. His arrival was purely fortuitous he having been driving with Mrs. Setalvad along Queen's Road at the time the League was in session and having been told by a constable on duty that there was a disturbance. He, therefore, thought it his duty to come and see what was happening.

(Signed) S. M. EDWARDES,
Commissioner of Police.

GOVERNMENT'S NOTINGS ON CHARGES AGAINST POLICE COMMISSIONER

(FROM NOTES BY GOVERNOR'S COUNCIL MEMBERS, J. D. FILE
No. 470 OF 1916, CONFIDENTIAL, PAGE 89.)

The Bombay Presidency Association, which has sent this representation, was established in 1885, and is composed of educated

Indians and business men. It has a membership of 300, who are mostly Brahmins, a few Parsis and a very few Mahummadans. The ostensible object of the association is to advocate and promote the public interests of this country by all legitimate and constitutional means. The Honourable Sir Pherozezshah Mehta was the President of the Association and has been succeeded by Sir Narayen Chandravarkar in this office.

2. The council of the Association state that they feel it their duty in the public interest to approach Government with a representation regarding the events which culminated in the breaking up of the public sessions of the Moslem League in Bombay on the 31st December last. It is stated that the council have been very careful to ascertain the facts from such sources as have been available to them and their earnest request is that Government may be pleased to take such measures as are obviously necessary to meet the requirements of the case and to protect the right of public meeting where the loyal Subjects of His Majesty may express constitutionally their opinion on matters of the greatest public importance and vital interest to the country.

3. After stating the alleged facts, paragraphs 4 to 12 of the representation appear to contain the burden of their complaint. The first is that the conduct of the Commissioner of Police from first to last was all that it should not have been. Then the Council state that they cannot presume, and have no desire, to suggest a course which Government should adopt under the circumstances but they earnestly request that Government should take every step to protect the exercise and enjoyment by the public of a most valuable right unimpaired by the disfavour or bias of officials, namely the right of public meeting.

4. Let us examine the facts on which the representation is based as contained in paragraph 3 thereof.

No remarks are required on I.

In II it is stated that about the middle of May last a sharp and sudden division was manifested. As a matter of fact disagreement was known to exist in April and on the 29th of that month the Honourable Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy despatched a registered letter to the leaders of the Moslem League at Lucknow stating that it was definitely decided not to invite the league to Bombay.

III is based simply upon rumours and no proof whatever is adduced.

No comments on IV.

Before commenting on V which purports to report a private conversation between Mr. Edwardes and Mr. Jinnah, we had better get Mr. Edwardes' remarks. In any case it is perfectly legitimate for Mr. Edwardes to express his private opinion on a matter in private conversation.

No comments on VI.

The conversation referred to in V, VI, and VII was reported in the Commissioner of Police's letter of the 14th June 1915. It will be observed that the memorial makes no mention of what Mr. Jinnah said to Mr. Edwardes namely that he (Mr. Jinnah) could get the whole lot of local Sunni Muhammadans in his hand provided that Mr. Edwardes could speak to Sardar Sulleman Cassim Mitha and get him to withdraw his opposition. In other words Mr. Jinnah wanted the Police Commissioner to use the whole of his personal and official interest in order that he (Mr. Jinnah) might make a success of the scheme he had in hand. Naturally Mr. Edwardes declined to fall in with this ingenuous plan.

No comments on VIII or IX.

X. The position of Government and Mr. Edwardes in the matter is as stated in State Secretary's letter which is there quoted that the matter of the invitation of the Moslem League to Bombay was a matter of purely domestic concern for the local Muhammadans themselves to settle.

No comments on XI or XII.

As regards XIII if any action is to be taken on this the Bombay Presidency Association must be called upon first to prove that Sardar Sulleman Cassim Mitha openly declared that if the League came to Bombay there would be rioting and bloodshed and they must be called upon to produce the grounds upon which the friends of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Wazir Hassan had reason to apprehend danger to the persons and even to the lives of them both.

No comment on XIV.

In XV a very distorted version is given of the mass meeting of Mahammadans that was held on 4th December 1915 in Bombay. The facts are that this meeting was truly representative and it was

attended by the head of every Jamat and the numbers that are said to have been present reached 5000. I would call upon the Association to substantiate words "it was calculated to excite a highly inflammable element in that part of the city and to create an erroneous impression about the situation".

No comments on XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX and XX.

In XXI it is not stated that I asked for a copy of the speech of the President in advance and that Mr. Jinnah refused to give it to me.

No comment on XXII.

As regards XXIII, the representation omits to state that the interruption of the proceedings of the President was started by a certain Maulvi, named Fazl-ul-Hassan Nasrat Mohani B.A. of Aligarh.

In XXIV it is stated that the disturbance was caused by Sardar Suleman Cassim Mitha assisted by few Kabuli and other rowdis who had no right to take any part in the proceedings. I should call upon the Association to substantiate this. The Kabulis were present as at a Muhammadan meeting. It is stated that these Kabulis insulted the President and made highly offensive and indecent remarks with obscene gestures alleging that they resented the President's style of dress, his shaved face, and his not speaking in Urdu. If the President was insulted, he has his remedy in a court of law and Government cannot interfere in the matter.

In XXV it is stated that police did nothing to prevent the unseemly disturbance or to assist the members of the League who had assembled there for a lawful and legitimate purpose. The Association does not allege that there was a breach of the peace such as would render it necessary for the police to interfere. It is not the business of the police to interfere at a public meeting unless actual violence has been used. The report then goes on to say that several ladies were present and left through fear without a single officer or policeman coming to their aid or to offer protection. It is perfectly well known that the ladies left in perfect safety, no harm or insult of any kind was offered to them and no police protection whatever was required. I would call upon the Association to substantiate by evidence the statement "moreover the evidence in the possession of the Council shows that one of the chief disturbers of the meeting was given signal to rise from his seat and take part in the disturbance by one of the police officers there present".

No comment on XXVI.

As regards XXVII I would ask the Presidency Association to inform us on what ground or under what legal enactment Mr. Jinnah asked the police to clear the pandal of those whose presence he..... subject to. With reference to the last sentence of this paragraph, as Mr. Edwardes explained in his note dated the 6th January 1916, he advised that the meeting should not be held at all, that is, at that place and at that time.

XXVIII. As regards the alleged presence of Mr. Edwardes with Sardar Sulleman Cassim Mitha in a Landaulette near Government House shortly after the meeting, this has been absolutely denied by Mr. Edwardes and I can corroborate his denial because immediately on hearing of the disturbance at the Moslem League I motored down to the Police Commissioner's office and there met Mr. Edwardes. On the way down to the Police Commissioner's office a motor car passed me in which I am sure I recognised Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Vazir Hassan, who were evidently on their way to the President's bungalow where a meeting was to be held at 5 p.m. It is clear therefore that shortly before that meeting Mr. Edwardes was actually in his office.

5. Coming now to the indictment of Mr. Edwardes' conduct, the Association makes much of the alleged meeting of Mr. Edwardes and Sardar Suleman Cassim Mitha just after the breaking up of the league. This is absolutely false and cuts a good ground from their representation. As regards the rest of the indictment, it is sufficient to say that whatever opinions Mr. Edwardes may have expressed in his conversation either with Mr. Jinnah or with any other Muhammadan gentleman, there is not the slightest ground for indicting his public actions which were perfectly correct throughout. As to the right of public meeting neither the police nor Government has taken any action whatever which might be interpreted as interfering with this right. All that the police did was to refrain from interfering in a squabble that had taken place at a public political meeting and to state that if actual violence occurred they would clear it of everybody. That is a perfectly correct attitude for which the police cannot in any way be blamed.

6. It is for consideration whether any action should be taken on this representation. It has already been acknowledged by the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor. If however, Government would like to send a reasoned reply I should first send this to Mr. Edwardes for any further remarks he may care to make.

7. I would then ask the Association to substantiate the various statements which I have pointed out above and for which the Council of the Association.....that they have evidence. I may point out however that if we take this last course we are bound in the end to make a reasoned reply and to publish it. I would much prefer to wait till the Moslem League itself approaches us before taking any action.

8. As pointed out above, the Presidency Association contains among its membership only a very few Muhammadans and can in no way be said to represent Muhammadan interest.

(Signed),

7/5/16.

XII

NEWSPAPER COMMENTS

NEWSPAPER EXTRACTS

[The following extracts will help to show how our Fourth Estate reacted to rapidly changing phases of political developments during the period 1885-1919. This period opened with the new spirit of nationalism, passed through the trials and tribulations of revolutionary activities and at its close reached a phase of well developed and dynamic political agitation.

The topics covered by the newspaper comments and criticism are of various kinds and include the Indian National Congress, repression against the Congress, Indians being deprived of their fair share in the services, injudicious forest and revenue laws, Rand murder, Bengal Partition, deportation of Lala Lajpatrai, Surat Congress, Tilak's trial and convictions, Bomb Outrages, the Nasik Conspiracy cases, and so on. Newspapers form a rich store of source material which is also available abundantly. But the extracts taken here are from the collections of Government Reports on Native Newspapers. Only a few selections up to 1913 have been given here. The period from the First World War being not very remote and newspapers of this period being available at all important places, no extracts are taken from newspapers after 1913. The prominent newspapers which have appeared in the extracts are Kesari and Maratha, Kal, Bhala, Bombay Samachar, Indu Prakash, Native Opinion, Gujarat, Rasta Gofar, Rashtra-Mat, Kaiser-i-Hind, Arunodaya, Vihari, Kathiawar Times etc.

The growth of political thought is visible in these comments. The Indu Prakash (Anglo-Marathi-Bombay of January 1890) advises "to educate the people without being in hurry about political emancipation of the country". The Gujarat Gazette (Gujrati-Bombay of February, 1890), about that time seems to be propagating "so long as the foreign rule is not converted into or assimilated to Home Rule, the grievances must remain unredressed and foreign rule abused". The powerful propaganda carried on by Kesari is well known. The Kal and Bhala had opened a new chapter in the field of sarcastic literature through their columns. The Gujarati (Gujarati-Bombay of September, 1906) in a round about manner, warns the rulers, using Prof. Swinny's words that "their (rulers') cannons and guns will be of no avail before the opposition of a united India," and "Englishmen will have no recourse but to leave the country without a moment's delay and entrust it to the custody of the people". The Bhala (Marathi-Poona of August 1907) wrote that "Political salvation depends on our independence" and that there could be "no strength without struggle".

The partition of Bengal roused the soul of the journalists and most of them have condemned government's policy. Sir B. Fuller was called the white 'Shaista Khan' (Bhala). The deportation of Lala Lajpatrai infuriated some of the editors and the Vihari (Marathi-Bombay of July 1907) wrote "even a thousand Hindus by defying British tyranny can put a stop to India's slavery". Shamji Krishna Varma in a London protest meeting had said that 'there were some sections in India who would not stop at driving the English from this land but would like to invade England to recover the untold wealth carried away during the century'. The Kesari (Marathi-Poona of November 1907) wrote an article showing how labour organisations were unavoidable and essential. The year had seen strikes of railwaymen (G.I.P.) postmen, labourers at the Parel workshop, telegraph masters etc. and the paper has strongly supported the rights of workmen. The paper of the same year had supported the Kolhapur States People's demand for Lokasabha and also had encouraged agitation for it. After the prosecution of the Kesari (May 1908), action against a number of journals was taken and papers like Kal, Rashtratmat, Gujarati, Karnatak Patra, were closed temporarily or permanently.]

1

POLITICAL TOPICS

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND ITS DANGEROUS TENDENCIES

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS, 1899, PAGE 7, PARA. 8.)

The *Rast Goftar* (82), in its issue of the 16th June, says :—Some of the demands of the Indian National Congress are moderate and reasonable and many of its leading spirits are actuated by the best of motives. But so great is the faith of the leaders in the movement that they may be excused for not being able to see that this political propaganda is dangerous in its tendencies in the same way as it is questionable in some of its methods. It may not be the intention of the leaders, but none the less it is the tendency of the congress to create in the masses a vague spirit of discontent with the existing form of Government. The Government is neither immaculate, nor perfect, nor above criticism. But the effect of the annual meeting

assembled to criticise the misdeeds and shortcomings of the ruling authorities and to make such unreasonable demands as a total repeal of the arms Act and free volunteering will be that the masses will come to imagine that under British rule there is much to deplore and little to admire.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(REPORT NO. 1, PAGE 5, PARA. 2.)

The *Arunodaya* (21), in its issue of the 30th December, 1889 says :— If it be unwise to elect a native of India to represent a British constituency, it is also unwise, according to Lord Salisbury's reasoning (Lord Salisbury's explanation of the epithet "black man" used by him with reference to Mr. Dadabhai Navroji) that one European should have control over about a thousand natives of India, and it follows that the Natives can without any objection drive the Europeans out of the country. If the Parliament is peculiarly a British machine which can be worked by British hands alone, would it be wrong if a Native were to say that an administration which is conducted by the natives of India would suit them best and that a foreign rule puts their machine of happiness out of order. Anybody will admit that India is at present under the frowns of fortune and we say that God alone is able to relieve it. Are the promises given in the Proclamation of 1858 to be interpreted in the light of Lord Salisbury's speech? To say that the Natives of India are unfit to sit in Parliament is tantamount to saying that the people of India, being a conquered people, must remain satisfied with the little bit of bread that may be thrown to them by their conquerors. If this be the case, the Proclamation of 1858 should be cancelled.

POLITICAL INACTIVITY OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA

(REPORT NO. 5, PAGE 5, PARAS. 1 AND 2.)

The *Induprakash* (12), in its issue of the 28th January 1889, expresses surprise that the people of India, inspite of their intellectual, commercial and industrial progress, should have tamely and patiently put up for many centuries past with a condition of humiliating and painful subjection and dependence without ever making any attempts to show their patriotism, courage and self respect by political agitation, attributes this inactivity and spirit of forbearance to their tendencies being in the direction of spiritual

elevation rather than in that of secular aggrandizement and to their firm belief that king is made by God and that man has no more to do with his prerogative and its exercise than with the movements of heavenly bodies, and with a view to remove this belief, which it considers to have been highly detrimental to the interests of the country and to have reduced the people almost to the condition of beasts, proposes that by means of newspapers and public lectures the leaders of Native society should impart political education to the people at large and acquaint them with their own rights and those of the king, without resorting to any unconstitutional or disloyal measures, and without being in a hurry about the political emancipation of the country, but by slowly and steadily impressing upon their minds the usefulness of and the necessity for an institution like that of the British Parliament in India.

INDIAN SITUATION SIMILAR TO THAT OF IRELAND

(REPORT NO. 7, PAGE 5, PARA. 1.)

A London Correspondent of the *Gujerat Gazette* (77), in its issue of the 14th February, 1889 writes :—"Officialism and its arrogance, and unrestricted patronage are the natural and probable incidents of all foreign rule, and so long as that foreign rule is not converted into or assimilated to Home Rule, the grievance must remain unredressed and foreign rule abused. If Ireland succeeds in getting Home Rule, we shall succeed in getting one like it, one conducted on its lines as much as possible, one which combines the neutrality of a foreign rule with the economy of Home rule. Here then there is a sisterhood between Ireland and India. There is a oneness in their aspirations. It is not for nothing that the Honourable Dababhai Naoroji poses as a Home Ruler for Ireland. It is because he knows, sees, and feels, but abstains from proclaiming wisely or unwisely, the homogeneity of the claims of both countries. He has pointed out boldly and like a true patriot, as he is, that no Government in India, however benevolent it may be can be good so long as it is not conducted on the lines of native rule.

GOVERNMENT CIRCULAR REGARDING CONGRESS

(PAGE 6, PARA. 4.)

The Anonymous (89), in its issue of the 17th February, says :—The *Sanjibani* newspaper of Calcutta states that the Government of India have issued a private circular in which Magistrates are held responsible for any part which parties connected with Government

and Government servants take in the Indian National Congress Movement. This news is a great blow to the unity prevailing between the rulers and the ruled. Such a circular which is painful to the people, ought not to have been issued by the Government of His Excellency Lord Lansdowne. If the news in question be correct, we confidently assert that its result will not be good. Sir Auckland Colvin merely expressed his own independent views about the congress, and the whole presidency became excited thereby and the matter was commented upon throughout India. Private reports were called for from the Divisional Magistrates about parties connected with Government and Government servants attending the congress meeting and the public openly expressed its displeasure at it. Such unpleasant events greatly excite the feelings of the people. If the statement made by the Sanjibani, which shows that the Government of India themselves have changed their attitude, be correct how much will the public be excited.

REMARKS ON THE ATTITUDE OF POLICE OFFICERS TOWARDS THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(PARA. 5.)

The Native Opinion (14), in its issue of the 21st February, says :— Some Government officers are displeased to see the Indian National Congress flourish day by day. From a Madras contemporary we learn that the Police Commissioner there actually tried to interfere with the right of the people to hold public meetings by prosecuting the Secretary of the Pachappa Charitable Estate for allowing a meeting to be held for the purpose of electing delegates to the congress in the premises under his management.

The secretary was even served with a summons, but the Commissioner seeing the folly of his action withdrew the proceedings. We wish that the case had been gone through and that a judicial decision had been obtained in the matters once for all, for some police officers make a bugbear of their supposed power in this matter. We do not think that the police can legally object to orderly public meetings.

DISTINCTION IN PUNISHING EUROPEANS AND NATIVES

(REPORT NO. 13 OF 1889, PAGE 15, PARA. 26.)

The *Bombay Samacher* (92), in its issue of the 30th March 1889, says :—It is a common complaint in this country that European Magistrates and Judges make an invidious distinction between European

and Native culprits convicted of the same offence, punishing the former with a light sentence and visiting the latter with severe punishment and it is to be regretted that fresh instances of such partial treatment should occur now and then. It will do to quote four recent instances in support of this assertion (1) A short time ago Private Reynolds was tried by the Honourable Mr. Justice Straight and a jury in the Allahbad High Court for having caused grievous hurt to Mohansing, a Chowkider of forest guard. The accused was found guilty of the offence for which he was arraigned, and the jury recommended him to mercy. The Judge sentenced the accused to three months' imprisonment. This sentence is evidently lenient leading the public to believe that a straight forward Judge like Mr. Justice Straight succumbed to the weakness common to European Judges of showing leniency to their own countrymen. (2) Mr. Cooper, Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay sentenced four seamen belonging to a man-of-war in the harbour, convicted of the offences of doing mischief to property and hindering a police officer from doing his duty, to a fine of ten rupees each. (3) Mr. Crawley Boevey recently convicted some Parsi students of the offence of having hindered some Bombay Policemen from discharging their duty and fined each of the accused Rs. 20, giving the case a serious aspect. (4) In February last Mr. Hamilton convicted a Parsi student of having torn the coat of a policeman. The student stated in defence that the policeman gave him a push and in defending himself the coat was torn. Mr. Hamilton remarked to the accused that he had a mind to sentence him to be flogged, but since the accused's father had paid the price of the policeman's coat he (the accused) was allowed to go with a warning not to commit a similar offence in future. Several other similar cases can be quoted. It is to be hoped that Government or the High Court will take steps to prevent such invidious distinctions being made in the punishment of Europeans and Natives.

PARTIALITY IN THE TRIAL OF THE GOLDEN GANG CASE

(REPORT NO. 17, PAGE 17, PARA. 37.)

The *Rast Goftar* (82), in its issue of the 21st April 1889, writes :— Purity of justice is a great moral force on which a foreign Government may rely, and it is justly regarded as one of the blessings of the British rule. But although the Natives consider themselves happy under the just laws of their rulers, there is a widespread feeling among them that when a white man is concerned in any offence he is generally not dealt impartially and that the more serious the offence the greater are the chances of his being let off.

The jury of his own countryman who sit in judgment, upon him are too often ready to give him "the benefit of the doubt", even where the evidence is so convincing as to leave no room for doubt whatever. Such was the benefit given by a jury at the last Criminal Sessions of the Bombay High Court to the European soldier who shot down a native, and such is the benefit given by a jury at the present Sessions to Guard Spink, a member of the 'Golden Gang'. Mr. Justice Bayley presided at the Sessions. The jury, or rather a majority of them, for the verdict was 6 to 3, was evidently resolved not to be convinced of the prisoner's guilt, and so he was discharged. The offence was of a most serious nature. It affected the public much more than the railway company, and the public has a right to expect that in cases of such importance, where an average common jury may from bias or stupidity give a wrong verdict, a special jury should be empanelled. But before this plan is adopted, great care should be exercised to have such men only as special jurors whose position and worth may afford some guarantee of their impartiality and intelligence.

MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE IN INDIA

(REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS, G. D., VOLUME 97-A FOR THE
YEAR 1893, PAGE 7, PARA. 2.)

The Gujerati, in its issue of the 12th March 1893, writes.—The Indian Government will have neither the candour nor the courage to institute an open and public enquiry into the material condition of the teeming millions of this country. The attempts that are now and then made to demonstrate that the country is thriving under British rule are never taken seriously by the public, though the officialized apologists of Government do their utmost to draw rosy pictures of the growing prosperity of the people. The decennial reviews are generally drawn up by official optimists for "home consumption". They are, however, so misleading and one-sided that Government are labouring under a great delusion if they suppose that they will thus be able to inspire any confidence in the people. Mr. Skrine, whose report has been so much extolled by the officialized and Government organs, thus indulges in a bit of clever logic: "Indebtedness is nearly universal, but it is the outcome of rule system of insurance against famine as well as of extravagant expenditure in social ceremonies. It is rather a sign of credit, and therefore of the possession of resources, than of actual want." It is a pity that such a political economist like Mr. Skrine should have

been employed to waste his talents on such an enquiry. The greater the indebtedness the greater the prosperity of the rayat : This fine specimen of economical reasoning carries conviction with Government and the Anglo-Indian press, which is, as a rule prepared to swallow everything, provided it emanates from an official source. But the rest of the world has not lost its wits as to accept such specious and fallacious demonstrations of growing prosperity in India. Let not Government suppose that by putting forward such a ridiculous vindication of their position they will be able to strengthen it in the least. Official documents and reports have already fallen into discredit, and it is a serious mistake on the part of the authorities to credit the administration further by resorting to questionable methods of demonstrating the prosperity of the country. If Government are honestly anxious to ascertain the true condition of the masses, let there be an open enquiry in broad day-light. Hole and corner investigations are all but worthless, and simply entail a good deal of needless expenditure in the preparation of nobbled and misleading reports full of specious sophistries. Mr. Skrine's remarks, however, regarding the hardships imposed by the salt-tax are worthy of serious consideration by Government as well as the public. This abominable and hateful tax has been several times denounced in this country and in England, and we hope the earliest opportunity will be seized by Government to abolish it.

MEANING OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

(FROM REPORTS ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE YEAR 1907.)

Kesari of 9th April 1907.

Self-Government is now the avowed goal of our political aspirations. But what does the term self-Government signify in our Case ? It cannot mean simply government by rulers of our own nationality and religious persuasion. We had such a ruler in the last Peshwa, but his reign proved so oppressive to his subjects that the advent of the British was heartily welcomed by them. The Russians, too, have had a similar experience though in their case they had, in addition, a settled system of administration. The fact is that a government that denies liberty to the people is disliked by them, however, well ordered in other respects it might be. The truth of this is well exemplified by the case of the Germans, who, though possessing a national ruler ever alive to their economic and political interests, have been trying to secure a modification of the present German constitution. A similar movement is observable in most other

countries of the globe, and the general spread of education is bound to strengthen it, until nothing but a democratic form of government is acceptable to the people. We do admit that the present system of administration in India can in a sense be described as good government, because it is well organised, but as all its activities are directed to benefit the people of England at the sacrifice of the interests of the Indians lot of the latter has become miserable. If the present system of administration is at all to be made acceptable to the people, it should be carried on in accordance with the wishes of their representatives. In that case the people would not much complain of aliens being placed in authority over them. What is of first importance is that they should have a voice in the administration. So long as they have it, the presence of alien officers in the country is not of much consequence. It would be desirable if even the people of Native states were to demand a voice in the administration of their affairs.

MUSLIMS AND GOVERNMENT

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR YEAR 1907, PAGE 19, PARA. 19.)

Kal of 26th April 1907.

The Musalmans are fond of praising the English. But why should they be eager to sing the praises of the British when some of the latter have not a very high idea of the goodness of their fellow-countrymen? Sir Charles Napier is one of such men, who has called Englishmen worshippers of Mammon. Says He :—" Our object in conquering India was money-lure. A thousand millions sterling are said to have been squeezed out of India. Every shilling of this has been picked out of blood and put into the murderer's pockets. but wipe and wash the money as you will, the 'damned spot' will not 'out'. There it sticks for ever.....I prefer the despotic Napoleon to the despots of the East India Company.....The one may be a fallen angel, the other is a hellborn devil!" When this is Sir Charles Napier's estimate of British character, why should Musalmans think Englishmen to be very gods? British statecraft and mock efforts for promoting the public weal must have duped the credulous Musalmans and created a false impression on their minds regarding British goodness. No other explanation seems possible

APPEAL FOR UNITY

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR YEAR 1907, PAGE 21,
PARA. 24.)

Patriot of 13th July 1907.

"A few months more, and the 23rd session of the Indian National Congress will be upon us.....A regular crisis has arrived in our national existence, for the iniquitous deportation of Lala Lajpaitrai proves that our personal freedom is in danger, and that the proud boast of the Pax Britannica is a myth. The Government of India and the Secretary of State have stupidly played into the hands of the so-called extremist party and lost the sympathy of those men of moderate views who believed in the good faith of Britain and hoped that the popular cause would ultimately triumph. All these hopes have now been completely shattered and, in a way, the Moderates have been made the laughing-stock of the whole world. The present foreign despotism has thus lost its only valuable asset the faith, confidence and loyalty of the moderate party. The authorities, however, must have done what they have, with open eyes and so, we suppose, are well able to take care of themselves. But what about the people of India? Are they to continue to be a house divided against itself? Are the present wrangling and bickerings to be eternal? When the foe is knocking hard at the door, should we fail to present a united and bold front to him? A crisis has arrived in our national existence, and it would be merely suicidal if we continue to quarrel among ourselves. For Extremists as well as Moderates the goal to be reached is the same—Swarajya or self-government. The note of discord comes in only when the methods of carrying on the national propaganda are discussed. Surely a small matter like that should not be allowed to cause a rift in the national flute.

May we ask humbly the leaders, both of the moderate as well as the extremist party, as to what they have done about the suggestion thrown out by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in December last to organise a phalanx of political Missionaries? A blush of shame ought to suffuse the cheek of every one of our leaders as he thinks of the cruel apathy he has displayed in this respect. There are many other things besides this which can be easily done. But the one essential and primary condition is that there must be no division in the camp. The presence last year in the presidential chair of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji averted a catastrophe. This year also fears are entertained in some quarters that the session of the Congress to be held at Nagpur will be marred by dissensions. We hope all these prophets will prove to be in the wrong.

The reign of terror ushered in by Mr. Morley with the cruel deportation of Lala Lajpatrai and Sardar Ajit Singh ought to cement both the parties closer together. And, really, is not too much being made of this question of electing the president ?.....We, therefore, appeal to all our friends, to whatever party they belong, not to pull opposite ways but to unite and make the Nagpur session of the Congress a brilliant success.

PATRIOTISM OF A SUBJECT PEOPLE

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE YEAR 1907, PAGE 16,
PARA. 12.)

Vihari of 15th July 1907.

Alien rule is a great enemy of truth. It is a sort of fraud, being opposed to the divine law. Independence is the birth-right of the people of every country, and to take away this right is an infringement of the divine law. When a country comes under alien rule, its people are forbidden to assert this right. They must not speak the truth, as it is an offence under the Penal Code. It is a great virtue to love one's country. But slaves must discard this virtue because in a slave it is branded as treason. Englishmen would not like to be the slaves of anyone. If a European were to say that he would rather lose his all than submit to slavery, he would be praised for his patriotism. But if an Indian were to exhort his countrymen to cast off the yoke of subjection and strive hard to obtain Swarajya, he would be charged with sedition. British poets and philosophers may assert that it is the duty of a true warrior to rebel against tyranny, that self-protection is the basis of all rights, and that when a country becomes free all virtues flourish in it. But if any Indian were to do so, he would at once be declared guilty of sedition under the Indian Penal Code and deported to Mandalay. We may read the history of the American War of Independence or Mill's political treatises, but we must take care not to give practical effect to the principles embodied in such works. True patriotism cannot flourish under alien rule. A patriot is powerless to serve his country under a foreign yoke. A celebrated military leader recently declared that every young man must unsheathe his sword to protect his country. But this does not apply to slaves. If a slave is assaulted by an armed European or attacked by a tiger, he may petition the Government but must not use arms even in self-defence. The ruling race may enter other people's country and drive them from it, but slaves should not follow the same

course. Europeans may ask, "Why should black Indians reside in the Colonies of white men?" but we must not ask in return, "Why should white men act lawlessly in India, which belongs to black men?" That would be sedition on our part. Mr. Churchill may declare that the Lords in England are not the representatives of the People, that they are selfish thieves, and that they have no right to oppose a resolution passed by the House of Commons. But if an Indian Churchill were to say the same of the white lords of this country, would he be tolerated? No. If any one attempted to restrict the authority of the irresponsible officials in India, he would be denounced as a seditionist and a rebel. Thus, under an alien rule everything is changed; truth-telling is strictly prohibited, and virtue finds no scope for its development. Wise men strive for independence because slavery extinguishes virtue.

TAKE UP ARMS FOR INDEPENDENCE

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE YEAR 1907,
PAGE 18, PARA. 18.)

Vihari of 22nd July 1907.

Count Tolstoi declares that handful of Englishmen would have found it impossible to enslave the teeming millions of India if the latter had refused to enlist themselves in the British army and to pay the taxes to the British Government. Such plainspeaking was badly required in India but our leaders were on the contrary engaged in singing the praises of British rule in India while the English replied to such praises by uttering platitudes about leaving the country to the people themselves in the fulness of time. All this was, however, changed on the declaration of the boycott by the Indians in 1905 and since then the Government has shown its cloven foot. Mr. Morley has been calling us enemies of the British Government, while the Anglo-Indian papers have been denouncing us as rebels and fools. What have we done to deserve such appellations? If it be foolish to be plainspoken to desire independence for one's country, to prefer oppressive native rule to the benign sway of the British, then we are prepared to be called fools. Nay, we take very great pride in being ranked with the idiots who rise in good company, viz., that of patriots like Hampden and Pym. The fact of our being denounced as rebels by the English should in no way discourage us from plainspeaking. We should rather imitate the Irish leaders who are not daunted in the least by being accused of treason. Those who have been roundly

abusing Mr. Shyamji Krishna Varma for his public spirit are plainly told by him that one of the parties of the Indian patriots not only aims at driving the English out of India, but also means to invade England to recover the untold wealth of which India has been despoiled during the last century and a half. It is such plain-speaking that is wanted just now. When once the people are convinced that independence is the birth-right of India which no one has the right to deprive her of, terms such as rebels will be looked upon as glorious and British rule in India would become an impossibility. Even a thousand Hindus by defying British tyranny, can put a stop to India's slavery. Englishmen themselves have always supported those who rise in insurrection against oppression by supplying them with the sinews of war. As their opposition to us in India originates in selfish motives we should disregard it and, placing our aims before the people, hoist the flag of Swarajya. Calling upon the people to take up arms and to organize armies we should resolutely advance forward. (Elsewhere the paper says :— It is the blood of patriots that gives rise to other patriots. The Indians are prepared to undergo all kind of torments for securing Swarajya. Hollow concessions will no longer satisfy them. They aim at complete independence for themselves and the destruction of alien rule in India).

NO STRENGTH WITHOUT STRUGGLE

(FROM REPORTS ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE YEAR
1907, PAGE 13, PARA. 4.)

Bhala of 11th August 1907.

The Indians have now come to believe strongly that the political salvation of their country depends entirely on its independence. Among the votaries of independence Babu Bhupendranath, Pindidas and Dinanath may be included. All these three heroes have been convicted under section 124-A and sentenced to different periods of imprisonment. The moderates are already making much capital out of these convictions and sapiently advising the people not to make any struggle without acquiring strength. We say to this that we shall never acquire strength unless we make a struggle. Besides, every man should not only make a struggle for the sake of truth, but, if necessary, be ready to die for it. English people have admitted that Swarajya is the birth-right of every human being. Their period of stay in India ends as soon as we become fit to rule ourselves. The English people have nowhere maintained that they

will remain in India as long as the sun and the moon endure. Whether we are fit for self-government or not is to be judged by ourselves and not by the British, who are likely to be blinded by selfishness. We are fit for Swarajya. But the English are not fit to grant it to us. When one party is determined not to yield in any way and the other is bent upon asserting all its rights, it is sheer folly to imagine that the struggle can be carried on in a friendly manner. It is not that the extremists do not want to obtain rights peacefully, if possible. But if they cannot be so acquired the extremists will adopt all possible legitimate means and compel the rulers to grant rights to them. It is absurd to say that Bhupendranath, Pindidas and Dinanath are guilty of sedition.

Their so-called sedition consisted merely in their devotion to the motherland. There was nothing wrong on their part if they desired their motherland to be independent. Are not young men in England fired with the same idea? What is the crime in cherishing a desire for our country's independence? The present age is an age of martyrs in India. It is sure to be followed by an age of heroes. Bhupendra and others are rotting in prison, but along with them the British is rotting too, for the blood of martyrs is never spilt in vain.

कोल्हापूर संस्थानांत प्रातिनिधीक सभा.

(केसरी, १ ऑक्टोबर १९०७)

लोक सभेसारख्या सभा संस्थानांत झाल्यानें मागासलेल्या जातींचें नुकसान होतें आणि जातिभेद, जातिमत्सर वाढतो वगैरे बाष्कळ सबबी या उत्तरांत दाखल केलेल्या आहेत. हिंदुस्थान सरकार सध्यां खालसा मुलखांतील सुशिक्षित लोकांचा पाडाव करण्यांस मज्ज झालेले असल्यामुळे कोल्हापूर दरबारच्या या मुखपणाच्या सबबीकडे वरिष्ठ सरकारचें तूर्त लक्ष जाणार नाही हे खरें आहे. पण तेवढ्यामुळे दरबारचें हें कृत्य आमच्या देशास व आमच्या प्रगतीस अपायकारक नाही, असें आमच्यानें म्हणवत नाही. उलट अशाप्रकारच्या उत्तरावरून एक गोष्ट सिद्ध होते, ती ही कीं, जुलूम करणारा मनुष्य काळा असो वा गोरा असो, तिकडे लक्ष न देतां स्वातंत्र्याभिलाषी लोकांनीं स्वराज्याचे हक्क मिळविण्याकरितां खालसा मुलखांत व संस्थानांत आपली खटपट एकसारखी जारीनें सुरू ठेवली पाहिजे. करवीर संस्थानांतील लोकांनीं त्या संस्थानांतच सभा भरविली पाहिजे असें नाही. खालसा मुलखांतील गांवें कोल्हापुरापासून कांहीं लांब नाहीत.

[In the above extract the *Kesari*, dated 1st October 1907, advises the people of the Kolhapur State to carry on their movements for Representative Assembly, by holding meetings outside the State area.]

COMMUNAL UNITY FOR ACHIEVING INDEPENDENCE

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE YEAR
1908, PAGE 27, PARA. 27.)

Mumukshu of 12th March 1908.

Atmaram Shastri Odlamane of Ankola writes to the *Mumukshu* :
“ An enslaved country cannot progress in any way until its slavery is destroyed. A country under foreign domination should first work to shatter to pieces the fetters of slavery. It is no use dressing a wound without destroying the worm inside it. Political independence is the immediate and efficient cause of the progress of a country and can be acquired only by political agitation. Political independence is necessary even for religious freedom. Can we stop the shameless Missionary trying to convert orphans to Christianity during famine days? Our commerce also has a similar tale to tell. Were we free, would our commerce have been captured by Europeans? The sphere of political independence is wider than that of religious or commercial freedom. Herein Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsis, Jains and Christians can unite. All are equally victims to the unbearable tyranny and ready to resist it. When once we regain our lost independence, we can effect our salvation any way we like. Unless we drive out the enemy from our house, we cannot utilise it according to our pleasure. Even Ramdas, who gave a religious garb to politics, advised Shivaji to annihilate foreign domination. Social or religious agitation is centred in itself, while political agitation is comprehensive and is necessary not only for its own sake but for protecting other activities. We should attach supreme importance to political agitation and adopt strong measures like boycott in the present situation of India. (The Editor of the *Mumukshu* comments as follows on the above :—As religious agitation includes everything, it must be given precedence over everything else. It was religious awakening that enabled us to throw off the Muhammadan yoke; and it is on the strength of the same awakening that we shall be able to beat back the wave of Christian aggression. Religion is the life-blood of the Indian nation. Religion will give us the moral strength required to carry on political agitation. We want Swarajya first

and then independence, which latter is but a means to salvation. When religion is on the wane, the principal motive power of efforts for obtaining Swarajya is dead. As Professor Seeley remarks, England stands a chance of losing India when once the religious faith of its people is stirred, which means that England will be able to put down any other agitation, but once the flame of religious fervour is alight in the country it will go very hard with her. There is policy in checkmating the English from the very quarter from which they apprehend danger.)

SEDITION CASES (TINNEVELLY), 1908

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1908, PAGE 37, PARA. 36.)

Gujarati Punch of 19th July 1908.

"The drama that was being enacted in the Southern Presidency had more than one remarkable feature. Considering the kind of mood in which the bureaucracy is at the present moment, we were prepared to hear that Mr. Chidambaram Pillay would be found guilty and convicted. A sentence of imprisonment for a couple of years or so would have been quite a logical conclusion of the drama. But we were not prepared for the monstrous sentence which has been passed by the trying Magistrate. These sentences are so diabolically vindictive that they carry their condemnation on their very face and will not fail to remind students of English history of the notorious 'Bloody Jeffreys'. That Mr. Pinhey, who expects to keep Mr. Chidambaram Pillay in the Andamans, subscribes to the gospel of 'martial law and no damned nonsense' is evident enough; and that makes the determination of the genesis of his vindictive sentence pretty easy. Or rather, he has made it absolutely unnecessary by having betrayed the real workings of his heart in the body of his judgment. After passing in review the circumstances of the case he makes some general remarks and in the midst of these he has, perhaps unwillingly, let the cat out of the bag. In one place, referring to Mr. Chidambaram Pillay, he has said that the accused was an ardent supporter of Swarajya, Swadeshism and Boycott, and of the new Industrial Revival and National Education. The remark is significant and shows where the shoe really pinched. Read between the lines, it clearly and unmistakably means that the sentence of transportation for life passed on Mr. Pillay was, what we may call, an accumulative sentence. The charges in the official charge sheet

were under sections 124A and 153A. But the Judge mentally added to them others. And these were Swarajya, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education. And the accumulative sentence on all these was transportation for life ! The monstrous iniquity of the sentence is thus explained. So in the opinion of this Madras Daniel, Swarajya, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education are criminal ! He must have gone mad, for he seems to have forgotten that the High Court of Calcutta in a certain case last year distinctly stated that the Swarajya ideal and propaganda were absolutely legitimate and lawful. But what cared he for the highest Courts of Justice in the land ? In his judgment he has found fault with these for their 'misplaced leniency' in sedition cases. This reflection upon the judgments of the High Courts is as ludicrous as it is brazen-faced and impertinent, and we will not be surprised if Mr. Pinhey gets a wiggling' and a castigation from the former We have not the least doubt that the monstrous sentence passed by Mr. Pinhey will not stand on appeal. Such a thing cannot be imagined. But may we humbly take leave to point out to the Government of India and Viscount Morely how such shameful sentences bring British justice into discredit and disgrace, and how they act on the minds of the people. The state of the country is disconcerting enough in all conscience. An intense feeling of responsibility and loyalty impels us to tell the authorities that men like Mr. Pinhey and the brutal sentence passed by him do more mischief than the united efforts of all the professional agitators put together."

SWADESHI-MITRAM EDITOR'S PROSECUTION (1908)

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1908, PAGE 29, PARA. 36.)

Orient Review of 2nd September 1908.

"The country is rife with prosecutions. But of all of them none has perhaps caused more surprise than that recently launched by the Madras Government against such a distinguished Congressman and a journalist of rare repute as Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, the editor of the Swadesh-Mitram. He was present at the very first meetings of the Congress and has all along been one of its ardent and earnest champions. At the time of the Surat Congress he signed the Convention creed and was considered one of the pillars of the Moderate party in Madras ; papers like the Pioneer and the Times were admirers of the moderate tone of his papers. He may

have manifested now and then a certain irritation of tone, but so far as we are aware he was ever on the side of the party that has as its watchword 'Progress on constitutional lines.' Any comment on the articles for which he is arrested is impossible at this stage of the case, but we express our disapprobation of the refusal of the High Court to release him on bail. His position is well known in Madras. His sickness was certified by a Civil Surgeon. We think the time has now come when a change in the law of giving bail ought to be demanded by public leaders. If position, well-established reputation, high education and certainty of the accused presenting himself at the trial are not sufficient and valid reasons for the granting of bail, we wonder what else is. We are sorry for the misfortune that has overtaken Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, the like of whom are but rarely to be found in this country—."

EASTERN NATIONS AND DEMOCRACY, 1913

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1913, PAGE 14, PARA. 6.)

Gujarati of 5th October 1913.

"All those Englishmen who have been connected with the administration of England's dependencies and protectorates in the East form such extraordinary notions about their own superiority and that of their own race through their habitual association with Orientals who are perforce placed in subordanate positions that their judgment about the capabilities of the latter can never be accepted as a reliable guide. The best of them are under the influence of strange notion about or of strong prejudices against the subject people. A very striking illustration of this lamentable phenomenon was recently furnished in this country by the evidence given by Anglo-Indian officials and non-officials before the Public Service Commission. A more painful and disappointing spectacle than that supplied by this array of self-satisfied, proud, unsympathetic, prejudiced, and unstatesmanlike witnesses it is difficult to conceive. It is destined to be a humiliating chapter in the history of India's political progress. But we will say nothing more about it here on this occasion. It is the same attitude of mind that Lord Cromer has assumed in judging of the future of the Chinese Republic..... Just as Lord Curzon charged Orientals with lack of veracity in a memorable speech an indictment which stirred the whole country to its depths for a time, so his brother autocrat in the person of Lord Cromer, who managed to enrage

enlightened Egyptians by his ungenerous attitude towards them, has predicted the failure of the Chinese Republic because of lack of honesty and the essential virtue of personal integrity in Chinese character. That is again a sweeping generalisation regarding the character of a whole nation..... If left to herself to work out her own moral and material salvation, China may fairly be expected to take her due position amongst the nations of the world in course of time. But if she is perpetually vexed and harassed, obstructed and hindered at every step by 'disinterested' western nations, her career on the path of progress will not be smooth and she may even succumb to the stupendous difficulties placed in her way. A strong and powerful Turkey was looked upon as a menace and before she had time to set her house in order she was pounced upon and cut down. The European powers, who solemnly declared before God and man that the *status quo ante bellum* must remain whatever the result of the war, thought it very convenient and honourable to forget their solemn declaration after Turkish defeat, and Turkey in Europe will as such now practically cease to exist. Persia, too, has not been allowed to work out her own destiny unhampered by foreigners. It is the outside interference of a meddling character that has all along largely stood in the way of her political consolidation, and yet self-complacent critics like Lord Cromer will point to Turkey and Persia as striking illustrations of failures of democratic forms of government in the East. If European nations will be more scrupulous and generous and less grasping and greedy, Persia Turkey and China may fairly be expected to make steady progress towards the desired goal."

CRITICISM AGAINST GOVERNMENT

POLITICS AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

(FROM VOLUME IX, No. 28 OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT—1884,
PAGE 3, PARA. 1.)

In an article headed "The Council of the Secretary of State for India" the Native opinion (10) of the 23rd March 1884 says :—Anglo-Indians have been nothing more than the representatives of a great bureaucratic league whose interest in this vast country extends only so far as it gives them opportunity to fill their pockets and assert their vulgar supremacy. During the first few days of his life in India the Anglo-Indian civilian is a sweet sensible young man, with the efflux of the liberty and candour of his nation running through his veins. This is however the time of his tutelage. These few days gone, we find him a changed man. As if by some sudden and incomprehensible spell he loses all those engaging qualities which first made him loveable, and now a full-blown civilian, he stalks forth from his bungalow with superciliosness incarnate sitting upon his brow and indicating by his looks, gestures and voice that he has descended from some unearthly region to rule supreme over the animals of this planet, the men even on which appear to him as so many sheep, only after his own image. Such being the metamorphosis which the civilian generally undergoes after a short stay with his predecessors here, how is it possible that he should humble himself so low as to seek to know the wants and grievances of the people? The lesson that he has received is constantly dinning into his ear, "Jack, be conqueror". The desire to rule, therefore, he cultivates and develops to the highest pitch, and thus when he at last goes back to his country he goes back an utterly transformed being. For when he came to India he was a simple straightforward young man, but when he goes back he is a Nawab in every respect, in purse, in manners, in habits, in principles, and in what not. Of such a class of course, with a few honourable exceptions, are the experts who are to step into India office after such a painstaking performance of their part in India. To speak the truth, these people know really very little of the needs and grievances of the flocks of which they were appointed to be the shepherds. They go stuffed indeed with some a priori notions of their league, with sometimes a leaven of some original ones of their own, but they are almost invariably the offshoots of bureaucratic interest, which consists in nothing else but in the preservation of unquestioned dominion of the league in this country, with perhaps an external gilding of the interests of this country to wash the eyes of the conscientious observers at home. If such is the constitution of the principal part of the administrative

machinery for India, the corresponding must be the result. And so it has been; for though in theory the Secretary of State for India is left independent of the Council in actual practice he is reduced to the enviable position of a mere mouthpiece of that body. He consequently finds ample opportunity to shirk his abstract responsibility by sheltering himself behind the backs of his worthy councillors. If such a state of things is allowed to exist in the main part of Indian administrative machinery, it is no wonder that the working of the subordinate parts should be vitiated. If the motive force be ill-regulated, the instruments which are to move must necessarily be so. The constitution of the India Council is the principal ulcer in the deranged body of the Indian administrative machinery, and so long as that remains, every other part is bound to be in greater or less disorder. However hard the well-meaning heads of the Government of England may try to smooth down the minor eruptions, they must shoot up again and again in spite of them. One Lord Ripon, however, highly imbued with the sense of his great and important charge, and however benevolently inclined towards the people of this country, can affect very little when other officials, higher and lower, are not in unison with his spirit. Occasional cures, and those to the comparatively minor distempers of the body of our administrative machinery, can do very little in producing a change in the existing state. It is not this or any other part that it will suffice to cure. It is that great principal ulcer of the constitution of the Indian Council that requires to be anatomised by the unsparing scalpel of statesmanship. To stop the growth of the tree permanently the mere lopping off of the branches will not do. It is the root that should be at once struck at. As in the commercial world so even in politics the doctrine that the direct care of the owner is most effective holds good. Hired labour brings with it its own interest and these must clash with those of the owner. It is only if the direct supervision of Indian affairs be assumed by the people of England themselves, who by the bye are the real sovereigns of this country, through their Parliament, that a just and profitable management of their Indian concerns can be ensured. Apart from these business-considerations, is it not the duty of the people of England to see the vast millions of their fellowmen whom they have taken under their care well looked after? Is not humanity sufficient to plead the cause of so many sentient beings, as sensitive and as capable as themselves? That the destinies of a vast country like India should be almost entirely in the hands of a bureaucratic league is a blemish, a stain on the name of England's sons, who are always the champions of liberal principles and the respectors of honourable feelings. If then there is truth in all what we have said, we beseech

the Parliament of England and through it the people, in the name of humanity and even of private interest, to consider the claims of so many millions of their fellowmen and free them from the unquestioned domination of a packed aristocracy. The question of the direct Parliamentary supervision of Indian affairs being thus established the means by which to bring it to bear effectively on Indian matters remain to be discussed. The consideration of this we reserve for another occasion.

"A LOVING MESSAGE TO THE BOERS"

(EXTRACT FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS, VOL. 79
OF 1900, G. D., PAGE 30, PARA. 59.)

[Shivram Mahadeo Paranjape's "Kal" newspaper stood distinct in its literary style of bitter sarcasm of which the following passage is a fine specimen. The sender of the "Loving Message" is Gulam Bahadur, obviously representing the slavish upholders of foreign rule in India. The article concerns the annexation of the Orange Free State by the British. The writer seemingly praises the virtues of slavery, but the language and tone are so sarcastic that they create quite the opposite effect in the mind of the reader. Of course the translation into English of the original Marathi article cannot bring out the full beauty of the original article; still, it is good enough to give an idea of Paranjape's bitter sarcasm.]

The KAL of 3rd August publishes the following "Loving message to the Boer brethren" from "A sympathetic Gulam Bahadur" :--
Ye Boer brethren: both of us have now been brought under the same paramount power and have thus become fellow subjects. Now that the Orange Free State—I beg your pardon, the Orange River Colony--has been annexed to the British Empire, it will go on prospering. You will hereafter be plunged in the ocean of bliss. So long you were obliged to work as farmers in the fields and to hold arms in your hands for the defence of your country. But you will now be relieved of the trouble so long as the British Empire lasts. You should now surrender your arms to the British and spend your days in peace and quiet with the Bible in hand. If your children ask you to show them arms, Government will have a collection thereof in a museum or will arrange to give diagrams of these in school books. We are firmly convinced that independence is valueless and that none but the Indians have attained the invaluable blessing of subjection. The delicious fruit of subjection tastes a little bitter in the mouth at first, but is found to be very fragrant and cooling in the long run. We enjoyed independence for a short while, but it scorched our skins so much that it has left a lasting impression upon us still, and the

moment we remember it we experience an itching sensation. No, no, we do not want self-rule, nor do we want that turmoil, that loss of life and constant anxiety to defend one's position which it involves. We do not want any of these things, we are now very happy. We entertain a high sense of respect for our present Government, because such a peaceful regime is to be found now here on earth. Every country is anxious for its own defence, but we are above all such cares. While your war was going on, we lounged in easy chairs and listened to the pleasant accounts of Joubert's deeds and Cronge's surrender. When one beholds Englishmen on their first arrival in India in the very prime of youth, one's heart is filled with the greatest admiration for them. Even angels are contemptible when compared with them. How robust and stalwart they look. These heavenly beings come to our country from their distant homes across the seas to rule over us for our benefit. Such people are bound to be victorious everywhere. When you have prolonged contact with Englishmen, you will find that they talk sweetly and are profuse in giving pledges and exert themselves beyond measure for the benefit of others. You were tough and hardy like gaints hitherto, but through the favour of the British you will gradually grow tender and delicate. You will exchange your independence for the blessing of the civilisation of the nineteenth century. You must bear in mind that you owe this gift to British rule. If God sent you defeat in the war, it was for your own good. Pray, therefore, night and day for the permanence of British rule. I served the British Government with single minded devotion and was made a Bahadur. If your countrymen do likewise, they will also achieve distinction like me. If you will shape your conduct to suit the inclinations of Government, you will be deemed the most loyal persons in the world. There is a vast difference between your former and present loyalty. Formerly it imported devotion to your country, but now it signifies mock devotion. Loyalty now requires of you that you should hand over Kruger and his confederates to the British Government. If you cannot do that, you should at least burn Kruger in effigy. Our common Government will go on extending its conquests over the earth, and when that is done, you will gain the distinction of being reckoned among the "old vanquished people" and become the members of one of the grandest Empires on earth. What a glorious heritage, indeed! If your subjection is to become permanent, remember that it is necessary to forget your unity among yourselves and to tender your submission to Government. If you want to quarrel, why quarrel with strangers? You may quarrel among yourselves as much as you like. Government will take care that your quarrels are not carried to extremes and will adjust them as impartially as a father

settles the quarrels of his children, and sell justice to you if you refer your disputes to them.

WE ARE BEASTS WITHOUT HORNS

(P. D. Vol. 36 of 1890.)

Arunodaya, 26th April 1890.

In a communicated article on Native society, the *Arunodaya* of the 20th April 1890 says :—It has been shown that the Natives have now no hope left of getting happiness from their British rulers. Looked at from one point of view this state of things appears natural. Why should the British care for the natives of India? They have conquered this vast country and were not disinterested in so doing. Will they lose their empire in this golden land if Native society is weakened or becomes extinct in course of time? Millions of Englishmen go out every year to colonise foreign countries, and if they are only turned towards India for a few years they will fill up the vacancy created by the Natives and will populate the country as thickly as at present. In a Sanskrit couplet the king of a country is advised to protect his subjects with a view to derive revenue from them and to make himself happy. But this does not mean that these subjects should necessarily be the natives of the soil. Some of our people are labouring under the hallucination that if our rulers offended our feelings they would bring ruin upon themselves. But, dear sirs, do not think so. If the present course of things continues unhampered, our countrymen will have to retire to valleys and dales like the Bhils, Kolis and red Indians, and their place be taken up by hungry English, Scotch, Welsh and Irish people, who will thus be the subjects of the Indian rulers. If this is the case, why should the English care for our people? Everyone of us should estimate in his own mind the help which we are likely to receive from Government for our elevation. It is a delusion to depend upon the mercy of the English and to think of getting help from them by crying piteously before them. Their present course is sure to continue unhindered and we should give up the vain hope and should make efforts in our own interests. The present relation between England and India is unique in the history of the world. Is there any other instance of a very small nation having subjected and ruled over a large country like India? Our people are so weak or simple that about six hundred of them can be kept under control by a single European. Alas! What a miserable thing is this! Even one shepherd cannot manage six hundred sheep without help. The conquest of India by the English is not, however, so great a matter for surprise as is its remaining under their sway. Knowing our weakness

our rulers oppress us just as they like, and there is no doubt that every nation in the world must be ridiculing us. It would not be surprising if a liberty-loving American, after personal inspection of our condition, described us as beasts without horns and tails. Even this description would be a little short of the actual truth, since even six hundred sheep cannot be managed by one shepherd. The Natives must therefore be said to be in a worse condition than even sheep. It would be no exaggeration at all the people of India were likened to harmless beings like worms and ants. Some of our learned graduates deposed in open court that they were tyrannised over by Mr. Crawford, who wantonly plundered the people by torchlight during day-time and against whom no complaint could be made till Government of themselves moved in the matter. Is such a thing possible in a free country like Japan, China, France, Germany England, or America? Mr. Crawford is only one person who has been exposed, but there may be many other such plunderers, yet no one says a word against them. We call Mr. Crawford a plunderer because he took bribes in his capacity of a Government servant. But is not every English statesman, who under the power acquired by legislative enactments is benefitting England at the cost of India, a Crawford? These men plunder us because we let them do so. Philip, father of Alexander the Great was a bitter enemy of the Athenians and Demosthenes in an exciting speech addressed to his countrymen said, "our people have been engrossed by an indescribable laziness. The Athenians as they pass by public roads ask each other if Philip is dead, and somebody says in reply that he is not dead, but is dangerously ill. But, I say, what benefit can you derive from his death? Don't think that your misery will be at an end by the death of one individual like Philip. Your laziness will create another Philip in his place." The point to be remembered, therefore, is that our rulers will continue to be high-handed so long as we are not prepared to bring about our own elevation.

BURDEN OF MILITARY EXPENSES IN INDIA

[FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1905 PAGE 14, PARA. 8.]

Kaiser-I-Hind, 27th, August 1905.

"In this triangular controversy between the Commander-in-Chief, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, India alone is destined to be the greatest sufferer. She alone is destined to bear the greater burden of the charges which the new military autocracy will impose. The two chief combatants have absolutely no stake in this country.

their only stake seems to be personal ambition. To them it is a matter of no consequence whether India gains or loses as a result of their personal quarrels We may deplore the military autocracy now established. It is our deepest misfortune. But we think it needful at this critical period in the affairs of India to recall the fact that it is Lord Curzon and he alone who has gradually led up to it. In our opinion he is 'the head and front of the offending' and it will not do for his panegyrists to obscure this fact and raise false issues for throwing dust in the eyes of the public..... Who is unaware of the foreign policy of the Viceroy? who has not read his notorious speech in the Viceregal Legislative Council, in which he ominously referred to the dangers surrounding India on all Sides? This and all the rest of the hollow cant was propagated to delude the ignorant British nation and even frighten it out of its wits in order to entangle India into border imbroglios leading to costly wars. Who is unaware of his undying hatred of the Russian, of his burning ambition to checkmate him at all cost and hazard in Central Asia, Persia and elsewhere—all under the fallacious cry of menace to India. Who does not now know the true story of Tibet and the inglorious campaign waged against a set of docile monks residing in the remotest confines of the World? Who has forgotten his ostentatious visit to the Persian Gulf, and his ardent attempts to bring Afghanistan within the ring-fence of British India? What was the meaning of all those political demonstrations? What, may it be asked, was at the back of those warlike utterances for which Lord Curzon used to earn Kudos from his press trumpeters?..... Is this the Viceroy of whom we are now to believe that he was upholding the existing military constitution, when every public utterance and act of his bear ample evidence of his slowly altering it himself to suit his own undisputed autocracy?..... As a matter of fact it is patent to those who have closely followed Lord Curzon's 'strenuous' viceroyalty, that this military revolution was all but accomplished by Lord Curzon himself prior to the scheme of re-organisation. Read only the annual budgets of the Empire and the viceregal speeches on matters military, and you will be more than convinced that in the plentitude of his power Lord Curzon was doing everything to centralise in his person all important military affairs, inclusive of military finance, as much as he centralised all civil affairs, with the direct consequences in future to provincial administrations and to the people themselves..... Even without Lord Kitchener the military autocracy would have been equally complete. Even to Lord Kichener the Viceroy had given every support in the same direction. The Commander-in-Chief almost always got all he wanted. 'Ask and it shall be given unto you,' was Lord Curzon's motto..... Furthermore, it was Lord Curzon who, in pursuance

of his high imperial policy of driving away the Russian (whilst imbroiled in the Japanese war) from Central Asia, Persia and elsewhere, asked Lord Kitchener to re-organise the army services. Lord Kitchener took him at his word, and, like the trained soldier that he is, drew up a scheme which, in his opinion, would answer the modern requirements of India. But when the Commander-in-Chief boldly recommended that greater and supreme military power should be at his elbow in order to ensure the complete success of his scheme, Lord Curzon flew into a rage. What, Lord Kitchener to be supreme in military authority ! 'There is danger to the constitution' ! The cry was lustily taken up by his meek and obedient colleagues in Council. It was like the cry on 'No Popery'. So that it is gross exaggeration now to talk of Lord Curzon's manful defence of the military constitution, when all the while he was slowly undermining it himself ! But the fact is that his personality and dignity were wounded. He thought his prestige and authority were sought to be usurped. So he made the controversy a personal one, and the national question became purely subordinate..... But now we have seen the end. Lord Curzon has fallen. Retributive justice has cruelly avenged herself on him for all his past sins of omission and commission originating in unrestrained and irresponsible autocracy. He played the role of Caesar, and Caesar-like he has fallen."

NATIONAL DAY FOR INDIA, 1905.

[FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1905, PAGE 18, PARA. 14.]

Mahratta of 15th October 1905.

"Few things are so badly needed in these days as a National Day for India, and it is surely an irony of fate that Lord Curzon should, of all people, furnish us with this Desideratum. To-morrow, the 16th October, being the day fixed by Statute for the partition of Bengal, is to be observed throughout that province and elsewhere in India as a day of fasting and mourning. Nor can we doubt that this celebration, being repeated annually, will spread throughout the length and breadth of the country and become established in our calendar as India Day, or the Day of the United Indian Nation. As we have already pointed out, the people of Maharashtra should not regard recent events in Bengal as if they concerned that province exclusively..... We should learn from the partition of Bengal that at

any time a similar blow may be aimed against ourselves. Therefore, we must clearly realise that we alone can determine for ourselves what our own future will be, and that the will of outsiders, least of all a will influenced by considerations antagonistic to Indian welfare, can never be allowed for a moment to be effective. The attempt to divide the country, thereby severing national interests, and creating and fomenting enmities that were hitherto non-existent, has brought to us all vivid realisation of that unity, which has undoubtedly been a fact from the beginning, out of which we had not hitherto been sufficiently conscious..... This force of unity, which was hitherto dormant amongst us, will now become active and mould our destiny..... Bengal is right in establishing the 30th Aswin as a day of austerity, for when the attention of millions is concentrated at one moment in a common observance, the results must be significant. The day which Lord Curzon has, from his own point of view, been so ill-advised as to select for the partition is, as we all know, a Sankranti day, that is to say, it is a day which, to the Indian mind, is fraught not only with the death of the old but with the birth of the new. And undoubtedly, this particular Sankranti is big with possibilities. The will of an entire people expressed with unexampled vehemence and unanimity, has been utterly set at naught. And whole country has been led in consequence to realise that its future lies within itself, that the national cause and the national future are inseparable. It remains to be seen what action will spring out of this realization. That the Swadeshi movement will receive everywhere a new impetus is inevitable, that European trade will suffer permanently is assured. But these are merely negative results. It is said that to-morrow the inhabitants of Calcutta will meet together and lay the foundation of a Federation Hall, where national assemblies shall in future be held, work done and exhibits shown. This is a move in the right direction. It remains to be seen how far this impulse will be carried. For ourselves we cannot help believing that to-morrow is to be a real Sankranti of unexampled power and significance, a transition point in the evolution of the Indian mind, and that from it is to date a new era in our national life and thought."

SHOUTING OF BANDE MATARAM

[FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1906, PAGE 19, PARA. 12.]

Mahratta of 22nd April 1906.

"The Barisal affair has been the one topic of private conversation and of public discussion during the last week. And surely the

Barisal authorities, Police and Magisterial, have managed to act in such a bungling manner that the shield of championship in maladministration will probably remain in their hands for a pretty long time. It is not possible for the people to do anything more than express their indignation in the strongest language they can safely use in public meetings assembled; and spontaneously enough have indignation meetings been held in different parts of India to openly condemn the action of the Barisal authorities and to express sympathy with the sufferers.....But the one general and spontaneous thought, which seems to have risen uppermost in men's minds, is that the Barisal authorities were quite wrong in stopping the Provincial Conference and ill-treating Babu Surendranath Bannerji as they have done.....Now that the official as well as the non-official versions of the Barisal affair have been published, we think we have sufficient material to judge of the merits of the conduct of the men concerned therein. According to the official version Babu Surendranath practically challenged the Police to arrest him and make a test case against him. It is also alleged that the Conference people wanted to organise even a bigger procession than on the first day and so the police had to stop the Conference itself. It is argued on the official side that the authorities having warned the Secretary and President of the Reception Committee of the Conference that no processions nor shoutings of 'Bande Mataram' would be allowed and no appeal having been lodged against this warning, the authorities understood that the warning was accepted without protest. We must say that none of these official allegations hold water. Beyond the fact that the officials and the non-officials were honestly at issue as to the legality or otherwise of the 'Bande Matram' circular, there is absolutely no common ground between the official and non-official versions referred to above. But we entirely fail to see the necessity of all else that took place, viz., the insulting treatment given to Babu Surendranath, his conviction for contempt of Court, the breaking up of the provincial conference, the breaking of heads by the police and so on. The responsibility for all this manifestly rests with the Barisal authorities and on the Government of East Bengal. The official version has been promptly contradicted by the non-official leaders of Bengal. The Police may have warned the Secretary and President of the Barisal Reception Committee.....In fact the whole position taken up by the Barisal authorities was illogical from beginning to end. They have done their part by getting Babu Surendranath convicted, and it remains for the people to go to the High Court to contest the legality of the conviction. But whatever the decision of the High Court may be, it is clear that the treatment given by the officials to Babu Surendranath Bannerji was most

insulting and unjustifiable.....Verily the officials acted as if their main purpose was not to test the validity of the position taken up by the authors of the circular, but to seek an opportunity to take revenge under cover of their authority upon people who had subjected them to public ridicule by their bold and cogent comments in the press and outside,.....The illegal nature of the circular itself has been already discussed in these columns.....For very shame the Government should have refrained from putting the circular to the test. But curiously enough the vindication of the circular was apparently attempted in this case by means of acts which were exceptionally tyrannical and unconstitutional. A bad cause was thus pushed forward by worse methods, and we fear the Government of East Bengal have permanently handed down their names to posterity as synonymous with official blundering of the worst type.....The insult offered to the gentlest and most polished of Bengalis will not be taken lying low by the millions of Bengal. Even the Muhammadans would resent, and so far as we know, have resented this behaviour and all Bengal will rise to a man to demand the removal from Public service of men who have darkened the fair escutcheon of England by their cruel and culpable vagaries. An Englishman, who prides in his Anglo Saxon blood and beneficent civilisation, would order mercenary Police Constables to belabour innocent and highly educated delegates with regulation lathies. An Englishman, who has the fair fame of his country to maintain, would never tolerate the inhuman conduct of the brutes who took devilish pleasure in halfmurdering gentlemen and throwing one of them into a pond for a ducking."

BENGAL GOVERNMENT'S SWADESHI CIRCULAR

[FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE YEAR 1906,
PAGE 21, PARAS. 15 AND 16.]

Mahratta, 6th May 1906.

"Under instructions from the Government of India Sir B. Fuller, the white Shahista Khan of the 20th century, has issued a new Swadeshi circular.....The main idea of the new circular seems to be to emphasise the fact on the pretence that Government favour Swadeshism so far as it represents a pure unadulterated non-political desire of the people for an industrial revival.....Under the new circular the Police may not interfere with private industrial activity as exhibited in the opening of new Swadeshi shops. They may not stop also or interfere with the Swadeshi meetings

held in private houses or compounds. They may overlook even ridiculous attempts at Swadeshism if they do not amount to an illegal act. But they may insert their little finger, which we know is at least as big as the regulation lathi, or poke their nose, probably of the same dimensions, in any Swadeshi meeting or movement which is likely to break the peace by bringing the Muhammadans in conflict with the Hindus.....We are prepared to recognise in the circular a conscious attempt on the part of the Government of East Bengal to make use of such legal acumen as they possess and to make a distinction between what is illegal and what is not so, though at the same time the making of such a distinction may be useless or even ridiculous. There is much to be thankful for in such an attitude on the part of officials as it shows that the British Government has not yet become irredeemably Russianised. We are glad that the free right of the people to do things according to their rights provided they are not illegal is indirectly recognised by Government in this new circular. But what do they mean by allowing Police interference on the pretence that it might be needed to prevent a breach of the peace between the Muhammadans and Hindus? Have Government considered that the pretext is transparently foolish and ridiculous in the Extreme?..... Now what is there in the Swadeshi cult that is calculated to hurt the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus or the Muhammadans in the slightest degree? Where is the evidence that the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal had led in the least to any recrudescence of Hindu-Muhammadan riots which are happily regarded as a thing of the past by both the great communities? Has not the Barisal affair proved to the very hilt that the parties to the Swadeshi controversy are not the Hindus and Muhammadans, but the Government and the people?

Bhala of 11th May 1906.

From the Swadeshi Circular recently issued by the Government of East Bengal some people might be led to imagine that the authorities in that province are sobering down and that the High-handed acts of the Barisal officials would never be repeated. But a glance at the actual state of affairs in East Bengal leads us to believe that the aforesaid circular is a mere administrative device and is like a packet of sweets proffered with one hand while the other is raised to strike. The incident of official high-handedness witnessed at Barisal have been repeated in another place, Brahmanbaria, where a Swadeshi meeting which was being held in a private compound, was dispersed by a police Inspector because the promoters of the meeting failed to give an assurance that the cry of 'Bande Mataram

would not be uttered. Policemen were stationed outside the compound in readiness to assault the people in case of need. In another place, Basandha, the authorities countermanded a marriage procession. This shows that they are bent upon prohibiting not only political processions but social and religious ones as well. All this shows that constitutional Government has ceased to exist in East Bengal and that a Moglai regime has been sent up in its place by Sir. B. Fuller.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

[FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE YEAR 1906,
PAGE 16, PARA. 10.]

Gujarati of 23rd September, *Jain* of 23rd September 1906.

It is an indisputable fact that no nation can ensure its well-being without self-government. Like other nations, the people of India believe that self-government is highly essential for their country's welfare and they have now awakened to the need of securing it. Notwithstanding this, they prefer to remain under the sovereignty of England for such time as it may be necessary for them to do so, for India is yet unable to stand on her own legs without the help of the British Government. In plain words, to the minds of the people the British supremacy is only a means to an end—an instrument whereby they can ultimately obtain self-government. The real secret of the existence of British rule in the country is that the Indians have voluntarily acquiesced in that rule with a view to secure their own good. British rule can by no means be supported by bare military strength. When the feeling of the Indian nation is aroused against the British raj, Englishmen will have no recourse but to leave the country without a moment's delay and entrust the Government to the custody of the people. The cannon and guns and swords of the British army will be of no avail before the opposition of a united India. This is the view held by thoughtful English politicians like Professor Swinny. In comparison with India the condition of Persia can be justly characterised as barbarous. Yet it is a matter of no small surprise that the Shah should have conferred self-Government upon his subjects. Really the Indians cannot help envying the Persians. India can hold her own against any nation of the world. She had attained the summit of civilization, when the rest of the world was grovelling in barbarism. Even in comparatively recent times, prior to the advent of the British, the country

lived under a peculiar form of self-government. Lord Elphinstone and Sir Charles Matcalfe have stated that the Indian villages in those days were so many republics in themselves. Englishmen, after assuming the reins of the country's administration, destroyed the germs of self-government which existed in the political life of the country. What the Indians now want is self government of the type which existed in the country in the old days, with modifications suited to the present times. They desire that the government of the country should be in their hands, that laws should be framed according to the wishes of the people and that no taxes should be levied without their consent. Where is the hitch in the way of granting such a form of self-government to the Indians? Why has self-government been granted to the Boers? Is it because they are turbulent people? And is self-government denied to the Indians, because they are docile, loyal and law abiding. The boers got self-government presumably as a reward for their having plunged England into a costly war and devastated the hearths and homes of the English settlers in South Africa. Indians get nothing, because they are loyal; and yet the British Government is reputed to be a just Government. Justice and morality alike demand that self-government should be conceded to India. (The 'Jain,' in discoursing on the benefits which self-government is likely to confer upon India, says :—All Indians cherish with love the memory of the rule of Ram and are striving to secure such rule in the present days. It is a slur upon the liberalism of Englishmen that they should be actuated by a greedy desire to profit by the submissiveness of the Indians. We cannot understand why England should fight shy of granting self-government to 30 crores of Indians of the type which has been granted to the colonies. Are the Government waiting to see the loyal Indians act like other nations? If so, they are under a delusion, as the Indians are by nature calm and inured to bearing insults quietly. Elsewhere the paper writes :—Human efforts are unavailing before the Divine will. The Almighty has given England an opportunity to rescue the people of India from the sea of misery in which they have been rolling for thousands of years past. If she allows the opportunity to slip, Nature, as history abundantly shows, will not assist her. The Bengalis do not want to drive the British out of India, but they urge them, in the interest of both the rulers and the ruled, to change their present policy, which is in conflict with the established principles and traditions of the British Government. Englishmen are the sole rulers of India and out of regard for our own interest we do not desire to see their authority crippled. The Home Government should preserve British prestige by changing the policy of the Indian Government, otherwise, it is certain that time will do its appointed work.)

GOVERNMENT CANNOT DISARM INDIANS

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1907, PAGE 13, PARA. 6.)

Hind Swaraja of 5th January 1907.

It is a fallacy to assert that the British Government have disarmed the Indians by means of the Arms Regulations. A blacksmith's tools are sharp enough to cut iron to pieces, and a carpenter's can be used with equal effect on heavy logs of wood. Indians can, if they choose, make use of these and other such weapons with a view to overmatch the enemies of their country. But even if they were prohibited by Government from using such weapons, they could not still be said to have been disarmed, for there is an inexhaustible store in India of thick branches of trees and heavy stones which can be utilized to any extent. Indians can afford to dispense with guns if they learn the art of throwing stones from a sling, while by the skilled use of lathis they can overpower even expert swordsmen. The brave have never been and can never be disarmed. Those Indians, who declare that they are helpless owing to lack of arms, are a mere hybrid and time-serving progeny who shirk their duty by putting forth flimsy excuses. Besides, Indians have now discovered another weapon, viz., that of boycott, of which they can never be deprived by Government. The British have no doubt reduced us physically to subjection, but God has not granted them the power to subjugate our minds, which are destined to remain eternally independent. We should, therefore, resort to boycott and establish Societies of Independence at various centres in the country. If we do this, we are bound to attain the goal of independence as our demands are not improper and we only ask for what rightfully belongs to us. Without offering resistance we cannot hope to get our rights from our rulers. We should therefore abandon our policy of mendicancy and resort to methods which are worthy of brave men.

STRUGGLE WITH GOVERNMENT

(REPORTS ON NATIVE PAPERS J. D. VOL. No. 146-B FOR THE
YEAR 1907, PAGE 51, PARA. 13.)

Bhagva Zenda, 1st July 1907.

At present a keen struggle is going on between the British Government and their Indian subjects, who are smarting under their political disabilities, and since the ruling class has various advantages

on its side, there is no wonder if it emerges triumphant from the contest. If such be the issue of the struggle, will India with its teeming millions remain under perpetual subjection to alien rule? Is India, abounding in so many sanctified places, destined to be the dwelling place of Satan? The present distressful condition of India need not lead her children to believe that her end is near at hand, for she has many a time in the past won back her lost independence. Though Government have resorted —to repressive policy to put down the prevailing discontent, and have changed the whole trend of their educational policy with a view to destroy the germs of patriotism in the minds of young Indians and though by a series of oppressive laws they have been trying to stamp out agitation and keep us in a state of bondage, we need not suppose that India will remain contented with her enslaved condition for ever. Nor will the British wish to see her remain in that condition always, for they have ever been the staunchest defenders of liberty. The present terrible aspect of British policy towards the Indian people may, therefore, be due to their mistrust in our abilities to carry on the administration of the country. If that be the case,—let them point out our shortcomings. Let them afford us an opportunity to give a proof of those qualities which are essential for administrative purposes. It is simply a subterfuge to make the grant of self-government dependent on the development of administrative qualities without giving any opportunities to develop the same. It is a palpable error to judge about the swimming capacity of a man without giving him an opportunity to step into the water. It is equally a mistake to muzzle a man and then to remove viands and delicacies from before him under the pretext that he does not eat fast enough. If it is the wish of officials that Indians should rot in a state of perpetual servitude and refrain from raising themselves from their degraded condition, they should rest assured that their desire can never be fulfilled. If the official class, proud of their strength, persist in pressing the poor Indians down, the latter will not submit to such treatment any longer. However spiritless the Indians may be, it is not possible to eradicate from their minds the love they entertain for their country. Sometimes a few ants make things too hot for a snake, which in the pride of its strength occupies their ant-hill. Such being the case, it is, in our opinion, dangerous for the English to entertain sinister motives against the teeming population of India. Though the Indians are, in their present struggle with Government, being trodden under foot like vermin, there is no doubt that in the long run the latter will be checkmated by the former. The Indians need not be dismayed at the fate of Lala Lajpatrai or Ajitsing, nor should the English exult over it. Our rulers should remember that we have been the cause of the fall of Lord Curzon and of Sir B. Fuller. Since even a gnat has it in its powers to exasperate a lion, it is impossible that the

British will succeed in crushing the millions of Indians, intent on following an obstructive policy to secure the boon of self-government for themselves.

BANDE MATARAM TRIAL

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1907, PAGE 25, PARA. 30.)

Kesari of 24th September 1907.

The result of the Bande Mataram trial has been made known to the public by a telegraphic communication. Babu Arvind Ghose, who was arraigned as editor, has been acquitted, as also the manager; the printer has, however, been sentenced to three Months' hard labour. We are glad that the calamity, which threatened Mr. Arvind Ghose, has been luckily averted. His learning and patriotism are so profound that in his acquittal we discern the hand of Providence. We pray to God to enable Babu Arvind to do what lies in his power to bring about the regeneration of India. Brahmabandhu Upadhyaya, editor of *Sandhya*, has put in a written statement, wherein he says that aliens have no right to sit in judgment upon him. He is not wrong in this contention. The whites from whom we want to wrest our rights, being both the makers of law and the dispensers of justice, it is idle to expect them to be impartial in administering justice to us. Under these circumstances, we can only do one of two things, either go to jail voluntarily like Bepin Chandra Pal or effect our release from the clutches of law by some stratagem or other.

BAN ON PUBLICATIONS

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1907, PAGE 26, PARAS. 29 AND 30.)

Mahratta, 29th September, *Bhala*, 1st October 1907.

Commenting on the order of the Government of India prohibiting the importation into India of the Indian Sociologist, Gaelic American and Justice, the *Mahratta* writes:—"The action seems to be taken under the provisions of both the Customs and the Postal laws..... We cannot congratulate Government on the exhibition of weak nerves thus made by them in this matter, though we believe that they

could not altogether be unaware of the fact that the mere assertion of their authority to prevent the importation of these papers through the postal agency cannot absolutely put a stop to it. There are perhaps a number of other ways of bringing these papers in and we do not think Government claim to be so ubiquitous as to hope to stop effectually all the openings through which such importation when openly prohibited may possibly take place. Readers of the history of Italy in the first half of the nineteenth century know how Mazzini's newspaper was smuggled into the country notwithstanding the stringent restrictions imposed against it; and the only logical method which the British Government must be prepared to follow is that of making it penal for any one in India to be in possession of any of the three newspapers and to inflict heavy punishment for the offence. The Postal Department has no doubt proved that like the cat it has hidden claws, hidden because not usually put forth. But Government have certainly not benefited by the exhibition of their nervousness. (The Bhala writes :—The object of Government in prohibiting the importation of the three journals is very easy to understand. These three papers advocated extreme principles in politics. There is no wonder that Government who is fond of unrestricted power could not endure the thought of such journals being read in the country. As they could not stop their publication, they stopped their importation in India. But they are sadly mistaken in this measure. It is sheer folly to suppose that these organs will make the Indian people extremists. For becoming conscious of their rights, Indians do not want any extraneous help from papers like the above. Repressive measures like these only render India another Russia.)

Gujarat, 1st October, *Broach Mitra*, 29th September,
Arya Prakash, 29th September.

Surely power makes men blind. Hitherto Russian officials alone were notorious for oppressing the people; but now the English officials appear to vie with them. When the Czar of Russia prohibited the entry into his country of those foreign newspapers that wrote against his policy or allowed them to circulate only after expurgation of all objectionable articles, the English Press expressed the utmost contempt for his action and called it tyrannical. But when under Mr. Morley's regime the Government of India are pursuing a policy even more tyrannical than that of Russia, and have issued an order prohibiting the issues of the Indian Sociologist, Justice and the Gaelic-American from being brought into India, the same papers watch the game in silence. We hear that Government also think of stopping the political treatises of Burke and others

from being brought into the country, and intend to propose at the sitting of the Viceroy's Council in January-February next a Press Act, similar to the Russian Press Act for putting down the native press. If we compare the deportations of Lala Lajpatrai and Ajit-singh, the prosecutions of students and newspapers on charges of sedition, the imprisonment of Bepin Chandra Pal, etc., with the most oppressive measures of the Czar we must acknowledge that the Indian bureaucrats are not a whit inferior to the autocrats of Russia. (The Broach Mitra is also of opinion that the prohibition of the three newspapers is an act of despotism. The Arya Prakash writes: Nobody can approve of the violent writings appearing in the Indian Sociologist. People read such papers merely for amusement; hence their influence is very limited.)

NATIONAL AWAKENING CANNOT BE SUPPRESSED

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1908, PAGE 13, PARA. 6.)

Rashtramat of 31st July 1908.

"Now that the most important Press prosecutions are over, it is really high time that some pertinent questions are put to those who inaugurated these prosecutions. We know that other Press prosecutions are likely to crop up in the near future. But when men of Mr. Tilak's stamp are transported press prosecutions will be regarded as of no importance whatever for some time to come. All we want to do is to question those in power as to whether they are themselves convinced that they have achieved the object with which the prosecutions were started. Are they convinced that newspapers will now write in a strain of fulsome flattery about Government measures? Are they convinced that journalists will not be as plain-spoken as heretofore? Do Government think that they have struck terror in the hearts of the people and the leaders of the people? We take the liberty of pointing out to the Government of Bombay that they have not succeeded in doing anything of the kind. Let not Government make the mistake of supposing that the discontent in India is brought on artificially by the schemings and intrigues of a handful of busy agitators. Let not Government lay this flattering unction to their soul that the unrest is due to the machinations of secret emissaries. The Times of India and other papers may start any theories they like. But we assure Government that it is impossible for the *Times* and other papers conducted by Anglo-Indians

to know the minds of the people. The people of India have now really awakened to a sense of national existence. They have awakened from the sleep of political lethargy and political indifference They desire a change in their environment.

They want to be well-fed, and well-clad ; they want to be politically responsible—they do not want to remain helpless automate.....If one patriot is imprisoned, another steps in his shoes. One Paranjpe is imprisoned, but another has come forward to do his work. One Tilak is snatched away ; and though the loss is really irreparable others, less capable but as earnest, will carry on the work left unfinished by him so long as they enjoy personal freedom. If Government confiscate printing presses, other methods will be devised for continuing the divine mission of patriotic endeavour. We say it is impossible for the most powerful Government in the world to suppress the aspirations of the human heart.....We do not preach violence we shall never preach violence.....Prosecutions and imprisonment may strike terror in the hearts of atheists and materialists. But we Indians believe in the transmigration of the soul ; we believe in the doctrine of Karma ; we believe, with Tilak, in the righteousness and justice of Divine dispensation. Do you think that Tilak could have remained cool and as firm as a rock in the presence of your Judge, your police and your jury after convictions, had he been thinking only of the day that was passing over him ? What, we ask, have you succeeded in doing by transporting Mr. Tilak ? You have caused some physical inconvenience to one man. But does that matter much to him or to you ? We think not. The cause for which Mr. Tilak suffers will not fail to prosper and advance.”

DEPORTATION OF EXTREMIST LEADERS

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1909, PAGE 28, PARA. 37).

Gujarati Punch of 27th December 1909.

“Thanks to the diluted western education given to us by our mighty rulers, we know what letters de cachet mean. For English historians have venomously thundered against the manner in which Louis XIV sent to the terrible Bastille those that were his bete noire without any trial. A sort of Jedwood justice was dealt out. The hanging came first, the accusation next, and the farce of a pious

inquiry afterwards. These remarks have been suggested by the wholesale deportations which have just taken place in Bengal. The authorities of that Province have given a weird example of the most flagrant inconsistency. They thought that the existing weapons were not enough to break the hard-headed discontent in India. And so they forged new ones on the legislative anvil only the other day. These are capacious and elastic enough to meet any emergency. And, yet, the Government of Bengal have exhumed the dead Regulation of 1818 and deported, without any definite accusation or trial, no less than nine of the foremost men of Bengal. We would have preferred half a dozen new elastic and summary Acts to such iniquitous letters de cachet. Even now it is not too late for Government to mend matters. Let them forge a new law for troublesome people, and add it to the Indian Penal Code for the behoof of people against whom nothing can be definitely charged, nothing proved. Their most atrocious crime is that they are troublesome. Let a new enactment be made on the lines suggested by us; it will at least have the hall-mark of law, if not of justice."

KARNATAK VRITTA BANNED IN REGISTERED LIBRARIES

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1911, PAGE 29, PARA. 42.)

Karnatak Vritta of 31st January 1911.

The *Rashtramata*, the *Kal* and other papers thought it better to discontinue rather than deposit securities with Government. The remaining papers are somehow existing, being careful not to be caught in the meshes of law. Some Extremist papers are deemed undesirable by Government. Of the Kanarese papers, the *Karnatak Patra*, the *Kannad Kesari* and the *Karnatak Vritta* have been boycotted. The first two have stopped publication and no discussion is necessary regarding them. The *Karnatak Vritta* has resolved to continue. We do not know why Government have prohibited registered libraries from subscribing for the *Karnatak Vritta*. At present the *Karnatak Vritta* and *Dharwar Vritta* are edited by one and the same person and the *Dharwar Vritta* is sanctioned by Government. The Collector of *Dharwar* allowed the editor of the *Karnatak Vritta* to edit the *Dharwar Vritta* without requiring him to furnish any security. There is no reason now for the boycott of the *Karnatak Vritta*. Government know full well by this time that the ideals entertained by the Extremists have nothing to do with anarchism. We hope Government will soon remove their ban from our paper. The journals do not lose anything if some twenty libraries discontinue them. We wish only that there should be no prejudice against any

one. We learn with regret and surprise that the Gujarati, a paper which advocates practically the views of Government, also has been condemned along with the Karmanuk which concerns itself only with light literature. The latter is edited by a follower of Mr. Gokhale. He is all but an unpaid Government servant and it is surprising that his paper has drawn on itself the wrath of Government. If the elected member had exercised the right of asking supplementary questions, the boycott declared against some of the papers would have been probably removed.

EDUCATED INDIANS AND BRITISH RULE

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1913, PAGE 14/15, PARAS. 9-10.)

Phoneix of 31st May 1913.

“The sole ground on which the Anglo-Indian community in general, official as well as non-official, opposed the reasonable and legitimate increase of the Indian element in the Civil Services of India in the evidence before the Royal Commission for Public Services in India was that it was essential for the continuity of the British Raj that the British tone of the administration should be preserved..... The educated Indian community, however, took the wind out of the sail of the reactionary section of the Anglo-Indian community by laying no less emphasis upon the necessity of the preservation of the British character of the present rule.....The days of the Occidental scoffer are gone never to return Hence we deprecate the recent tendency amongst Anglo-Indian officials of the Curzon school to whittle away the importance of the educated Indian community and to assume the fictitious role of the champion of the masses as against the educated classes, as if the real interests of the two classes are in any way different.....It would therefore be in the best interests of the British Raj that the Anglo-Indians should welcome the educated Indians as their co-workers in the welfare of India and England whose destinies have been so closely bound together by Providence. The educated community constitutes a most valuable asset to Government ; and the sooner this truth is realised by Anglo-Indian officialdom, the better for both Government and the People.....The educated classes wish and long for the strengthening and not the loosening of the providential bond which unites the two countries and which is the guarantee not only of order but also of progress ; and they look forward to the time when they will be hailed, as they should be, the true admirers of England and the true admirers of the British Empire.....when they will be welcomed as

the glorious product of the British Raj and will be conceded their fair and legitimate rights and allowed to share in the glories of citizenship in the mightiest Empire that the world has ever seen. Let it be the part of wisdom, of prudent statemanship and political foresight, to foster and not crush this feeling, to extend the right-hand of fellowship and loving, ministering help. Thus alone will the educated Indian community be enabled to play its important part in securing the stability of British rule in India”.

DIVIDE AND RULE POLICY OF THE BRITISH

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1913, PAGE 12, PARA. 6.)

Phoneix of 31st May 1913.

“Dr. George Wegener, who accompanied the Crown Prince of Germany on his Indian tour in 1910-11, had in June 1911 expressed his impressions and views about India before the Geographical Society of Berlin. ‘The Nineteenth Century and After’ has now published an English translation thereof. This German savant’s views are cast in the bureaucratic mould and utter a libel on Indians in general and Bengalees in particular which we may well afford to treat with contempt. But there is one passage in the translated article, which, although it purports to be a fulsome compliment to the Britisher in India, hideously exposes to the public gaze the true inwardness of the game of ‘Divide and rule’ in India. We are not quite sure as to the feelings with which officialdom out here will receive the following blunt assertion of this German gentleman :—‘The English have a gift—an instinct, in fact, gained by long experience, for playing off the different peoples, the one against the other, peoples against peoples, religion against religion, caste against caste, prince against prince.’”

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1913, PAGE 14, PARA. 12.)

Gujarati of 8th June 1913.

Referring to the interest taken by the various European and American Governments in safeguarding the rights and privileges enjoyed by their respective subjects residing in foreign countries, the *Gujarati* remarks.

“A comparison of these examples with the fate of the Indians in foreign countries and the attitude of helplessness taken up by the Indian Government in regard to it makes one regard the Government as a Government that does not care. It is not in any way desirable that a false impression should be created that no one harasses the Indians, and even if one does so, ‘our Government’ does not care for it. The agitation started by several Anglo-Indian journals against the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi and the appointment of Mr. Mornell as Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, superseding the claims of some I.E.S. men, evoke a series of interpellations and motions in Parliament; yet no movement is made when the claims of scientists like Dr. P. C. Roy or Mr. Jagdischandra Bose are overridden. A British soldier goes out shooting in Brindaban where shikar is prohibited, shoots a sadhu’s pet deer and when the Sadhu runs after the soldier in anger the latter is afraid of the Sadhu’s tongs and riddles him with bullets, and yet he is acquitted. What does this mean? Is it not wonderful that ‘our Government’ do not seem to take any steps although Indians are tyrannised over and shot in British Colonies?..... Some time ago some coolies—indentured slaves—revolted (?) in the Malay States with the result that four or five of them were shot dead; but did ‘our Government’ institute any inquiry in the matter? If an inquiry was made, why have the people been kept in the dark? It is said cart loads of the wounded were taken to the hospital, and yet no investigation seems to have been made, and no explanation issued. During the inquiry conducted by the Public Services Commission much was said about the maintenance of the ‘British spirit’.

DECCAN EDUCATION SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1913, PAGE 33, PARA. 51.)

Kaiser-I-Hind, 24th August 1913.

“On the top of the hubbub raised at Calcutta over this action of the Government of India in matters relating to the Calcutta University, there comes the rather astounding rumour that the Bombay Educational Department is requiring the members of the Deccan Education Society to take an oath promising to refrain from participation in all political and semi-political movements,—not only movements that have the insane and criminal object of subverting Government, but

even those that profess merely to criticise any acts or measures of Government. This, if true, is rather unwise and unfortunate, so far as regards the latter portion of the proposed oath. Was criticism ever silenced by such repression? And where is the harm in mere criticism, if it is fair and intelligent? The mischief lies not in criticism, but in misrepresentation. And the only safeguard against underhand misrepresentation is open criticism. And why should teachers, who are generally broader and more fair-minded than most other people, be debarred from criticising public affairs, thus leaving that work entirely in the hands of lawyers and the so-called public men, whose methods of criticism may be peculiar? Why? Well, the only reason that we can think of is that those who do the noble work of training the young mind have always been suspected as 'corrupters of a nation's youth,' ever since the day when Socrates was accused and condemned. There are few Socrateses now-a-days. But there is no lack of accusers."

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

LAJPATRAI AND POLITICAL UNREST

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1907, PAGE 17, PARA. 10.)

Akbar-e-Soudagar of 13th May 1907.

"Lala Lajpatrai has been, contrary to the laws of the country and the best traditions of British rule, condemned unheard. The instance of the Natu brothers, who were deported from Poona, clearly indicates that Government do not resort to the old and obsolete Regulation, unless they are themselves convinced that there is no case to place before a jury, and that the easiest method of removing a *takrari* politician, who is a thorn in their side, is to make use of the bludgeon clause and spirit him away to some distant part of the country. Such an act on the part of Government is not only unfair and unjust, but is likely to spread general disaffection throughout the country.....The present disturbances in the Punjab are due, in the first instance, to nothing but the recent oppressive laws enacted there with regard to land and agriculture. The immediate cause, however, of the unrest and discontent in Northern India is the most mischievous 'preferential' policy pursued by the Government of Eastern Bengal and copied by other Provincial Administrations. The Muhammadans have been very cleverly and adroitly set against the Hindus and general disturbances are the result. We are honestly of opinion that the Government of India, which played into the hands of Provincial Administrations, are mainly responsible for these disturbances, which are sought to be adhered on 'prominent agitators'. Numerous warnings in unmistakable language were given by the Indian press to the Government of India, but without any effect. But there is yet another cause of the general unrest in the country, particularly among the educated classes, and it is the malicious and mischievous writings appearing from time to time in a certain section of the Anglo-Indian press. Just see what the Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore has to say on the subject of Mr. Lajpatrai's deportation..... The paper calls Lala Lajpatrai an arch—Seditionary! Where are the proofs of seditious acts having been committed by Lala Lajpatrai? Where is the evidence of Lala Lajpatrai being 'a rebel busily immersed in the affairs of his insurrectionary enterprise,' and of his 'mischievous career'. We must not be understood to defend Lala if he is really guilty of the unnamed charge made against him by the Government about which nobody knows anything. We defend Lala in so far as he has been condemned unheard. The principle sought to be laid down by the Government is not only wrong, but

illegal, irrational and monstrous. It is Lala to-day who has been spirited away to a part of the country, which is yet not known to the public. To-morrow it will be the turn of some of our leading politicians and statesmen, who cannot see eye to eye with the bureaucracy.

DEPORTATION OF LAJPATRAI

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1907, PAGE 24, PARA. 17.)

Kal, 17th May, *Karnatak Vritta*, 14th May 1907.

All people are deeply grieved over the deportation of a popular, patriotic and self-sacrificing leader like Lala Lajpatrai. They are intensely indignant at the autocratic action of the British Government which in point of injustice and oppression out-does even the methods of Russian rule. We do not think that even fifty speeches of Lala Lajpatrai would have roused public indignation to such an extent as this single act of Government has done. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab had a dream one night that there would occur a mutiny on the 10th of May 1907 and that, Lala Lajpatrai had raised an army of one lakh of men with the object of overthrowing British rule in India. Indeed, we fail to see why the powerful British Government should dread a public rising in India. The Indians themselves laugh to scorn the very idea of the secret raising of native regiments. Lala Lajpatrai's own letters, written shortly before his arrest, show that a native rising in India is, in his opinion, an impossibility.

The only reason, therefore, why the British are raising alarmist reports of the possibility of a mutiny in India and deporting our foremost leaders is, in our opinion, as follows:—Their high-handed treatment of Indians and of the latter's demand for political rights are biting the conscience of our rulers. They are conscious in their hearts that they are trampling upon poor natives and riding roughshod over their rights and are, therefore, taking precautionary measures to prevent a rising. But they should understand that by deporting Indian leaders or throwing them into prison they will simply help the spread of discontent among the people, and that such unwise measures will only precipitate the crisis they wish to avert.

[The *Karnatak Vritta* in making similar comments vehemently condemns the deportation of Lala Lajpatrai and considers that it will not allay but rather aggravate the existing discontent in the country.]

Mahratta of 19th May 1907.

“Lala Lajptrai has at last been securely lodged in Mandalay Fort, and we wish all joy to the official mischief-mongers in the Punjab whose tactics may be said to have so far succeeded.....As for the conditions of his life as a State prisoner, it has been declared that he will be kept under police surveillance and will not be allowed to hold any communication with the outside world.

It may be remembered that the Hindu-Muhammadan disturbances in Eastern Bengal are sought to be explained by the alleged wilful and violent attempt on the part of the Hindus to force boycott upon unwilling Muhammadans. The hollowness of this explanation is self-evident. But Government are unable to give even such a hollow explanation of the disturbances in the Punjab.

The analysis made by Lala Lajptrai of the political situation in the Punjab is, our opinion, perfectly accurate, and it certainly behoves Mr. Morley to apply his philosophical mind to this analysis and to judge for himself whether the politicians of the Punjab or his own men on the spot stand to blame.”

Patriot of 18th May 1907.

Have the British Government adopted the present Sultanic policy of gagging and repression merely in a moment of panic, or deliberately as a new departure in the methods of governing a country which, according to the London Times, was ‘conquered by the sword and by the sword must be retained?’

we are perfectly convinced that the Government of India have, in the present instance, fallen a victim to a sudden panic. They seem, in fact, to be extraordinarily susceptible to such periodical ‘visitations’. This is not only our dictum, but may be said to be an historical fact. We do not believe the world has yet forgotten the episode of 1897. How easily the mighty fabric of the great British Empire in India then seemed to totter—simply because a high-spirited Mahratta youth took it into his head to murder a couple of Europeans, who had, it must be admitted, become obnoxious to the people. A thrill of terror went through the whole British Empire. All believed that a second edition of the terrible ‘57 was about to be issued, printed in blood, and that it was time for mighty Britain to gag, throttle and decapitate India.....But the dismal clouds soon dispersed, the political atmosphere assumed its normal aspect.

If this gospel of repression has been deliberately adopted and is to be persistently followed, then the reply lies in the womb of the unfathomable future. But we feel confident that such a terrible contingency will not arise. Some fools have to be saved in spite of themselves. And we think the moment has arrived when the foolish British despotism in India must be saved in spite of itself. The very man, whom the mighty Government of India have deported to Mandalay, has given them a chance of retracing their steps, getting out of the storm into which they have blindly plunged and laying anchor in the harbour of peace.

In his last message Lala Lajpatrai has vindicated not only his own character and honour, but proclaimed the true nature of the new awakening which has sent so many foolish Anglo-Indians into hysterics.

If after this the Government persist in their present policy, they will be responsible for whatever might follow.

Let our Rulers admit that they were carried off their feet by a panic, that they realise the true nature of the political quiver that is to-day passing through India, that they are sorry for the hasty, cruel and despotic measures which they have taken, that they repent of their folly and that in conformity with the noble traditions of their rule they are ready to hold forth the olive branch and put an end to the present miserable state of things !

AJITSING STILL AT LARGE

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1907, PAGE 23, PARA. 21.)

Kesari of 28th May 1907.

Ajitsing being still at large, the punjab authorities have advertised a reward of Rs. 500 for his arrest. A reward of Rs. 10,000 had been advertised for the arrest of Mr. Rand's murderers. Taking into account the difference between the two amounts, one is constrained to say that the authorities do not set a higher price upon the Punjab rebel than Rs. 500, and that instead of the Government really dreading a revolt, the alarm thereof has been raised simply with the object of suppressing the constitutional agitation of the people for the acquisition of rights. Another important item of

news from the Punjab besides the advertisement of a reward for the arrest of Ajitsing is the arrest of Lala Pindidas, editor of an Urdu newspaper called India, on a charge of exciting disaffection in the army. Lala Pindidas is said to have exhorted the Punjab regiments to expiate even now their sin of having supported the Government, Sepoy Mutiny. Now, we beg to inform Government that if they wish the native sepoys to serve them loyally, they should not hurt the feelings of the people. If Government act high-handedly, the people will deem it sinful to serve them, but if they treat their subjects in a just and liberal spirit Government service will be looked upon as an act of merit.

The prosecution of Lala Pindidas will not allay but aggravate the discontent among the Jats, and if disaffection does not spread to the existing regiments, the task of recruiting the native army will be rendered difficult and Government will have to draw recruits from the mountain and forest tribes.

WE MUST SPEAK PLAINLY

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1907, PAGE 18, PARA. 18.)

Vihari, 22nd July 1907.

Count Tolstoi declares that a handful of Englishmen would have found it impossible to enslave the teeming millions of India if the latter had refused to enlist themselves in the British army and to pay the taxes to the British Government. Such plain speaking was badly required in India but our leaders were on the contrary engaged in singing the praises of British rule in India while the English replied to such praises by uttering platitudes about leaving the country to the people themselves in the fulness of time. All this was, however, changed on the declaration of boycott by the Indians in 1905 and since then the Government has shown its cloven foot. Mr. Morley has been calling us enemies of the British Government, while the Anglo-Indian papers have been denouncing us as rebels and fools. What have we done to deserve such appellations? If it be foolish to be plainspoken, to desire independence for one's country, to prefer oppressive native rule to the benign sway of the British, then we are prepared to be called fools. Nay we take very great pride in being ranked with the idiots who rise in rebellion against bondage. In that case we are in good company, viz., that of patriots like Hampden and Pym. The fact of our being denounced as rebels by the English should in no way discourage us from plainspeaking. We should rather imitate the Irish leaders who are not daunted in the least by being accused of treason. Those who have been roundly abusing Mr. Shyamji Krishna Varma for his public spirit are plainly told by him that one of the parties of the Indian patriots not only aims at driving the English out of India, but also means to invade England to recover the untold wealth of which India has been despoiled during the last century and a half. It is such plainspeaking that is wanted just now. When once the people are convinced that independence is the birth right of India which no one has the right to deprive her of, terms such as rebels will be looked upon as glorious and British rule in the India would become an impossibility. Even a thousand Hindus, by defying British tyranny, can put a stop to India's slavery. Englishmen themselves have always supported those who rise in insurrection against oppression by supplying them with the sinews of war. As their opposition to us in India originates in selfish motives, we should disregard it, and, placing our aims before the people hoist the flag of SWARAJYA. Calling upon the people to take up arms and

to organize armies, we should resolutely advance forward. (Else- the paper gives the substance of Mr. Shyamji Krishna Varma's speech at a meeting held in London to protest against the deportation of Lala Lajpatrai and says :—It is the blood of patriots that gives the rise to other patriots. The Indians are prepared to undergo all kind of torments for securing SWARAJYA. Hollow concessions will no longer satisfy them. They aim at complete independence for themselves and the destruction of alien rule in India.)

BOMB OUTRAGE AT MUZAFFARPUR

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1908, PAGE 19, PARA. 15.)

Gujarati, 10th May, *Kaiser-I-Hind*, 10th May 1908.

“The bomb outrage at Muzaffarpur and the subsequent discovery by the Police of an anarchist organisation with a regular factory for the manufacture of bombs and other infernal machines is a startling development of the situation in Bengal. Two European ladies and an Indian syce, all of them absolutely innocent, have fallen victims to this dastardly and execrable outrage.....No one ever dreamt that in India any one was going to emulate the example of the West in this matter...We confess we feel deeply distressed at such brutal development of murderous daring as has been displayed by the perpetrators of the horrible outrage. Such atrocious crimes and conspiracies are so entirely out of harmony with the spirit of Oriental religions and philosophy that we can only regard their authors as misguided fanatics whose weak minds have been easily influenced by the doctrines and teachings of European anarchists in the perturbed condition of Bengal. We must express our most emphatic abhorrence and indignation at the shocking outrage and our sympathy with the three innocent victims that have met with a cruel death and with their families. It becomes difficult to restrain one's indignation when one remembers the fact that Mr. Pringle Kennedy whose wife and daughter fell victims to the bomb was a familiar figure on the Congress platform in the earlier years of the movement.....As usual, Anglo-Indian writers will not be slow to press upon Government the necessity of adopting exceptional measures for putting down the anarchist movement in Bengal which has started and shocked the whole country. We, therefore, hope that Lord Minto's Government will do nothing in a panic. The law of the land is already strong enough to put down and punish the authors of anarchical deeds, and Government will find that they have on

their side the sympathy and support of almost all Indians in their endeavour to punish such diabolical crimes according to the established laws of the land. A resort to antiquated and despotic Regulations does more harm than good to the moral prestige of Government.....We would appeal to Government not to act as they did at Poona." (The Kaiser-I-Hind writes :—An appalling tragedy was enacted last week at Muzaffarpur which has made the blood curdle and sent the world of law and order in the country into a deserved outburst of indignation at its chief prompters and perpetrator. It was a most dastardly outrage for which, of course the extreme penalty of the law will be meted out in due course. Meanwhile, two innocent European ladies have lost their lives and the universal sympathy of the country goes to Mr. Pringle Kennedy, the husband and father. Bomb outrages till now were unknown in India, but this Muzaffarpur tragedy plainly tells us that this method of wreaking political vengeance on the ruling authorities needs to be nipped in the bud by the strong arm of the law. Whatever the condition of a country may be, however ill-governed and whatever the chief personage in authority may be whom people are bound by law to obey, call him Emperor or King or President, it is a futile and frantic effort to kill either him or those who may be governing in his name.....We agree with the Statesman of 5th May that the terrible outrage perpetrated at Muzaffarpur and the revelation of a wide-spread criminal conspiracy to which it has led are an indication only too plain that Indian nationalism has entered upon a new and portentous phase, the ultimate significance of which it is impossible to gauge at presen.”)

(PAGE 13, PARA. 4.)

Indian Spectator, 16th May 1908.

“High officials in Bengal are holding conferences and are deliberating upon the meaning of the gruesome facts that have come to light in the wake of the Muzaffarpur tragedy. The public have no longer to deal with police reports, but with confessions duly made before Magistrates by young men who disdain to take shelter behind the formalities of the law, and do not want suspicion to fall upon the innocent among their countrymen. Though bombs cannot be manufactured in public, and plans for blowing up Governors, Viceroys and other high officials cannot be discussed in open assemblies, there are young men who are not ashamed of their revolutionary schemes, and who appear almost anxious that the

public should know of their ghastly creed.....The young men whose confessions have been recorded by the Magistrates have acknowledged their indebtedness to certain vernacular papers, which were writing at one time about the partition of Bengal and the quarrels between Hindus and Muhammadans in the eastern part of the province, and have since been descanting on Swaraj and the prosecutions for sedition. Portions of the confessions cannot fail to convince those who have read Bankim Chunder Chatterji's Anandamatha that, while the physical weapons are borrowed from the West, the spirit comes from the graves of the Sanyasi rebels whose war-cry Bande Mataram plays such a prominent part in modern Indian politics. The cry itself is innocent, and Sir Andrew Fraser once responded to it in the streets by respectfully taking off his hat. But the song expresses a faith in the possibility of the millions of doughty arms devoted to the service of the motherland driving out foreign rulers. The song was directed against Muhammadans by the Sanyasis of old : it must be suggestive of a different class of foreigners to the young political Sanyasis of to-day.....The political Sanyasis derive their inspiration and their knowledge of the world mainly from newspapers, while their science is supplied to them, it seems, by their secret colleges which are perhaps called Anandamathas. As for the deliberations of the authorities, their outcome can be easily predicted. The Arms Act will be amended, and the law will be made stricter against the importation and possession of dangerous chemical products. Prevention is the only effectual remedy against a use of bombs and dynamite. Punishment will only increase the attractions of martyrdom. The criminal law has to be enforced, but it does not effectively subdue that frame of mind from which political crimes proceed.

BOMB OUTRAGE AT KANKINARA

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1908, PAGE 22, PARAS. 22 AND 25.)

Kesari of 5th June 1958.

The Kankinara bomb outrage has evidently thrown many of the Anglo-Indian journalists off their heads, and the Englishman had been charging the Bengalis with "wanton murder for murder's sake." This is a false accusation. However much we may condemn

the bomb outrages and censure the Bengalis for the insane tendencies of some of them it must be pointed out that no reasonable Englishman, even in the paroxysm of exasperation, will think himself justified in charging the whole race of Bengalis with delighting in murder. But the Englishman apparently wants Government to extirpate the Bengalis as if they were the enemies of humanity or a race of serpents. It may here be pointed out that even Gazis who think it to be their sacred duty to murder all non-Mahammadans have not had such opprobrious terms applied to them. It is true that no thoughtful man would lend his support to such murderous excesses, but eminent historians have pointed out that even such wicked tendencies have in them a latent power to doing good and therefore such men must not be looked upon as the enemies of mankind. Though the people have had to suffer much in the beginning owing to the wanton acts of these madcaps, the world has benefited by such acts in the long run. The Empire declares that the bomb-makers of Bengal are savage beasts and that they have by their outrages challenged the West to a death struggle with the East, and predicts that the struggle is sure to go on till either of the two goes to the wall and disappears from the world. But our contemporary is altogether wrong in his prediction. No doubt there is a struggle between two powers, but neither is destined to vanish from the world altogether. Society automatically gives birth to certain harsh remedies when the two powers are disproportionately balanced in power and secures equilibrium. It is altogether wrong to say that bombs are meant to destroy one side of the balance. It is a suicidal policy for those placed above to crush down hopelessly those below for by so doing they are sure to be dashed down from their exalted position.

ADMIRATION FOR KHUDIRAM BOSE

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1908, PAGE 15, PARA. 7.)

Vande Mataram of 5th July 1908.

The *Vande Mataram* publishes a translation of an article headed "Anglo-Indian publicists and Indian opinion" in the Calcutta *Bande Mataram* of which the following is a substance :—The opinions of the Anglo-Indian publicists, however much influence they may have

with Government, have long ceased to have any effect on Indian public opinion. There was a time when England was really the ideal of educated India, and when we were willing to accept all our ideals from our foreign masters. But all this has changed of late. Ever since the birth of the new Nationalist spirit, there has been a growing indifference among our people to the verdicts of their foreign rulers. They have now discovered their own measure of men and institutions, and are not only not willing to have those of the West as safe guides for them, but have commenced to urge the absolute superiority of these to those of the coarser fibred nations of the West. The whole of the Bengali press, with the solitary exception of a few papers, has with remarkable unanimity, expressed their admiration for certain aspects of the character of the young men now on their trial in connection with the bomb-plot. The condemned youth, Khudiram, has received the profound sympathy of his people, who have not hesitated to appreciate what may be called his self-immolation, for the sake of what he considered to be the political interests of his country. This has been a sad error of judgment, but there has been an utter want of the true criminal instinct in the poor boy. We do not expect people who have never made any sacrifice for their country to understand the worth of men of the type of Khudiram. But an Englishman might be expected to recognise the inner heroism of this young man. He is known to have openly recognised the irresistible necessity that has driven the finest flowers of other nations, ground down by irresponsible autocracy, to turn murderers and assassins. Mazzini was at one time connected with the Carbonari, and yet his association with the organisers of secret murderers did not lose him the respect of the free-born Briton. Even the Pioneer very recently indirectly justified the Russian methods of secret assassinations as the only possible form of struggle for freedom in a country like Russia. Indeed, whatever, their immediate self-interest might lead them to say, it is impossible that even Anglo-Indians could have lost their national instincts as to have failed to recognise the spirit of self-sacrifice of even Khudiram Bose. Self-interest always warps the correct judgment of men and things and we, therefore, cannot expect that Englishmen will view the struggle for civic freedom in India in the same light in which they are accustomed to view similar struggles in other countries. But there are some people even in England who can take such a view, as is proved by the pronouncement of Mr. Swinny who has declared that 'secret' conspiracies are the natural outcome of oppression. 'The vulgar abuse of the entire people of Bengal by a miserable critic like the writer in the Englishman will only help to increase the existing irritation and add to the bitterness of the racial hatred in the country.'

NASIK CONSPIRACY TRIAL

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1910, PAGE 27, PARA. 34.)

Kesari of 3rd January 1910.

We have already published in the *Kesari* a full account as far as possible of the Nasik Conspiracy Trial. It is quite sufficient to enable our readers to form an opinion as to who is guilty and to what extent and also as to whether there existed a big revolutionary or anarchist conspiracy having its branches in about eight towns in Maharashtra. We hope that Marathi readers have acquired by this time sufficient discrimination to do so. It is not that there are no points in the judgment delivered by the special Tribunal worth criticising from a journalistic point of view. But as the Buffoon says in *Mrichhakatika*, the bureaucrats take everything in the reverse light just as the shadow in the mirror is reverse. We do not at all desire to write anything in the matter in these strange times. But we have to protest against a sentence that occurs in the judgment at the very commencement. The judgment by way of introduction mentions that all except two in the Nasik case were Chitpavan Brahmins. The sole duty of a Judge is to weigh the evidence and sentence the accused accordingly. Thirty-eight individuals were placed before the special Tribunal as accused. The whole Chitpavan community was not in the dock. We think that the High Court should not have classified the accused according to castes and placed a handle in the hands of a particular community which is already prejudiced against Chitpavans. They should have taken into consideration the uproar raised against Chitpavans soon after the murder of Mr. Jakson and avoided the close scrutiny of the caste of the accused. We would not have paid much attention, if the scrutiny was correct and true. The classification is not only unnecessary and mischievous but mistaken and baseless. The sentence we have quoted from the judgment occurs in the report of the Times of India and so far it has not been corrected. It may be taken, therefore, that the judgment does really contain the sentence. We take permission to inform frankly the Honourable Court that at least Gayadhani, Kathe, Moghe, Konkar, Davare, Chandwadkar, Nagpurkar, Chandratre, Tonpe and Phulambrikar are not Chitpavan but Deshasth or Karhada Brahmins. If pardoned accomplices are as morally guilty as those convicted it may be noted that the approver Kulkarni is a Deshasth Brahmin. It may be difficult for Sir Basil Scott and Justice Heaton to determine accurately the sub-castes of the accused from their surnames and it is just possible for

them to commit an error. But it is quite strange that such an erroneous statement should have been made in the judgment when the special Tribunal has as one of its Judges the learned and experienced Brahmin Judge—Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. It may lie within the powers of the Judges to go into the question of the caste of the accused without any cause. But while doing so, the responsibility of being accurate in the minute classification rests on their shoulders.

(PAGE 18, PARA. 17.)

Sind Journal of 22nd September 1910.

“We almost shudder to read the account the Advocate General gave in his opening speech in connection with the Nasik Conspiracy case in which Savarkar and 37 others are being tried by a special tribunal at the Bombay High Court. A secret revolutionary society, with ramifications in various parts of India and even in Europe, is said to have been formed at Nasik, of which Savarkar was apparently the chief organiser. The Society has been issuing and circulating, with more or less secrecy, literature calculated to incite people to revolt. Now sedition is bad enough, but secret societies working in the dark—at first, it may be against Government, but gradually against all who cannot see eye to eye with them, are infinitely worse, a danger to society, and destructive of the very principles of civilised life. No one can be safe in expressing his honest views which may differ from those of the revolutionaries. For the credit of the Bombay Presidency let us hope that the Police have, as they are accustomed to do, exaggerated the matter a good deal. If not, then both Government and the public must face the stern situation with wisdom and sobriety joined to firmness.”

MISCELLANEOUS

THE SHIVAJI CELEBRATION AT CALCUTTA

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1903.

Voice of India, Bombay weekly, 5th July 1902,
Kathiawar Times, 6th July 1902.

"It does look odd at first sight, that of all provinces Bengal should hold a public meeting in honour of Shivaji. Bengal, like Gujarat, even now stands in awe of that name. What does this demonstration then mean? Does it mean that the Bengali worships the god whom he dreads, reserving cold contempt for the god he loves? Not so. Those who have eyes to see need no one to tell them that a new sense of nationality, a larger ideal of patriotism, is springing up among the people—a circumstance for which England may well claim credit. Those who, again, compare the great Maratha leader with Rob Roy, seem to lack the faculty of historical criticism. Shivaji had his faults; but he was less selfish than Napoleon, for instance, and with equal opportunities, might have lived to loom as large in history

SENSE OF NATIONALITY, CREATED BY SHIVAJI

Commenting on the celebration of the Shivaji festival at Calcutta, the *Kathiawar Times* says: The Hindu community must have learnt with no little gratification that the sacred memory of the great founder of the Maratha Empire is dearly cherished even in far away Calcutta. Shivaji has laid not merely Maharashtra but the entire country under a deep debt of gratitude. In the time of Aurangzeb, the Hindu religion was well-nigh in danger of being uprooted from the land. That bigoted Emperor had struck terror into the heart of even the brave Rajputs, and had not Shivaji risen just at this crisis in the fortunes of Hinduism, the ruthless scythe of Muhammadan vandalism would have fallen with un-erring precision on the ancient religion of our land. It is quite in the fitness of things therefore, that Shivaji's name should be cherished and respected all over India. The formal celebration of the anniversary of Shivaji's birth or his coronation is but an outcome of the spirit of hero-worship which the East has imbibed from the West. Such celebrations deserve to be encouraged, for in India the worship of national heroes serves to strengthen the bonds of union between the different communities. In this respect the promoters of the Shivaji festivals and of the Indian National Congress can be said to have a common aim in view.

रेल्वे यूनियन.

(केसरी ११ जून १९०७)

पाश्चात्य पद्धतीचे संघ तयार करून ते अव्याहत चालविण्याचे काम हातीं घेणें. हे हल्लींच्या तीव्र जीवनकलहाचे कालांत अत्यन्त आवश्यक आहे. कांहीं महिन्यापूर्वी कलकत्त्याकडे “रेल्वे यूनियन” नांवाची संस्था स्थापन करण्यांत आली ; इकडेही नुक्ताच मुंबईच्या पोस्टमन लोकांनींही आपला एक संघ निर्माण केला आहे असें समजतें. सुशिक्षित व समजदार अशा हिंदी लोकांचा फार मोठा भरणा जर कोठें असेल तर तो रेल्वे कंपन्यांत आहे. त्यांनीं मनांत आणलें तर अशाप्रकारचा संघ त्यांस एक जुटीनें व दक्षतेनें चालवितां येणें अगदीं सुलभ आहे. गेल्या वर्षी या संबंधाचा एक पत्रव्यवहार रा. रा. एकनाथ गणेशी भाडारे यांनीं केसरींत प्रसिद्ध केला होता. त्यांनींच याकामीं पुढाकार घेऊन अशी नमुनेदार संस्था स्थापन करविली, तर त्यांस लोकांचीही सहानुभूति मिळेल असा आम्हांस भ्रंवसा वाटतो. कलियुगांत आध्यात्मिक दैनिक किंवा शारीरिक शक्ती एका एका व्यक्तीत न रहातां “संघ शक्तिः कलौ युगे” या न्यायानें ती केवळ संघांत राहिल, या पुराणग्रंथातील वचनांत गोवलेलें तत्त्व फार मोलाचे आहे हें सांगायचास नकोच.

[In the above extract, the *Kesari*, dated 11th June 1907 expresses the opinion that the dictum ‘Union is strength’ is fully applicable to the present state of the country. The paper welcomes the newly started Railway and Postal unions.]

संप व राजकीय चळवळ.

(केसरी २६ नोव्हेंबर १९०७)

गेल्या आठवड्यांत ईस्ट इंडियन रेल्वेवरील युरोपियन व युरेजियन ड्रायव्हर लोकांनीं संप केला. ह्या आगगाडीवरील युरोपियन व युरोजियन इंजिन हांकणाऱ्यांनीं संप केल्यामुळें सर्व इंजिन जागच्या जागीं थंड झाली.....

आससोल स्टेशनवर युरोपियन फलटणी पाठविण्यांत आल्या. व सरकारच्या लष्करी खात्यानें ईस्ट इंडियन रेल्वेचा ताबा घेतला. इंजिन हांकणारे व रेल्वेचे मुख्य अधिकारी ह्यामध्ये तडजोडीचें बोलणें लावण्याकरितां कांहीं प्रमुख युरोपियन व्यापारी व अधिकारी गेले, व त्यांनीं कांहीं इंजिन हांकणाऱ्यांना फितवून हा संप मोडण्याचा प्रयत्न केला पण त्यांत त्यांस यश आल नाहीं.

युरोपिअन इंजिनवाल्यांच्या ह्या संपानें अधिकारी वर्गाचे डोळ्यांत चांगलें अंजन घातले आहे. जी. आय. पी. रेल्वेवरील तार मास्तरांनीं केलेला संप, मुंबईच्या पोस्टमनांचा संप, मुंबईच्या पोलीसांचा संपाकडे असलेला ओढा, नगरच्या व्यापाऱ्यांचा संप, सावंतवाडीच्या व्यापाऱ्यांचा संप, पेठाच्या लोकांचा संप, जी. आय. पी. च्या परळच्या वर्कशॉपमधील लोकांचा संप, मुंबईच्या काही गिरण्यांतील मजुरांचा संप, गेल्यासालीं ईस्ट इंडियन रेल्वेच्या वर्कशॉपमधील लोकानीं केलेला संप, ईस्ट इंडियन रेल्वेवरील स्टेशन मास्तर व तार मास्तर ह्यांनीं केलेला संप, कलकत्यातील सरकारी छापखान्यातील नोकरांनीं केलेला संप, व कलकत्याच्या काही गिरण्यांतील व कारखान्यांतील मजूरानीं केलेला संप, वगैरे लहानथोर संप अलीकडे हिंदुस्थानांत झालेले आहेत. या संपाचे वेळीं सरकारी अधिकाऱ्यांनीं ह्या संपाचे खापर राजकीय चळवळीवर फोडण्यास मार्गे पुढें पाहिलें नाहीं. ईस्ट इंडियन युरोपिअन इंजिन हांक्यांनीं केलेल्या संपामुळें, उतारुंचें, व्यापाऱ्यांचें, कारखानदारांचें व सरकारचें जितके नुकसान केलें आहे तितके पूर्वींच्या कोणत्याही संपामुळें झालेले नाहीं. असें असतां ह्या संपास राजकीय स्वरूप कोणाच देत नाहीं. बंदोबस्ताकरितां सरकारनें लष्करी पोलीस व लष्करची पलटणें पाठविली हें खरें, पण हा संप राजकीय कारणाकरितां झालेला आहे असें सरकार मुळीच म्हणत नाहीं. सरकारच्या ताब्यांतील व बगलेंतील टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया सारखीं कुत्री राजकीय चळवळीच्या नांवें आरडा ओरडा करून संपवाल्यांवर बिलकूल भुंकूं लागलीं नाहींत. ह्या संपाचे उत्पादक व चालक अस्सल इंग्रज पडल्यामुळें राजकीय चळवळीमुळें हिंदुस्थानांत संप होतात ह्या अधिकारी वर्गाचे समजुतीस हरताळ लागला आहे. युरोपांत असा एकही आठवडा जात नाहीं कीं कोठें ना कोठेंतरी भयंकर संप चालू नाहीं. युरोपांत संप राजकीय चळवळीमुळें उत्पन्न होतात असें कोणीही म्हणत नाहीं. थोडे दिवसापूर्वीं इंग्लंडांत सर्व आगगाड्यांच्या नोकरांचा जंगी संप व्हायचा असें ठरलें होतें. काम करण्याचे तास कमी असावे, पगार जास्त असावा, सुटी व रजेसंबंधीच्या सवलती हल्लीहून अधिक असाव्या अशा तऱ्हेच्या मागण्या बहुतेक संपवाल्यांच्या असतात. ह्या शिवाय इतर काही विशिष्ट व स्थानिक कारणांमुळें संप होतात, नाहीं असें नाहीं पण ते लवकर मोडतात. वरिल तऱ्हेच्या मागण्या कारखानदारांपाशीं अथवा मालकांपाशीं मागण्याचा हक्क सर्वांना आहे. व ह्या मागण्यांप्रमाणें सवलती मिळविण्याकरितां संप करून कारखानदाराच्या किंवा मालकाच्या कामांत व्यत्यय आणण्याचा हक्क सर्व नोकरांना आहे असें युरोपांत समजलें जातें. इंग्रज अधिकारी वर्गाला हें तत्व माहित नाहीं असें नाहीं पण हिंदुस्थानांत आल्यावर त्यांच्या डोळ्यावर अधिकारपदाचा वडस वाढल्यामुळें खरी स्थिती त्यांना दिसनाशी होते.

[In the above extract the *Kesari*, dated 26th November 1907 supports various strikes by Indian Labourers, which are dubbed by Government as being engineered by political agitators in the Country. But the recent strike by European and Eurasian Engine Drivers of the East Indian Railway is not so styled by Government or the Anglo Indian Press, although it has been much more effective than the other strikes. The paper then states that it is accepted as a fundamental right of labourers in Europe, to go on strike for redemption of their grievances.]

AMBALAL SAKARLAL ON SWADEHI

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1903, PAGE 31, PARA. 49.)

Praja Bandhu, 15th February.

“The inaugural address before the Indigenous Articles Protection Association, which Divan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal delivered in the Premabhai Hall on Sunday last, marks one important stage in the progress of that Association inasmuch as the enthusiastic young men, who have started it, thereby formally invited the co-operation of the public and submitted their work, aims and aspirations to their judgment—The President did not enter into the political aspect of the question, but confined himself strictly to an explanation of the principles of the Association and of the probable methods of its work. The necessity of an organisation for encouraging Indian arts, industries and manufacturers is obvious. But protection by means of legislation being impossible in our present political condition, we must resolve as true and patriotic sons of India to use indigenous articles in preference to foreign ones and thus to make that sacrifice which a truly paternal government would have perhaps compelled us to make. Its members, whose number we are glad to learn is gradually increasing, have to take a place to use indigenous articles as far as practicable. The Association intends to compile a catalogue of information, and to make other suitable arrangements for giving facilities to purchasers of indigenous articles. The Divan Bahadur rightly reminded the members that they would have to make some sacrifice, and that their task did not end with the appointment of office-bearers and the performance of other formal work connected with the Association. They have undertaken an onerous responsibility and a keen consciousness thereof will alone enable them to

attain the desired end. We shall conclude with joining in the fervent hope of the Secretary of the Association that its establishment may mark an auspicious era in the industrial history of this province and that the event may be regarded in future as one of far reaching and happy consequences.

ARVIND GHOSE'S LECTURES

(FROM REPORT ON NATIVE PAPERS FOR THE
YEAR 1908, PAGE 41, PARA. 64.)

Kesari of 21st January 1908.

The *Kesari* publishes a report of an address on "National education" delivered by Mr. Arvind Ghose at Girgaum, Bombay, on 15th January, of which the following is the purport :—The meaning of national education is now well understood in Bengal, but the case seems to be quite otherwise in this part of the country. Even the Honourable Mr. Gokhale showed his ignorance of the matter by tampering at Surat with the wording of the resolution on national education passed at the Calcutta Congress. Some of these people appear to think that there can be no "national" education for India, where according to them, the existence of various conflicting creeds and races makes the growth of a feeling of nationality an impossibility. This view is utterly wrong. The very geographical position of the country, isolating it from other parts of the world, argues its separate national existence. Italy, which is isolated like India, achieved national independence within a space of thirty years. Shivaji, Akbar, Ashoka as well as the Rishis of old are amongst the component parts of the Indian nation. Let us learn from Japan how to awaken the national spirit among the people by a contemplation of the heroic deeds of our ancestors. Let us bear in mind that we have a debt to discharge not only towards our ancestors but also to our posterity. If such a noble ideal is steadily kept before our mental vision, we shall see that our nation gives birth to great philosophers, statesmen, generals. This ideal has been kept in view in guiding the movement for national education in Bengal. In teaching geography we impress upon the minds of our students that India is their motherland, that Maharashtra produced Shivaji, that the Punjab was once ruled by Ranjitsing, and that the Himalaya gave shelter to our ancient Rishis. History and philosophy, too, are

taught in a similar manner with a view to awaken the spirit of nationality amongst the pupils. Nothing that is useful or important is neglected in the scheme, and instruction is, as far as possible, imparted in the vernacular. This is not the case with the education imparted in Government schools where the tender minds of students are uselessly burdened with western ideas utterly antagonistic to their own modes of living and thinking. In profiting by our contact with western civilization, we should be careful not to cut ourselves adrift from our original moorings, but should at the same time imitate the Japanese in taking the fullest advantage of modern scientific discoveries. In political matters we have much to learn from the western nations, and we should also turn to them for lessons in popular Government. In our scheme of national education, we teach students how to take an active part in politics, as we believe that without such training their education will not be complete. As we teach them some handicrafts, they find it easy to obtain moderately remunerative employment on leaving our schools, which is not the case with the pupils attending Government institutions. Our seventh standard equals the intermediate course of the Indian Universities. Self-reliance forms the guiding principle of our scheme of education. We do not look to Government for help as we think that state assistance will destroy our national stamina. We challenge those, who have been harping upon the alleged impracticability of imparting education "on national lines", to visit Bengal and see what is being done there in that direction. Some of the Zamindars have given us substantial aid in carrying out our plans on condition that we accept no assistance whatever from Government. (The same paper gives the following report of a second lecture delivered by Mr. Arvind Ghose at the Halai Lohana Mahajanwadi at Bombay on 19th January. Though the hand-bills announcing the lecture were published only four hours before the time fixed for the lecture, over three thousand people gathered to hear Babu Arvind Ghose. He alluded to the heavy sentence passed upon the printer of the Yugantar and remarked that the secret of the new awakening in Bengal lay in a firm belief in the justice of the national cause and an abiding faith in God. Our helplessness, he continued, when contrasted with the might of the ruling class, gave rise to a feeling of despondency in ordinary people and made them look upon the efforts of the National party as those of lunatics. But the national movement in Bengal was based on the fact that what seemed impossible to ordinary minds was easy to those who had unshakable faith in God. It is feelings like these that enabled the Bengalis to disregard harassments, floggings and incarceration. The people of Maharashtra would be able to experience the effect of these feelings when the national movement took root among them.)

INDIAN STUDENTS QUARREL WITH PRINCIPAL

(PAGE 42, PARA. 52.)

Kal, 31st July, *Rashtramata*, 1st August 1908.

The London correspondent of the *Kal* writes :—

I have already informed you that Mr. Harnamsingh and Mr. R. M. Khan left the Cirencester College and refused to re-join as the Principal called Nanasaheb and Laxmi Bai murderers. A dinner was given in honour of the two students for their resolute conduct. The first toast was of 'Independent India.' The second toast of 'Indian heroes' was proposed by Professor Gokulchand of Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College (Lahore). Dhandevi (Punjab), the President, spoke in fitting terms of the guests of the evening and announced that the title of YAR-E-HIND (friend of India) was given to them by the Indians in London. She added that it was the right of the people to present titles and that she would rather have the mothers childless than see their sons dishonoured by foreign titles. (The *Rashtramata* gives a similar account and says:—We hunger all the more for the elevation of the motherland when we see subject-races imbibing the spirit of independence by living in a free land.)

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DAMODAR HARI CHAPEKAR

(FROM BOMBAY POLICE ABSTRACTS OF 1910, PAGES 50 TO 107.)

PREFACE

MY OBJECT IN WRITING (MY) AUTOBIOGRAPHY

My countrymen, for a long time I have been actuated by a desire to commit to writing, in the form of a treatise, my experiences, good and bad, of life, from the time of my birth. But whenever that thought occurred to me, it was accompanied by a consciousness that any incidents, to be embodied in a treatise, must be of a singularly marvellous or unprecedented character. In the absence of these characteristics, the treatise will be of no interest. For, a consideration of the matter makes it obvious that every being that is born must pass through some good or bad experiences before it ceases to exist. If the story of one's life does not contain anything that is not to be found in the lives of the generality of men, if the perusal of one's good or bad career does not arouse in the minds of the people any feeling of pleasure or pain, or, if one's righteous conduct is barren in its effect in inculcating a wholesome moral or in gratifying the public taste, then of what avail is such a treatise? What is the use of a needless waste of time (in writing it)? The aim of a man's life should be the accomplishment of such righteous deeds as would engage the pens of several authors in describing them. Blessed is that righteous man to versify whose career in befitting metre several eminent poets, with their pen poised upon their ears, will, while seated in solitude, be gazing heaven-ward, as if to invoke the goddess of learning! His blessedness is indeed beyond description. The biographies of such personages tend to save, while those of others to destroy, mankind. In short, in such cases (alone) is the object of one's existence attained. Otherwise, is not the writing of an autobiography like making a display of one's own wisdom or waving a lighted lamp around one's own head? On the other hand, if there be any fascinating episodes in a man's life unknown and likely to remain unknown to the public, these also may be (embodied in an autobiography). But as neither of these two tests is applicable to me I have not been able till now to fulfil my desire to write an autobiography. From these cogitations the wise would be able to gather, without being told so explicitly, that the desirability of writing the story of my life did not commend itself to me.

WHAT THE LEARNED SAY ?

Now let us consider the opinions of the ancients as well as of the moderns in regards to this matter, and then we might follow the adage "Hear all (but) act according to (your) own inclination." First of all let us consult the learned men of the present day who have received an English education. By consulting them I do not mean that we are to go to their houses or to invite them to ours and then to ask that body of learned men their opinion in regard to this commonplace matter. The wise would readily understand that what I mean is only to ascertain from the conduct, the writings or the speeches of those universally respected men whether my undertaking has their approval. Some days back I was at Meru Jalgaon, a village in Khandesh. While there, in the usual course of my reading various ancient and modern books at the (local) library, I came across a modern work entitled "Sansaramargopadeshika," wherein good advice is given as to how householders should conduct themselves. The whole of this advice is not the author's own, but in several places (quotations from the work of) great men are given in support of the writer's opinions. And, therefore, those maxims, are, I think, worthy of

acceptance. While reading that book from beginning to end, I came across the author's own views regarding the present subject in one place. He says that a man should, during his leisure hours, write the story of his life, whether it be good or bad and should invest it with interest by describing various places, times and habitations. Particular care should be taken to avoid the use of vulgarisms, and the harmonious arrangement of the subject dealt with, should not be disregarded. This kind of writing becomes the means of endowing the writer with literary skill, intellectual capacity and elegance of speech. It also becomes the means of acquainting future generations with our careers, and of enabling them to form a correct estimate of our character, the rectitude or otherwise of our conduct, and the truth or falsity of the accusations against us. Let this, however, pass. From what the author of the aforesaid book says it may be inferred that men of the present time approve of this course. There are many other instances of similar approval, but I lay them aside as they would cover considerable space, and as there exists a great difference between my views and the opinions of these self-styled learned men. But of what worth am I? I am only an insignificant individual among those ignorant men who are to be found in this vast world. There is however, a heaven-wide difference between the views of our modern scholars and those of Vyas, Valmiki, Parashara, Manu and other great Rishis and founders of religion, who are counted amongst men of transcendent intellect, whose works, such as the Shrutis and the Smrities, have gained the acceptance of the people continually for several ages and who are looked upon as incarnations of the Deity. That is to say, they are sceptical as to (the soundness of the dicta of) these great men. These blockheads, who call themselves learned, seem to entertain doubts as to the existence of that Supreme Being who has created the universe, by whose power it is regulated, whose grace brings happiness and whose displeasure misery to mankind, and who is called the Adi Narayan in our religious books. What more need be said and what more is required? Why should we then accept even this view which has emanated from the detestable minds of such vile atheists? As I have a great faith in the ancients, I shall first ascertain their views and then determine whether I am fitted to write my autobiography. But wait. My readers might here raise a question as to why I had taken even one instance from the learned men of the present day, if these were not acceptable to me. Old opinions only ought to have been followed. Yes, readers, what you say is true. But it is a principle of ethics that if any question is to be considered, all, whether ignorant or wise, young or old, poor or rich, should join in discussing it. As there is no saying in what way God may inspire any one, a wise man, without considering (any distinctions) of wealth, knowledge or age, should, after hearing the opinions of all, do only what is right. In view of this rule of conduct, I have drawn these distinguished scholars on my side.

WHAT THE REVERED ANCESTORS SAY?

Let us now see what our revered ancestors have to say. With the object of learning the views of the ancients I have read a large number of ancient works. I nowhere came across any clear statement in those works to the effect that every man should write his autobiography with his own hand. As, however, those great men spent their precious time and took great pains in writing a detailed account of themselves, whether good or bad, there is no objection in presuming that this course commended itself to them. Here my readers might perhaps say: "As they were great, it became them. Their achievements were also great and their talents deserved to be memorised. If they themselves had not written their own histories, many would have assiduously laboured to write them. Because those warriors and statesmen wrote, should even an imbecile, who has not wit enough to manage his domestic affairs, write a story of his feeble life?" My friends, I hold the same opinion as you do, viz., that only great men should write their autobiographies.

INSTANCES FROM HISTORY

But the autobiography written by the accomplished statesman Nana Phadanvis and the accounts of themselves chronicled by such great personages as Ahalyabai and Alexander (the Great), clearly indicate their inward conduct and inward disposition as well as the tendency of their minds. Alexander had specially engaged a chronicler to write his history, and during his leisure hours he used to make him read it out in his own presence. Those passages, however, in which the impartial chronicler had found fault with Alexander would move him to great wrath, while those in which he was eulogized would please him. So also Ahalyabai used to make a scribe write an account of herself and read it out to her. She, however, would get angry with the clerk on hearing those passages in which she was praised by the writer. The difference between the woman (Ahalyabai) and the man (Alexander) would be quite apparent to any sensible man from the above facts. Nana Phadanvis also has written a faithful and detailed account of himself from his childhood to old age, wherein he notes even his loathsome acts. A perusal of these might seem to render his outward conduct reprehensible. But I feel sure that sensible people, instead of attaching any blame to him, would only extol him for his candour. On considering all these facts it would appear that great men have followed the practice of writing the stories of their own lives.

WHAT ABOUT COMMON PEOPLE ?

Now it is undeniable that common people should not waste their precious time in writing autobiographies. And even if they write any, these autobiographies being devoid of any extraordinary incidents, would fail to commend themselves to popular appreciation. Like thousands of other creatures, they came into existence and passed away. What was unusual in this ? In short, if an autobiography is not read, the labour expended in writing it would be fruitless. A man would do well to consider this fact before undertaking any such task.

TWO WAYS OF ACQUIRING FAME

There are two ways in which a man can acquire fame namely, by committing a reprehensible deed or by performing a very laudable act. Ravana, Duryodhana and other very wicked persons acquired splendid notoriety only by seizing the wealth (or) wives of others. So, Ramaraj and Dharmaraj, by following a career of rectitude as laid down in our sacred books, have achieved ever-lasting glory. These examples, however, are of very remote antiquity. But in quite recent times both bad and good men have acquired fame in history. To the former category belong Muhammad Taghlak and other Muhammadan kings, who amused themselves by frying human beings in pans, and Malharao and Bajirao II who brought about their own downfall by ravishing the wives of others. To the latter category belong Akbar, Shivaji Maharaj, Bajirao I and others. Men like Valya Koli were saved though they committed great sins. From this it appears that to acquire fame, one must execute one's undertaking, be it good or bad. (One should do) either an extremely good or an extremely bad act.

MY ASPIRATION

Now, in concluding this lengthy discussion, I disclose my views. Friends, all things considered, it is the dictate of my conscience that I should write an autobiography. Here it is necessary for me to tell my friends whether I am justified in doing so. But having regard to the present time (I think) it would be inadvisable to refer to the matter in explicit terms. I, therefore, content

myself by saying that I, your friend, intend to put my hand to great deed after some days, and I am sure that before and after I have put my hand to it I shall have to forego all happiness and to undergo diverse sufferings. For, can it ever be said that if one placed his foot upon fire it will not be scorched? No. It is probable, therefore, that like the victim of sacrificial rites, I shall be consumed in the furnace of fire into which I am going to plunge. Perhaps God in His mercy may extricate me from all difficulties and vouchsafe fame to me, as that Supreme Soul rescued Prahlad from burning fire by cooling its flames and made him renowned.

WHY I UNDERTAKE A TERRIBLE DEED

Now, the question arises, why should such a murderous and terrible deed be undertaken? Yes, brethren, here also I shall compare myself to Prahlad. Just as Prahlad worshipped the Almighty with boundless devotion, so my love for my country is unwavering, in other words, it is undying. This obviously means that I am a thorough patriot. I shall relinquish all happiness and sacrifice my life for my country. The wise may draw their own inferences from this. I do not say anything further anent this matter. He who undertakes a task of such magnitude must be involved in various difficulties, from which he can only be extricated by the grace of God. Hence a life so full of joy and sorrow as mine will probably be interesting to the public mind in some measure at least. Besides, there is another reason why I desire to write (an autobiography).

LESSON OF MY LIFE.

When the public will read, in a detailed story of my life, how I commenced my undertaking, what was its middle state, how it terminated or what (other) fate overtook it in the end and similar other matters, I hope that those patriotic friends who will come after me will take care to avoid the mistakes I may have committed and achieve their aims. Readers, I leave it to you to judge, from the above discussion of the reasons for and against my undertaking the task and from my firm resolve (to sacrifice myself) for the good of my country, whether the course which I have adopted of writing (an autobiography) is right or wrong. Now I follow this course because I consider it good and proper. But before doing so I, your most humble friend, very respectfully request you that if, perchance, this undertaking of mine be against your views, that is to say, if you disapprove it, you will, bearing in mind the maxim "There are as many characters as there are forms," consider it natural that all men should differ in their opinions, and pardon me. With these remarks only I take my leave of you.

I am, yours,

Well-wisher of the country,
DAMODAR HARI CHAPEKAR,
Patriot.

DETERMINATION OF THE TIME OF BIRTH

At 3 ghatikas after sunrise on Friday, partly first and partly second day of the dark half of the month of Jyeshtha, hot season dakshinayana, Shak year, 1791, called Shukla, and under the Karka Lagna and the Purvashada-nakshatra, Phaladevasharma belonging to the Manushyagan (was born).

MY FAMILY

I was born at the village of Chinchwad. My family was rich at the time I was born, but its wealth began to vanish as I grew up. This may be ascribed either to my ill-luck or to the adverseness of the times. For we daily see

great men fall from their high estate and *vice versa* in the extraordinary transformations effected by the Almighty. Why may it not be said, then, that the depressed state to which my family was reduced was brought about by the same law of nature? My grandfather's name was Vinayak, the names of my father, myself and my mother being, respectively, Hari, Damodar and Dwarka. My grandfather was a great lover of independence. He, therefore, did not accept service, which means subjection to others, though he was a man of ability. This is the fruit of knowledge. But now-a-days a state of subjection is liked by the people to such an extent that he alone is considered a talented man who (instead of) devoting his vast knowledge acquired by life long labour in serving the people accepts the service (of Government). This also must be attributed to the influence of adverse times. There is an adage to the effect that agriculture is the best (of professions), trade the middle one, and service the lowest. It is on account of the freedom which is its outcome that agriculture has been assigned the foremost place amongst the three professions ranged in the above order. But now-a-days agriculture is looked down upon as a mean profession. It thus follows that all things, moveable and immovable, the ignorant and the learned, the poor and the rich, nay, even all beings from the ant to Brahma, are affected in an equal degree by the unfavourable turn of the wheel of time. My liberty-loving grandfather was stigmatized by the people as a man who squandered as he liked the savings of his father and led a life of indolent ease. At one time he would lay out a garden and water it with a copper-moat, at another time he would start a dispensary and distribute medicines gratis. These doings of his, though good in themselves, subjected him to the censure of the people. Some said that he had not wit enough for service. With a view to free himself from such calumnious gossip, my grandfather passed examination and was appointed to a post of Rs. 60 per mensem in some department at Kolhapur. He served there for about two or three months, and having thus exhibited the flame of his knowledge to the ignorant, he again turned his back upon that state of bondage and directed his attention to independent vocations. But the adage that when Fate is adverse even a hundred attempts fail is not untrue. Now, my grandfather engaged himself in all sorts of occupations, he even started a grocer's shop, a printing press, a sweetmeat stall, and a loom. He tried his hand at things too many to mention, but fortune being unfavourable, they all proved fruitless. Our family consisted of about twenty members, including my six uncles, two aunts, two grandmothers and other relatives.

PILGRIMAGE TO BENARES

My grandfather was a whimsical person, that is to say, he insisted on doing whatever he once took a fancy to. Either owing to this whimsical disposition of his, or through extreme vexation at being thwarted by fate in all his undertakings, he at one time took it into his head to go on pilgrimage to Benares with his family. On that occasion the people of the village and his friends and acquaintances tried much to dissuade him from doing so, but their advice was without avail in consequence of the above-mentioned obstinacy of his disposition. When we started on a pilgrimage to Kashi, we were twenty-five persons in all, besides two male servants and three carts. I was about five or six years old at this time. Being then so very young, I do not recollect any incidents of the journey worth mentioning. The death of my elder sister, aged about nine years, at Gwalior is the principal event I remember. Having said so much, I quit this topic and proceed to describe what followed the pilgrimage. We returned home after completing the pilgrimage to Benares after nine or ten months. In the opinion of some, this pilgrimage to Benares was the chief cause of our poverty. But I do not at all agree in this opinion. I do not, therefore, consider these men as well informed, though they may have a knowledge of worldly matters. In my tender years I had an opportunity

of drinking the water of the Ganges, bathing in it, and giving alms and of seeing and touching (the image of) Kashivishveshwara. For this I feel profoundly grateful to my grandfather.

I WAS SENT TO SCHOOL

After our return to our native country from the pilgrimage, I was sent to a school at Chinchwad for my education. I have already said that my grandfather loved liberty. He educated all his children in a manner consonant with his wilful disposition. My father learnt English at the Poona High School. After he had nearly completed the sixth standard, a Shastri was engaged to teach him Sanskrit at home, and in order that my father might have a companion in his studies, a Brahmin friend of his own age was selected for that purpose. My grandfather's intellect was so keen that he became proficient in Sanskrit by simply hearing the lessons given by the Shastri to my father every morning. The chief object of teaching Sanskrit to his eldest son was that by initiating him in the profession of performing kirtan, which besides being an independent one, was also conducive to one's material as well as spiritual good, all the members of the family might in contentment partake in the simple fare he might earn and say "Hari, Hari," at their ease. How ingenuous were these views! It was in harmony with these views that he began to teach one of his sons to play on the pakhwaj and two others on the sarangi and two others to sing. He was actuated by a desire that (his son's) katha should be as unrivalled as that of the famous Trimbakboa of Nasik.

MY FATHER TAKES TO KIRTAN

After my father had completed his Sanskrit education, he began to receive instruction in the art of performing kirtan. But all the accessories of a kirtan, viz., the most fascinating legends and the most melodious poetry in Saki, Dindi, Pad, Arya and Ovi metres could not be got from other Haridasas. He, therefore, himself composed verses and fascinating legends and my father began to use them in his kirtan. The first kirtan was performed in our own house. As my father was naturally endowed with humorous speech, some persons on hearing the first kirtan prophesied that he was destined to excel as a kirtan performer. As we belonged to an ancient lay family, our castemen and friends did not like to see my father adopt the profession of Haridas. Nay, even none of our family except my grandfather liked it. But what could they do? No one dared utter a single word in the presence of my grandfather. But whenever he praised the profession the members of our family never failed to show their disapproval of it by turning up their noses and knitting their brows. This was also due to the influence of adverse times. For, as is said by (the poet) Mayurpant in an Arya line, "Far better is hell : dependence is a hundred times more harassing" which means that hell is a hundred times better than dependence. Though service is so despicable, it is held in high esteem in the nineteenth century. May it not be said that this also is an instance of the singular influence of the times?

THE FAMILY BREAKS UP

As all the members of our family viewed the said profession with disfavour my uncles soon ceased to assist (my father in) kirtan performances, and each (of them) having selected his own profession went away where he liked. My far-sighted grandfather (also) left for some distant land when he saw this break up of our family and the gradual withdrawal of the goddess of wealth from our midst and for (the next) thirteen years he did not show his face again in his native country. How curious it is that ever since then up till now, all of us have been wandering in different lands in pursuit of different

occupations. Some of us are happy while others live in misery. Strangely enough, out of all of us, my eldest uncle, viz., my father's next younger brother alone, remained at home with his family. It appears that it was not his destiny to be a wanderer. But this circumstance does not warrant the inference that he tasted happiness by thus remaining at home. On several occasions he had to starve. I am altogether against staying at home under such circumstances. During these hard times we were travelling about the province of Némad.

GRANDFATHER'S HARDSHIPS

My grandfather had settled down at Indore and there he earned a living by penmanship. He wrote an excellent Balbodh and Modi hand. (Even) now there can be seen in every house at Indore manuscripts written by him. These are his memorials raised by himself. It is strange that time brings about a wonderful change in the nature of man as in that of everything else. Neither his character nor his intellectual powers nor his appearance can remain the same for all time. In obedience to that law, this individual (i.e., my grandfather) possessed many attributes worthy of being imitated. He had now made it a rule not to speak in the Prakrit tongue. He dressed in any way he liked and ate anything. He relinquished, as far as possible, all intercourse with men. In short, he did not believe that any duty of his had remained unperformed. Is it conceivable that the descendants of a great man whose transactions extended over lakhs of rupees, who had given away thousands in charity in his palmy days, should be compelled, during his lifetime, and before the eyes of his relations and friends, to beg for alms with a wallet slung from the shoulder, or with a beggar's bowl in hand, in such capital town as Indore and Dhar. But this cannot be helped. Strange indeed are the decrees of fate! Well, but did my grandfather ever feel mortified because he had to do such mean things? No, never! This was due to the serenity of his temper. He was proud of himself for suiting his actions to the times. What reason was there for him, then, to feel ashamed? Such actions, however, filled others with shame. I and my younger brother were of too tender an age to understand anything then.

WE FACED POVERTY

While we were in such straitened circumstances, my thread ceremony and the the marriage of.....(Blank in the original) were celebrated with difficulty by expending a small sum of money. Sometimes the male members of our family secretly took their food at the Annasatra. We too used to be secretly taken there, but with a warning not to disclose the fact to any one. We were told that in case of our being questioned, we should name (some other) place. Alas! even now, when I remember those loving words spoken by them during such hard times, they fill my mind with sadness. In short, during adverse times, it becomes extremely difficult to protect one's family and honour without money. It is true that all the members of my family greatly regret that they (were compelled to have recourse to) such unbecoming shifts to appease (the pangs of) hunger. I, however, not only do not regret these occurrences, but on the contrary contemplate with a feeling of pride that the Chapekars, though beset with such difficulties, did not even care to seek the help of their well-to-do relatives and friends, but that, as suited their unbending haughtiness, they tided over those (hard) times by simply uttering the name of God and without sacrificing their independence or accepting bondage. Though we begged for alms, we never entered the houses of people for that purpose nor did we persist in our importunity until pushed out. Why should we, therefore, be ashamed of this? Even now I will adopt the same course if similar calamities overtake me. For begging is a hundred times better than subjection to others. Let that pass. On

twenty-five occasions in about one year we were compelled to have recourse to begging. Since that time, however, up till now, that is to say, for the last fourteen or fifteen years, we have not been obliged to resort to it. Let that (too) pass.

DEATH OF MY GRANDFATHER

My grandfather, who possessed a spirit which remained imperturbed both in times of happiness and misery, passed away on the.....(Blank in the original). He suffered from dysentery during his last days. He always prayed to God that he might die of dysentery, because a man suffering from that disorder retains his senses till his last moment and is thus enabled to utter the name of God (to the last). By the grace of God, my grandfather died of dysentery as he had wished. His throat having become choked by phlegm during his last moment, he found it difficult to utter God's name, and therefore he wrote down on a slate as follows : "It is certain that I am dying, but it will be better if you give me abhrakbhasma (A kind of native medicine) to remove the phelgm sticking in my throat, as it obstructs the utterance of the name of God." Accordingly my uncle made him take that powder, and a short time later he left this world for the next one. His dead body was consigned to the waters of the river Kshipra, which is sixteen miles from Indore. He died the very day on which he took Sanyas. I was at Nagpur with my father and mother when this sad event happened. We were informed by wire of the critical condition of my grandfather two days before his death, but we were unable to have a last look at him on account of the many inconveniences which came in our way. This circumstance deeply grieved us, especially my father. But it was of no avail. We could not go, as we were helpless in the matter. Nagpur must be about a thousand miles from Indore. The first great difficulty in our way for going over such a long distance was (the money wherewith to pay our) fare, and this, in conjunction with other difficulties, prevented us from paying our last respects to my grandfather. It was so ordained by God. My grandmother too (died) under similar circumstances, that is to say, none of us were present during her last hours. We are taken to task for this by some of our friends and relatives, who do not take into consideration the insuperable difficulties which prevented us from visiting my grandfather and grandmother in their last hours. Let that, however, pass.

ALL DUE TO POVERTY

I have already said that the adoption by my father of the profession of Haridas commended itself to the approval only of my father and grandfather, but not of any other (member of our family). Hence of course it cannot be said that a man will satisfactorily do anything in which he feels no interest. Even during my grandfather's lifetime, some of my uncles behaved in a self-willed manner. One of them joined a dramatic company, another began to learn to sing, another learnt to play on a tambora and another became a vagrant. The saying "Men without money care nothing for one another" is not untrue. I am sure that had my grandfather possessed even a small sum of money, this dispersion would not have taken place. This is quite obvious, (for) if my grandfather had (any) money he would not have left his own house and gone to Indor. When one is without money, unexpected calamities befall him. Brothers quarrel with him; relatives and friends keep at a distance from him; he is not honoured by men of position; nay, he loses credit even with his own wife, that is to say, even she insults him, unheard of accusations are levelled at him, and they are believed simply because of his extreme poverty. These are the consequences of the displeasure of the Goddess of wealth. But if the same goddess be propitious, even enemies will become friends. A poet had said, "Relatives gather in the house wherein riches in a large measure find

their way." When a man is prosperous people seek his acquaintance, claim relationship with him and force themselves upon him. Great scholars honour him in assemblies by calling him Rao Saheb and Kaka Saheb, his wife places a stool in ten different places (to suit his humour). If rich men commit any number of unjust acts, they are deemed to be just ones and their authors are praised by the people. Hence in this world no one is so greatly esteemed by the people as a wealthy man. In short, my uncles only followed the way of the world by becoming disunited. It is needless to say that having left their father in adversity they lived separate also from their eldest brother, namely, my father.

MY FATHER'S DIFFICULTIES

Then the profession of performing kathas which had been adopted by my father ceased to be as lucrative as it ought to have been. It is clear that a speaker cannot alone divert an audience composed of men of different tastes. Again, as my father had recently begun to perform kathas, it was necessary for him to have all the necessary appliances. But there was no remedy. The members of his family were of the character already described. Thinking that if paid outsiders were engaged it would be difficult to defray the cost of the establishment, my father took service at Sholapur for some days. But whether as a singular coincidence or because it was not in his destiny to earn a living by service, he used to fall ill whenever he resumed his duties. While at Sholapur he suffered severely from ague. At last he relinquished service and again betook himself to performing kirtans. At this time I undertook to act as his assistant by standing behind him and beating the tal. At this time I was nine or ten years of age. My uncle Rambhau, who was my father's younger brother and whom I called Dada, used to assist (him) by playing on pakhawaj, but in a few days he too went away. In the end we two brothers only, namely, my brother, Balkrishna and myself, proved serviceable (to our father) as his help-mates. We were then quite young. The musical and melodious padas sung by us in our juvenile voices used to gladden the minds of the audience. A few days afterwards I learnt to play on the harmonium and my younger brother, Balkrishna, became proficient in playing on Sarmandai (a stringed instrument of music ; a sort of hurdygurdy). Our youngest brother, Wasudev, used to stand behind us to beat the tal and to enchant the audience with his sweet voice.

WE TOOK TO KIRTAN AS A PROFESSION

Thus our company being composed only of the members of our family, who were zealous in promoting the common interest, was now much admired by the public. It is now about twelve years since we adopted the performance of kathas as our permanent profession. Each one of us has now become perfectly proficient in the art. Everywhere praises are showered on our musical performance and on the excellence of our father's kirtan. Now at last, some people on hearing my father's kirtan remember the late Trimbakboa of Nasik. As our profession was not like that of a vendor who can sell his goods while permanently residing at any one place, my father's good company opened up to me two principal means of acquiring knowledge, namely, a constant hearing of kirtans and travelling over the country. A poet has truly said, "By travelling in (different) countries a man gains the friendship of scholars, admittance into assemblies, knowledge of scientific books and great astuteness." It is immaterial even if one keeps a stall, provided it be for selling flowers. Accordingly, though we followed the profession of performing kirtans as a means of earning our livelihood, I derived from it the benefit of hearing

God's name (recited) and also all the benefits enumerated in the verse quoted above. Travelling over the country, hearing bon-mots, witnessing darbars held by great princes, seeing assemblies of eminent scholars, visiting holy shrines and deities—these and several other benefits were derived by me without any trouble, for which I am greatly indebted to my father and chiefly to the Almighty who is the regulator of the universe. Compared with all the benefits mentioned above, the ever-lasting benefit of knowledge is indeed unique. The idea that true knowledge can be acquired by study or by attending a school or by passing two or three examinations is, in my opinion, entirely erroneous. I have come across the following verse which corroborates the above assertion made by me : “Fools remain fools even after studying the sciences.” That man is learned indeed who performs the various duties prescribed by the Shastras. I have seen hundreds, nay thousands, of learned men who, though proficient in more sciences than one, are addicted to evil habits. Of what use is their learning? Fie upon their learning and their study! That man alone is learned who performs the duties laid down in the Shastras.

I RECEIVED VERY MEAGRE EDUCATION

As I was obliged to be constantly travelling, I had no opportunity of attending any school and acquiring proficiency in English. I, however, learnt the first two English standards in the New English School, Poona. So strange is the influence of the study of English that if one simply intends to learn that language, or if a child learns by heart only the first two or three letters of its alphabet, he begins at once to look upon his elders as fools and despises his good and ancient religion. If the mere odour of English education has this effect, where is the wonder if any righteous person who fully tastes it should turn an Englishman from top to toe and an earnest votary of the bottle? The only matter for congratulation is that in spite of my study of English, limited though it was, no change whatever took place in my temper by the grace of God.. It is very gratifying to me to say this. I am convinced that though I were to learn English to any extent, or read any number of books in that language, or hear any number of lectures or mix (with Englishmen) to any extent, I shall never be imbued with any ideas inconsistent in the slightest degree with our ancient religion which has (almost) ceased to be followed. May God (enable me to) stick to my resolution as long as I live! I attended school for a very few days, that is to say, scarcely for seven or eight months. I was in the third standard class in the New Marathi School (Poona) for four months. I studied Marathi only up to the third standard.. My father had taught me the First English Book at home. I studied the Second Book for four months in the New English School, but having in the mean time imbibed a dislike for the English language left off studying it. The fact of being always on the move also interfered with my regular attendance at the school. But, in my opinion, this was not the true impediment which came in the way of my education. Everybody said to my father, “Since the time you took your son into this profession (of yours), his studies have been seriously interfered with. Do your best to send him to school.” How great is the delusion under which men labour! Neither travel nor this profession can come in the way of one who has made up his mind to educate himself. A little consideration (will make it evident) that as that performance took up (only) three hours of our time at night and as that performance did not take place every day, there was ample time for one who was bent upon study. Now take travelling. It is absurd to allege that travelling interferes with one's education, because a school is not the only place for acquiring knowledge. Had I the inclination to prosecute my studies, my revered father, who is well versed in English, Marathi and Sanskrit languages, would have willingly taught both myself and my brother. In short, the dislike for that kind of education on the part of my brother and myself was the chief reason (why we remained ignorant).

My father wished to teach us a profession that would enable us to earn our livelihood in independence, that is to say, without flattering other people. He does not desire that we should earn our living by becoming proficient as kirtan-performers, nor do we wish to follow that vocation, as neither of us entertains any regard for it. I, however, admit that there is nothing so interesting as a kirtan.

STUDY OF MEDICINES

Our father, therefore, after fully considering the matter, commenced to teach us medicine. This profession can, without any objection, be regarded as an independent one. Because every sufferer from colic or any other malady must need seek (the help of) a physician. There is scarcely any other profession which can, like this one, be practised without leaving one's home. A poet speaks about this profession as follows ; "Gandhari becomes fruitful for the time being (but) the astrologer and the physician earn money without intermission." For some days we vigorously prosecuted our studies in the science which our father had after (due) consideration begun to teach us. We learnt by rote about 500 shlokas from medical works. We also finished Amarkosha, Rupavali and some cantos from Raghuvamsha. I was about 13 or 14 years of age at this time. Our father tried his utmost to make us proficient in the science. Men are, however, during their early days careless and free from anxiety (as to the future) and so they do not at all understand the value of education. We too possessed this characteristic to a large extent. But apart from this, there was another cause in operation which, besides retarding our studies, deviated our attention completely from these matters, which, whether good or otherwise from our point of view, enable a man to acquire fame in these days. Even though that cause is of a most secret character, I mean to make a fearless statement about it in this place as it has prompted me to write this autobiography, and also to mention the events to which it has given rise from time to time. That Almighty, who is the supporting pillar of our Aryan religion, and whom we always implore by repeating His innumerable epithets and who from time to time takes a new birth (to regenerate) the decaying Hindu Religion. (Sentence incomplete).

AN ACCOUNT OF US, TWO BROTHERS

"A Yogabhrashsta individual takes birth in the house of a holy and wealthy men.

There he regains the discipline which his mind had undergone in a former existence."

In our youth, we two brothers travelled a great deal with our father with the object of performing kirtan. In the course of our travels, while we were proceeding by train to Rajpur, a town beyond Nagpur, we saw the mountainous region thickly covered with trees through which we had to pass. I have still a vivid recollection of the effect which this sight produced on my mind. Just as some trivial incident strikes us with wonder at the resuscitation of an object which has long faded from our memory, so the sight of that mountainous tract suddenly gave rise in our minds to the thought that the place was admirably suited for refuse after the perpetration of terrible deeds. Since then we began to meditate upon such terrible deeds. At this time our respective ages were probably 15 and 12 years. In this wise came about the awakening of our minds. One has some reason for entertaining feelings of hatred towards another, but when we try to

trace the origin of our hatred towards the English, we fail to recollect any incident in this life calculated to arouse it. Hence it may be said that, the origin of the thought which rose up within us that the English were our implicable enemies and engrossed our untutored minds in our childhood, is to be found in the sacred shloka of the Bhagwatgita quoted above. As I feel ashamed to recall the puerile thoughts of our childhood I do not propose to refer to them here except in two instances wherein they were realised. We knew that physical strength and a sufficiency of men were indispensable for overpowering and expelling the powerful brigand and pretender who had entered and taken possession of our house. Of the various thoughts of our childhood, these two only which were truly momentous survived the destruction that overtook the rest and continued to actuate our minds to the last. Recognising the value of a strong physique from our childhood, we two brothers exerted ourselves day and night to acquire it. With a view to educate us in Sanskrit, our father began to teach us Amar-kosh, Rupavali, Raghu, Kirat and other poems, and considering that the medical profession enables one to earn an independent living, he began to instruct us in medical science. Whatever progress we made in our studies was confined to our childhood and was ascribable to the fear inspired by our father.

EFFORTS FOR INCREASING BODILY STRENGTH

But as our minds subsequently began to follow their own bent in regard to the object in view, we naturally neglected our studies and thus suffered in the estimation of our father. First we directed our efforts to the acquisition of bodily strength. We began to accustom ourselves to the jor and baithak exercises. But these practices were brought to the notice of our father, who used to get very angry with us. On several occasions he even burnt our langots. Finding that our father disapproved of this matter we changed our mode of exercise by substituting prostrations in worship of the Sun for jor and baithak. This being a religious practice he could not offer any opposition to it, but when our prostrations reached twelve hundred, he began to grumble, saying, "How many prostrations are to be made? Is there no limit to them?" We paid no particular attention to this grumbling, but made vigorous efforts to improve our physique. Later on my brother, Balkrishna *alias* Bapurao, devoted himself particularly to gymnastic exercises such as wrestling, etc. But I devoted myself to running and making prostrations by way of exercise. I brought up the number of prostrations performed at a stretch to twelve hundred and the number of miles covered in an hour in running to eleven. My brother was superior to me in physical strength. During my stay in Poona I used to get up at 5 O'clock in the morning and commenced running before the people were up and astir. I used to run up to the Kirkee Station and back *via* Lakdipul. Sometimes I used to go also to Chinchwad, which, *via* Kirkee, is at a distance of eleven miles from Poona. As we thus used to take exercise secretly the matter did not come to the knowledge of the public, but from our physiques it was observable that we were proud of our bodily strength. Consequently many of our Brahmin friends in Poona who were our equals in age began to hate us secretly, but we generously took no notice whatever of this. We, however, held ourselves always in readiness, thinking that it was incumbent upon us to quench the fire to their hatred, should it begin to burn us. Occasionally quarrels did take place between us, but as they were of a trivial character, I pass over them here. God blessed us with parents suited to our haughty temperament, or it may more aptly be said that the law of heredity planted in us inborn haughtiness.

MY FATHER'S CAREER AS A HARIDAS

On hearing that my father was a Haridas, some people might without further thought underestimate our merit by comparing us with other Haridases. It is, therefore, necessary to describe my father's professional merit as a Haridas. He was in British service several years ago, but being disgusted with dependence he adopted the profession of performing kirtan as suited to spiritual as well as temporal welfare. All will be compelled to admit after inquiry that my father was quite free from the blemishes which are so conspicuous in other Haridases, and in consequence of which their profession has fallen into disrepute. My father never went to anybody's house to express a desire that his katha should be heard and he looked upon another man's wife as his own mother. As other Haridases lack these two virtues, they have fallen in the estimation of the public. They preach to the people that it is a sin to go a-begging from door to door, but they themselves go from place to place and from door to door, entreating the people, "Sir, I am a Haridas from such and such a place; please hear my katha." Thus these Haridases sell the name of God. In their kathas they preach that it is sinful to look at another woman, but they themselves lead astray hundreds of women into the path of immorality by deceiving people under the garb of religion. Great God! May these men be consigned to hell. My object in alluding to this matter is to show that as my father was free from these vices, he was worthy of being loved by the people. Moreover, wherever he performed a kirtan, he captivated the minds of the people by his excellent and fascinating discourse, while we, two brothers amused the illiterate portion of the audience by means of our musical skill. Consequently, our kathas became acceptable to the people and used to draw large audiences. Though our father did not go to anybody's house, those who appreciated him used to come to our house and invite him. We too adopted an attitude of unconcern like our father. Observing our attitude of indifference, even our friends and relatives hated us and used to remark that we could show such indifference only during the lifetime of our father, but that after his death we might be reduced to a state of extreme distress. They made these remarks because we had learnt no profession whereby to earn our living, and consequently in their opinion we could have, on the death of our father, no other alternative than to go begging from door to door. What then would become of our independence and unconcern? But thinking that they talked in this thoughtless manner because they could not discern how noble and generous our minds were, we paid no heed to them. Let that be.

EFFORTS FOR TRAINING IN ART OF FIGHTING

As from the above, our intelligent readers would easily be able to form an idea of our profession, we revert to the main topic without further dilating upon it. Although in our childhood we were devotedly attached to the pursuit above referred to, it was quite impossible for us, because of our tender age, to obtain the necessary appliances, and consequently we had at that time only the improvement of our physique within our power. Accordingly we set about it with vigour. We also endeavoured to collect men, but being young we could not exercise any influence upon others. With advancing years our minds also began to expand in regard to this matter. We at first thought that it was necessary for us to acquire proficiency in the art of war, and we therefore, made efforts in that direction. But the subjects of the British Government being disarmed, we could not learn the profession of arms. Subsequently, with a view to see if we could have an opportunity of learning that art in a Native State, we sent a letter to BAPU SAHEB KURUNDWADKAR couched in very respectful terms.

We did not retain a copy of the letter, but the substance of it was as follows:—

LETTER TO CHIEF OF KURUNDWAD

“To

Shrimant Rajeshri Babu Saheb Kurundwadkar.

My object in writing this letter is as follows :—

God has not concentrated all things in one place; they are scattered over different places. Those who are endowed with riches do not entertain lofty ideas like myself, but bring their families into disgrace by disreputable habits, while poor men like me are animated by a desire for commendable achievements involving expense. From this, it appears that Brahmadeo is not inclined to concentrate all things in all places. “Desires take birth in the minds of the poor and die.” Such being our case, we venture to trouble you a little. As in our former existence, now also we have a great predilection for the art of war, but various reasons render it difficult for us to acquire it in this place. You are our casteman, blessed with riches, and have in your service some veteran warriors. We shall, therefore, feel very grateful to you if you kindly arrange for our board for a year or six months at least and afford us facility for acquiring the said art. God has given us the necessary means of subsistence, but we have addressed this request to you simply because of our aforesaid predilection, and we hope that it has not been made in vain.”

This was the substance of our letter, but the brief reply we received was :—

“No such arrangements can be made here at present.”

This reply enabled me to form an estimate of the man. What a disparity, I said, between his valiant, warlike and generous ancestors and their imbecile progeny, who by their actions have tarnished the reputation of their ancestry! Their ancestors sacrificed themselves on the battlefield in the service of their masters, while of these three brothers, one wastes his time in flying pigeons, another in associating with low characters and in smearing his body with the red earth of a gymnasium, and the third in composing aryas. Any discerning person can gain an insight into their ways of life. How can these men know my worth? They would have given us support, had we been either pigeon-flyers, gymnasts or composers of aryas. Let this pass. Some days after we had been disappointed in this manner, my brother, Balakrishna *alias* Bapurao, went from Poona to Kolhapur. With the express purpose of paying a visit to Sayajirao (sic) of Kolhapur. As he was not there my brother walked to the fort at Panhala and paid him a visit there. He first presented a cocoanut to him with great respect and then said: “(Your ancestors and) you have been our patrons from ancient times. We Brahmins have always served your throne. I, therefore, pray that you will be generously pleased to enlist us in a cavalry regiment.” When my brother made this verbal petition, one of his relatives, by name Kagalkar, was also present there. Both of them surveyed my brother closely and remarked that he was short of stature and wanting in girth and that they did not employ Poona Brahmins. As soon as these precious words fell from their lips, (my brother) formed an estimate of their Kshatriya origin. Without saying anything further he returned to Poona.

LESSONS AT DHAR

Some days after this we accompanied our father to the Native State of Dhar without any particular object. There we stayed for about two months and associated ourselves with a Maratha boy. In order to practise shooting, we

used to steal away with his fowling-piece, at midday, to the bank of a tank. The Maratha boy used to shoot birds and water-fowls, but we instead of shooting any inoffensive animals, used to put up the leaves of a bunyan tree to serve as marks to fire at. At Dhar, we learnt how to load a gun and how to make bullets, small shot, etc. We saw various places in the company of our father with immense benefit to ourselves. In every place we tried to obtain information relating to our favourite pursuit.

PRACTICE IN ENDURING HARDSHIPS

As we had undertaken to perpetrate most terrible deeds, we thought it desirable to inure ourselves to heat, cold and rain, and therefore, finding that we had favourable opportunities in the course of our travels to acquire the power of endurance we began to undergo privations. Whenever our father undertook a journey, he used to hire a bullock-cart for that purpose. But we, with a view to acquire a habit of walking, did not sit in it on such occasions, but used to walk 24 miles at a stretch without minding heat and rain. We used to lie on ghongris though we had mattresses to sleep on. Though we had plenty of food, we used to live on dal and churmure. Our parents used to get angry with us, but they did not know our ulterior design. We had chosen Poona as our resting place after a journey of about six months or a year performed in the above manner, and there we generally used to rest for four months. It was on our return to Poona that we found time to ponder calmly over the object in view. We resolved to undertake any hazardous enterprise for the sake of our religion, but to refrain from such deeds as were not conformable to it. Whenever we thought of exerting ourselves in furthering our favourite object, the fear of our parents would stand in our way. On such occasions we used to feel that we should also, like some boys who foresake their parents and betake themselves to the stage, throw off dependence and pursue the object in view. But when in this mood we considered the matter from a religious point of view, our conscience would not permit us to follow such a course. Consequently we abandoned that design and resolved that come what might, we would do what we could without forsaking our parents.

DESIRE TO PROCURE ARMS

First of all, a desire to procure arms engrossed our minds. We knew that it was idle to realise that desire in British territory. Consequently, when we accompanied our father in his travels through the Nizam's territory, we made inquiries (concerning arms) in that State. But want of money came in our way there. Then after deliberation we came to the conclusion that it was not culpable to steal anything required for a religious purpose and thus prepared ourselves to do that. In a place called Bid we first bought a sword-stick for five rupees. We made up that amount partly by the sale-proceeds of our books and partly by the money we already possessed. Later on we stole a five-chambered revolver from the same shop. This was our first move in the direction of stealing arms. Subsequently, wherever we happened to travel we procured in any way we could whatever arms we came across. I cannot now enter into any details about this matter. We however, began to procure arms in this manner.

THEN TO COLLECT MEN

Then the thought occurred to us that we should now collect men. With this object in view we won over our friends who were our equals in age by discoursing with them on religious topics. But after the lapse of a few days we found that they could be of no use to us, because we needed such men as would carry out our orders, while the friends whom we had

gathered together did not seem inclined to do this. Taking us to be illiterate, they used to make an ostentatious display of their learning in our presence. Moreover they did not seem to have that pure devotion to religion which we had. Consequently we broke off our connection with them. Then on reflecting as to who would obey us, we came to the conclusion that obedience could be expected from children alone, whose minds being tender could be moulded in any way, we chose. Having come to this conclusion, we went wherever school-boys played at cricket and began by our exhortations to create in their minds a dislike for cricket and a taste for native games. We could secure only eight boys at the outset and with them we went up the hillock situated below Parvati. We first told them to play badabadi and after two or three days we brought two or three slings and began to teach them how to throw stones. On these occasions many other boys used to come up there. As we gave them the same advice, the number of boys began to increase until it reached 150. So many boys did not assemble every day. They used to assemble at their convenience.

RULES FOR THE TRAINEES

We afterwards framed (the following) rules for the club :—(1) Every boy shall implicitly obey both of us. (2) Those desirous of joining the club shall pay to the head of the institution the sum of one anna and a half for sling. (3) While practising with the sling, the slingers should stand at a distance of at least ten cubits from other persons, as, otherwise, the sling, while being whirled, might strike against the face of any of the by-standers. An out-of-the-way place was reserved for novices joining (the club). They were required to practise stone-throwing by standing there (to avoid) members of the club themselves being struck by the stones which in the case of novices are not well directed. With a view to prevent men or animals being struck by the stones, the slingers were required to see that none of them were near before beginning practice. There should be no quarrels. These were the rules. We divided sling-practice under three heads :—(1) Slinging along the ground; (2) Slinging horizontally; (3) Slinging skyward. The lad who knew fairly these three modes and who could fire double as well as small shot was looked upon by us as tolerably proficient and we took note of him.

ORGANISATION OF THE CLUB

When we had about 25 to 30 of these fairly proficient lads, we organised the club on a new basis as follows :—Having divided the members of the club into two companies, I, myself became the captain of one, and my brother that of the other. To each of these companies was given a red ochre-coloured flag, which was its chief ensign. It was also provided with a red flag. Each company had also its medical officer, who wore round his neck a haversack which contained the following medicines and instruments useful for the treatment of wounds :—(A piece of) coal, pankanis, bamboo-powder, a knife, a pair of scissors, pincers for extracting thorns, marking-nuts, needles, etc. Having organised these companies, every Saturday and Sunday we repaired to our rendezvous situated at a considerable distance beyond the Parvati (Hill). After going there, one (company) planted its flag on (the top of) a hill and held the place, while the other company did the same at the foot of the hill. When everything was ready, the operations commenced at a given signal. Then we two brothers showed by manoeuvring (our respective companies) how an attack was to be delivered and how it was to be repulsed. The moment any one was struck by a stone, the red flag was shown at the sight of which the slinging was to cease. After attending to the (wounded) man, the operations again commenced. Many of the lads were struck by stones on these occasions, but none of them wavered. These operations continued (for some

time). For some days after this, my brother's company used to proceed to Chatursingi for practice, while mine continued to be drilled near Parvati. After eight or fifteen days we used to have a (sham) fight between them. The only object in view in doing so was to inspire our companies with courage. After every (sham) fight we used to distribute amongst them parched gram, rice and such other cheap eatables as we could, with our (limited) means, purchase. We did this to attach them to ourselves. When about two or three months had passed in this manner, we thought that it was desirable to have a tutelary deity for our club, as, otherwise, our proceedings would be devoid of interest. We, therefore, selected a convenient place near the Parvati (Hill), and having with much toil removed the luxurious growth of prickly pear at that place, prepared an extensive ground. This is situated on an eminence at the foot of Parvati. A canal passes through the lower portion of this ground, and here a spot beneath a nim tree was fixed upon by us for our idol.

OUR CHOICE OF THE DEITY

We then selected the powerful Maruti as our tutelary deity, as we thought that there was none like him among all the gods. How to procure his image was the next thought that engaged our attention. Meanwhile, while asleep one day, I saw in a dream the image of Bajarang Balbhima, which spoke to me as follows :—"I am lying in the very place where you are preparing the ground. Search for me, I am willing to come." I awoke after this dream and spoke of it to my brother, when I learnt that he too had a similar dream. We, however, had no faith in the dream, as we could not believe that our religious merit was so high. But we gave an account of it to our club. The ground was thereupon dug at that place to a great depth, and the image was discovered. At this time we two brothers being at a considerable distance from that spot, they came and informed me of the discovery of (the image of) Maruti. With extreme delight we saw that image, which was about a span and a half high. The thick coating of red-lead on it dropped away and disclosed the image clearly to our view. It had the Dronagiri mountain in one hand and a gada in the other, while Jambumali was lying prostrate beneath its feet—a spectacle which pleased us most. We took the image home and made arrangements to consecrate it with the due ceremony. Before finding this image, we had besmeared a piece of stone with red-lead and all the members of the club used to worship it with great devotion. When, however, they saw this image, they became very impatient to have it consecrated. But as an interval of fifteen days had to elapse before the auspicious day, we worshipped the image at our own house for the time being. Desiring that no day should pass without the performance of arti before that image, we composed a song for the occasion in a melodious metre. The song is given below. We named the image Gophnya Maruti.

SONG IN PRAISE OF GOPHNYA MARUTI

(In the same tune as the song in praise of Bhuvanasunder.)

By waving lights before the lotus-like feet of Maruti, let us cross the ocean of this world in ease-Dhrupada. The moment he was born, he sprang forward to seize the sun, supposing it to be a fruit. He set up a whoop of exultation, and the sound thereof having filled the earth went up to heaven. All the humbled gods being startled at the sight of thy short stature, glorify thee; the monkeys were greatly delighted (at thy advent). Who can rival one who worships Hanuman? Neither sin, nor distress, nor anxiety will be with him, (and) none will be able to overcome him. He crossed the waters of the ocean and reached the shore. He inspired Sita, the spouse of Rama with courage. The hearts of monkeys were much gladdened. He appeared

(to Chapekar) in a dream, and having asked (him) to make a search for himself, declared that his own image was at his disposal. Damodar, Hari's son, says that the Gophnya Maruti has been won over to his side. Therefore, have you come near Parvati and have become our helper, and we are therefore overjoyed.

DAY FIXED FOR INSTALLATION

Having composed this song, we asked all (the members of the club) to learn it by heart, and commenced to recite it every day before the god Maruti. Meanwhile, the day selected by us for the consecration of the idol having approached, we issued, two days previous to it, the following invitations couched in polite language, to all the members (of the club) :—

“The noon of Saturday, the 2nd day of the dark half Chaitra, having been unanimously fixed for the consecration of the image of the self-existent Balabhima at the appointed place at the foot of the Parvati (Hill), it is necessary for you, as members of the club, to be present on such an auspicious occasion. Should any one bring with him flowers, coconuts, buka, gulal and other articles of worship, they would be thankfully received. (Signed) Damodar Hari Chapekar and Balkrishna Hari Chapekar, Managers.”

We issued these invitations, but the decrees of fate are inscrutable. Although we felt indescribable delight at the continued additions to the membership of our club, I had a presentiment that something was to happen which would mar our joy and we had already a prognostication as to the quarter from which the trouble was to come. We saw that those sportive doings of ours were likely to be stopped if any of our members received a serious wound from a stone and, therefore, we were very careful about the matter. We also feared that if the Police got scent of this matter, they would throw impediments in our way. To obviate this we arranged that our boys should neither come out of, nor return to, the city in a large body, but should do so in batches of five. We accordingly formed such batches. We also made it a rule that the leader of each of these batches should, while coming (out of the city), place a stone near the street-lamp which stands between the road passing by the Bhikardas Police Station and the one passing the Chinchechi Talim, and should remove it while returning to the city. This arrangement was made with a view to have an idea of the number of the boys that would go there ahead of us. So much for the second of our apprehensions. Our third fear was that our boys might have a quarrel on the way for which we might have to suffer. For, this pursuit has this peculiar characteristic that it makes its votaries inconsiderate; it impels men to make an immediate use of their powers. Our inclinations are moulded by the nature of the occupations we follow. Accordingly, as exercises with the stick, the sword, and also slinging and wrestling tend to instil a spirit of rivalry into the minds of men, the members of our club began to quarrel on the way and complaints about the matter reached my ears.

INCIDENT WITH A MISSIONARY

It happened one day that while our men had assembled at the foot of the Parvati before our arrival there, they saw a native missionary accompanied by a friend passing by. One of them had a double-barrelled gun in his hand. Taking the men to be pervert, our boys began to jeer at him. But they, through fright, took no notice of the jeers and went their way. When we two brothers came there afterwards we were informed of the incident, when we censured the boys for what they had done and advised them not to embroil themselves with any one without any reason. After giving this

advice we started to return to the city in batches as usual. We both of us, accompanied by two or four boys used to start after all had left. While we were on our way back into the city as usual, we saw coming from the opposite direction along the bank of the Parvati tank, the two men who had been jeered at by our boys. On catching sight of them, our companions showed us by signs that these were the same men. They too recognised our companions, and with a view to pick a quarrel with us, seeing that our number was small at the time, demanded of us why we were abusing them. Thereupon, although the fault lay primarily with our boys, we took their side thinking that they had been (sufficiently) censured in secret and that it would be undignified on our part to remain aloof at this time, though our party was in the wrong. We, therefore, addressed the (two) men as follows:—"Sir, (sic) go your way quietly. How could we be abusing you now, when we were not speaking about you at all? An altercation then took place between us, but it would be out of place to describe it here. In the end, they challenged us to dare to go to the hill the next day if we were true Brahmins. We retorted that we were always in the habit of going there, but if they were genuine perverts, they should dare to go there the next day. Such were the hot words exchanged between us. The next was a Sunday. Having assembled all the members (of the club) at 2 p.m., we exhorted them not to flinch, as that was but an ordinary occasion on which their progress in the art which they had been learning was to be put to the test. After this exhortation, I explained what tactics were to be adopted. Four boys of insinuating and polite address were stationed at the principal post in the vicinity of the Maruti, with instructions to resort to conciliation alone and to send the men away. The rest of the boys were kept concealed in hollows and depressions of the ground, with orders not to make use of their slings as far as possible. At the most they were to throw stones with their hands, but they were not to show their slings. We took this precaution because we did not wish to make it known that we were practised slingers. Having issued detailed instructions as to which batch was first to attack our opponents if they voluntarily showed an inclination to fight, and as to the order and manner in which the other batches were to follow in the onset if the first batch was repulsed, we both of us, dressed like gentlemen, seated ourselves at some distance at a place from which we could clearly see all the operations. Our object in so doing was to intervene in the fight, posing as gentlemen, immediately after (our opponents) had received a thrashing, and to put stop to the quarrel by exhortations to both the parties. For, as we had to pass many days in that place, it was not desirable in our interests that any serious mishap should occur to our opponents. It was for this end in view that we resorted to this mild course of action. Having made the above preparations we waited (for our opponents). They, however, did not turn up even until nightfall. At last, the three boys whom we had posted on the road as scouts came in and informed us that those men, who had four Mussalmans with them had been frightened away at the sight of our position. Hearing this, we returned to our respective homes. Then in order to avoid a repetition of such troubles, we strictly forbade our boys from needlessly interfering with other people.

THE EUROPEANS SCARED AWAY

After this, two Europeans came for a stroll along the canal, when even we ourselves lost our self-control on seeing them, and urged our men to attack them. But as they were at a considerable distance from us none of our stones struck them, but as the stones fell near them, they took fright and ran away. We heard afterwards that a short time after this an English

newspaper, called *the Deccan Herald*, published a complaint against our club. Some reformers (too) used to come for exercise in the open air to that part of the town. We had taken care to know all about the reformers as we looked upon them as our implacable enemies. We know the names of all of them, but I need not pollute this memoir by mentioning them in this place. We used to come across these irreligious reformers during our strolls in the city, and the members (of the club) were fully at liberty to jeer at them. After this state of things had continued for some time, the reformers got vexed and suggested to the Police, through the medium of the *Indyan Prakash*, to put a stop to the doings of the urchins. When this complaint appeared in that newspaper, we had an apprehension that our satisfaction might perhaps receive a check from that quarter.

A STRANGER WAS STRUCK

While such anxious thoughts were engaging our minds, the abovementioned auspicious day for the consecration of the Maruti arrived. On the preceding day all the members (of the club) were in high spirits. The work of building a shrine was in progress by using the water of the canal just below, and a pole having been fastened to the nim tree beneath which the shrine of Maruti was built, it was surmounted by a big banner of red-ochre colour. On that banner were written the following words :—"Better to stick to our own religion until the end; the religion of others is full of peril. May Gophnys Maruti triumph." Many of the boys were practising sling exercise, and everybody was in a joyful mood, when, as God would have it, I was informed all of a sudden that one of the passers-by had been hit by a stone. Thereupon we both of us went to the place and found that he was, in his exasperation, pouring forth a torrent of abuse. We went up to him and tried to pacify him. We also promptly treated (his wound) with the drugs in our possession. But the man was inexorable, and left us with a threat to report the matter to the Police. Having guessed that the man would have to go into the city before he could give information to the Police, we determined to leave the place within that interval.

CAUGHT BY THE POLICE AND LET OFF

So we sent away the boys by different routes as usual. First of all we sent away all the slings with a boy. We left last of all with some boys, but were soon arrested by the Police. I said to the Police sepoy, "We did not strike him with the stone. If the fact that I treated his wound constitutes any offence on my part, then there is no help in the matter. I had gone there to take a stroll with no particular object in view, when, having, heard some noise, I went to see what the matter was, and finding this man wounded I benevolently treated his wound in the manner I knew, and that has landed me in this trouble." The sepoy then asked me to point out the boy who had hurled the stone, so that he may arrest him. But as I did not like to see a boy of tender age given in charge of the Police, I offered to go with the sepoy to the Faraskhana. While on our way, I flattered the sepoy in various ways, when he remarked that as a complaint had been lodged, he was helpless in the matter and was bound to take me (to the Faraskhana). I then turned to the boy (who had lodged the complaint), and reminding him of the fact that he was a Brahmin by caste, pointed out that the wound which he had received not being of a serious nature could be healed in a day or two. It was in consequence of the use of the three expedients, namely, conciliation bribery and discord, that the boy (relented and) told the sepoy to let us go, as he wished to withdraw his complaint. The sepoy, however, now assumed

an air of self-importance and declared that it was not in his power to let go a culprit whom he had once arrested. I thereupon eulogised him again, when he said that he would ask the complainant's father whether he would like to have the complaint withdrawn. I felt much relieved at these words of his, because Brahmins being always very considerate, (I was hopeful that) he (complainant's father) would pay some attention to what I intended to say. I, therefore, went to his house. The surname of this man is Sathe, and he resides in the Jogeshwari's Bol. On going to his house I told him that I did not know who had thrown the stone (at his son) and that I had merely treated the wound. Hearing this, that amiable gentleman at once told the sepoy that he had no complaint to make against me. The sepoy, therefore, could not do anything more and so he went away. I was overjoyed to see that we had got out of the clutches of the Police in a very ingenious manner. For we had made it a point of honour not to get into their clutches. It was our fixed resolve not to have our names in their books. After this, we gratefully praised Gophnya Maruti for rescuing us from the above-mentioned danger. We, however, postponed the consecration ceremony which was to take place the next day. Having determined not to use again a locality which had been polluted by the Police, we informed all the members (of our club) that we had given up the place. When all of them came to know of this Police affair, many of them became frightened and severed their connection with our club.

WE SHIFTED TO OTHER PLACES

We then began to consider how to act next. Having thought over the matter, we made up our mind to select an open space within the city and to train our boys there. We, therefore, hired the open piece of ground belonging to Londhe for Rs. 2 per month, and having placed the image of Maruti therein prepared a wrestling ground in front of the image. Here we used to teach the following exercises : Wrestling, dandpatta, kathi, lance exercise, high and wide jumping and boxing. 4 to 6 in the evening was the appointed time. We also used to teach drill. This went on for nearly a month and a half, but differences having afterwards arisen between the owner of the ground and ourselves, we were obliged to leave it. We then began to search for some other place, when we came to know that there was a (suitable) place in the wada of Khasgiwale who lives in the Jogeshwari's Bol and that he was willing to give it to us. On receiving this information we made inquiries about the ground, and found that it was extensive and secluded as we desired. The most convenient thing about this ground was that no rent was to be charged for it.

WHAT WE TAUGHT

The place being out of repairs, we took much pains to put it in order. We whitewashed it and having placed (an image of) Maruti in a niche in the middle, hung portraits of warriors on all sides. We had made it a rule to hang (in our gymnasium) the portraits of warriors alone, portraits of women being prohibited. We (also) collected historical works containing accounts of warriors and established a library at the place, and it was by putting forward the name of this institution that we became known there. Here we admitted only such boys as were considered by us to be of undoubted rectitude. About fifteen boys joined (this institution). They were asked to attend in the morning for exercise, while we used to teach dandpatta, kathi, etc., during noon. In the evening at 5 o'clock, one of us

two brothers used to give historical readings. Selecting some episode in ancient history, we used to dilate upon it in a way suited to impress upon the minds of the boys a sense of self-respect and love for one's religion, and to show how easy a matter it was to lay down one's life for these. Whenever, in the course of these readings, we came across descriptions of battles containing such terms and expressions as Morchebandi, khandak, ganimikava, and chhapa, as well as the names of arms, we explained them with sufficient clearness to make them understood. We also used to enter on religious disquisitions at intervals, in order to prevent the social views of the boys from undergoing any deviation from the precepts of the Shastras as well as from the prevalent custom. With a view to confirm the boys in their hostility towards the reformers, we used to comment severely upon the latter in the course of these disquisitions. At the conclusion of these readings arti was performed before the Maruti and all of us closed our eyes and concentrated our minds on the valour-inspiring image of Hanuman. Such was our programme until sunset. At night we two brothers disguised ourselves and went round the different streets to suit our actions to our disguise. At the conclusion of our gymnastic exercises, we used to give to our boys moistened grampulse with pieces of dried coconut-kernel to eat. All the boys had instructions to bring in pulse, pieces of dried cocoanut-kernel, historical books, old weapons, old manuscripts, old or new clothes, (in short) everything that they could find and that could be of use to the club. Whether good or bad, this course was adopted by us and enforced as a rule in order to make a collection of good and useful articles. This enabled us to stock our library with many such things. Then, in order to keep all those things in good order, we (gave them in charge of some boys) assigned to each of them his duty and made him responsible for his work. The place had a large gate, but we kept it closed and used the dindi alone for our purpose. A bell was hung inside and its string was left hanging outside. Each of the boys had been given a number. Whenever a boy came to the gate, he rang the bell by pulling the string; then those inside asked him his number, and if satisfied (of his identity) they opened the gate. We named this club "Rashtra Hitechhu Mandal." We had a loathing for the game of cricket. We intensely hated the boys who, laying aside our one thousand games, had shown a predilection for that game, as well as those teachers who had encouraged them to do so. With a view to accustom our boys to fighting without needlessly troubling any one, we used to send a batch of five or six of our boys to the place where cricket was being played. These boys were to make away with the cricket things of the players in a skilful manner. Sometimes the boys had to fight for the kit, and sometimes they made away with it without having to fight.

TIRADE AGAINST REFORMIST MARRIAGE

It then began to be talked abroad that one Chapekar was the cause of all these troubles. I, therefore, began to call myself Ramchandra Hari Marathe and told (the boys) to address me by that name. About this time an England-returned reformer by name Kashinathpant Gadgil who had contrary to the (Hindu) religion, allowed his daughter to remain unmarried till she reached the age of sixteen years, gave her in marriage to the son of another reformer named Chintaman Narayan Bhat and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp. We did not at all approve of this match. Both Bhat and Gadgil are related to us, but as they are reformers and as they contravene the precepts of the Dharma Sastras, they have incurred our bitter hostility. We had taken a vow to treat even our father as our enemy if he infringed the Shastras. We were invited to dine and to a pansupari (on the occasion) by both the above persons, but I alone out of the

male members of our family attended the pan-supari. I did so, thinking that if I went there I would have an opportunity of personally witnessing their irreligious conduct and thus of satisfying myself about the matter. I did not attend their dinner party, as I looked down upon them as Dheds. The day of the varat procession at last arrived, when, thinking that it would be a disgrace if that procession connected with an irreligious marriage paraded through the city with eclat and without any hitch, in the face of religious enthusiasts (like ourselves) we determined to obstruct it anyhow and sent word round to all our companions that it was to be attacked that night. We conjectured that the procession being a large one would pass through the main street, and therefore we inspected the road passing by the market, and having stationed boys in the cross lanes supplied them with stones, with instructions to fiercely attack the procession the moment it came within their respective bounds. Having made these preparations we waited (for the procession), but were informed that instead of passing the high road with great pomp it had taken a by-way. Thus our plan proved futile. Still, we hastened to attack the procession, but the onset did not prove as effective as we had wished. We desired to see at least one of the newly married couple (wounded and) taken to the hospital. On learning this, many will be struck with our hard-heartedness, but after a little consideration all sensible persons will be obliged to admit that what we did was right. It is a rule laid down by the Shastras that the following are the four methods of overcoming any person :—Conciliation, presents, fomenting dissensions, and punishment.. It is in accordance with that rule that my other castmen have been fighting the reformers. The antagonistic parties are known as the Krishna and the Shukla parties. As, however, the Shukla party, being powerless to punish their opponents, is defied by them, we thought over the matter, and with a desire to take the power of chastisement into our own hands, made this initial effort (in that direction). But this our first experiment did not prove as successful as we had wished. Only a few ladies were hit. I, however, record that incident here, because these ladies must have a recollection of it. After this, we went to Bombay for Chaturmas. When leaving for that place, we appointed one (of us) to be the chief of our club, and having arranged that the members of the club should act under his lead and that he should treat them in accordance with the rules laid down by us, we departed.

WE SEVERED CONNECTION WITH THE CLUB

While we were away they collected several arms, viz., three old muskets, six swords and some sword-sticks, and showed them to us when we visited Poona for the Ganpati (festival). On inquiry we came to know that these arms had been stolen by a boy named Ranade from his own house and that Bhide had aided him in doing so. We commended him for this. Then we heard what each member (of the club) had to say individually, and thus came to know the details of what had taken place during (the preceding) two months. Many of them told me that Bhide was in the habit of speaking ill of me behind my back in their presence. This thought then came into my mind : "If one acts in opposition to us even at this stage, there is no knowing what he might do when the club becomes invested with special importance. It will not therefore be advantageous to continue further such a club as this. What shall we do next?" We then called a meeting of the members of the club and addressed them as follows :— "All of you are aware that this man, Bhide, had maliciously spoken ill of us in your presence for no fault of ours. We have, however, come to this conclusion from this occurrence, that we are not fitted to do any good to our country and have, therefore given up everything from to-day. Any other person who may desire to take up this business is welcome to do so. We do not wish to have any of these things.

So saying we severed our connection with the club. After this, many of the boys came to my house and implored me with tears in their eyes not to break up the club. Bhide wept most of all. That deceitful individual shed a profusion of tears, and having protested that he had not spoken (ill of me) implored me not to dissolve our club. We, however, refused to listen to him and left for Bombay. After some days I learnt that most of the things (belonging to the club) were taken away by a boy named Devdhar. He also took away the arms, but when he came to know that the Police having received information about the matter were about to search his house, he threw them into my house which he knew was close by, through a latticed opening, keeping with himself only a dagger and some spears. In the meantime, the Police came to search his house. He was arrested and prosecuted. This news was immediately conveyed to us by our friend, Dattatraya Bhuskute, in a letter. I accordingly at once came to Poona by the night mail (train), and having disposed of the arms with the help of Bhuskute immediately returned to Bombay. Devdhar did not mention the name of any member of the club. He was asked by many wiseacres to mention the name of Chapekar, but he did not pay any heed to their advice. He was afterwards discharged by the Court because of his tender age. So ended our club. We at first felt very sorry that it had come to an end, but after consideration we came to the conclusion that Gosavya Maruti had done all this for our good. For had the club continued to exist, it would certainly have been difficult to ensure the secrecy of our doings. Afterwards, we two brothers came to Poona with our father, and having thought over the matter, made up our minds not to have any club, but to enlist the co-operation of Bhuskute alone in what we wished to do, so that there may be no risk of the matter being divulged. Having come to this conclusion, we took action accordingly. All the boys, with the exception of Bhuskute, we stopped from visiting our house, and he too as a rule came at night.

CONGRESS AND SOCIAL REFORM CONTROVERSY

Meanwhile (the time for holding) the National Congress arrived. As it was to be held at Poona that year, we were desirous of seeing personally what sort of a revolutionary movement it was. Before this, a fierce dispute was going on in the city between the orthodox and the reform parties with regard to the Social Conference. We do not approve of the National Congress, much less of the Social Conference. But though there is no possibility of any good resulting from the National Congress, it does not entail any loss either, except in so far as the expenditure of money is concerned. The lakhs of rupees that are spent upon it are lost (to the country), but it has this redeeming feature that it has nothing to do with religious matters. We, therefore, do not care if the Congress were held even twenty-five times a year. But we cannot view with patience the *chandalin* (i.e., Social Conference) that has been thrust into its bosom by these reformers. This is the principal reason why we look upon them as our inveterate enemies. We are aware that as we are not independent, now, everybody adopts whatever course he likes. We must, however, conduct ourselves as directed in the Shastras. But as the reformers are endeavouring to circumscribe our freedom of action by laws, why should we not avenge ourselves upon them? There is no reason why we should not. At this time a violent discussion was going on between the two parties. Bal Gangadhar Tilak took up the leadership of one party and Mahadev Govind Ranade that of the other, and a war of words commenced. At this time Shridhar Vithal Date sided with the orthodox party. This man is an enthusiastic admirer of (the Hindu) religion. He is possessed of more self-respect than others and is therefore ever willing to undergo any expense in order to prove the correctness of his own opinions. The co-operation of a man of such determination resulted

in a great accession of strength to the orthodox party. But such strength is of no avail because efforts not backed by physical force are doomed to failure. The demands of the National Congress have proved futile for this reason. Englishmen know that the National Congress means eating, drinking, recreation and a profusion of tall talk and nothing more. Had our people been as spirited as the Americans, they (i.e., Englishmen) would have been compelled to take our demands into consideration. The Americans having profited by their National Congress we followed their example, but no one gives thought to what those spirited people did when their demands were refused. To make every meeting of the Congress more imposing than the previous one, is the (sole) object these blockheads have in view. From their point of view, the greater the expenditure on pleasure, on eating and drinking, on illuminations, on talking and writing, the more is the good of the country secured. Let that, however, pass. As I will have to touch upon this topic later on, I shall not dwell upon it further in this place. In short, we did not at all like the wordy warfare that went on between the two parties.

WE STRUCK TWO REFORMERS

We two brothers, therefore, thought that the chastisement of some prominent individual from amongst the reformers would be conducive to the furtherance (of the cause of the orthodox party). From the very first, we entertained a violent grudge against the Sudharak newspaper, but as we were not able to put our thoughts into execution while Agarkar edited that paper, that sinner escaped (chastisement) at our hands. Being, however, inspired with a strong desire to do something on this occasion, we determined to pounce upon either of the two editors of that paper whom we might be able to catch, and with that object in view we watched for an opportunity. This newspaper always speaks ill of the orthodox party and their way. Its articles have a tendency to produce misapprehension in the minds of the people respecting the Dharma Shastras by placing different interpretations on the precepts contained in them. Being backed by Englishmen, it makes use of such violent language as would wound the feelings of all true lovers of religion. It is impossible for me to describe the state of our minds when we read this paper. On some occasions our wrath was so uncontrollable that we burnt the issues of that paper. But as that mode of punishment was not calculated to pacify our feelings, we began to think of inflicting corporal chastisement. As the reflection that the editors were our castemen used to generate compassion in our minds, we resolved that instead of capital punishment they should receive some ordinary chastisement. Then a letter of warning was to be sent to them. If they took that warning, well and good. If not, no pity was to be shown to them. We, accordingly, marked their houses and watched (their movement). One day we were informed that there was to be a Sanskrit performance at the Anandobhava Theatre, and we thought that both the editors would be present there on the occasion. But that day things did not take the turn we wished. We next learnt that the students of the Bhawe School were to give a performance of "Hamlet" at the Aryabhushana Theatre and we concluded that as that institution was not acceptable to the said editors, they would be present at the performance through feelings of jealousy. We, therefore, waited outside that theatre, but were unable to ascertain from there as to who were inside. I, therefore, somehow procured four annas (to purchase a ticket with) and went inside the theatre. There I saw two persons whom I identified, one of them being Patwardhan, the editor of Sudharak, and the other Kulkarni, a teacher in the New Marathi School. I then came out and informed my brother of this, when

he went in and saw them. We then waited for the termination of the performance. It soon came to an end. Kulkarni was the first to leave the theatre, and I dealt him a blow, which was not heavy, near the entrance to the lane opposit Hamjekjan's gymnasium. It must have struck him lightly on the back and part of the head. Two or three persons were walking with him at the time. Having dealt the blow I hurried away. Patwardhan, who left (the theatre) after (Kulkarni), was closely followed by my brother, whom I joined in the Budhwar (Peth). While we were thus following him, we reached a place just below, the dilapidated tower in the Shalukar lane, when my brother, stepping forward, gave a blow to Patwardhan with a piece of iron piping. That blow must have struck him on the head near the ear. About three or four persons must have been walking with him at this time. After execution of this deed, we returned home and heartily thanked God. On the next day we waited to hear what the people would say about the matter. It appeared that all orthodox people were much gratified. We were delighted to know this, and believed that we had done a great service to our religion. We then thought that after what had happened there was no objection to send them a letter of warning. Although we two alone (had punished them) it was necessary to make them understand that we had a following, so that they might be overawed and thus prevented from traducing (the orthodox) faith. With this object in view we penned a letter. We did not keep a copy of it, but in substance it was as follows.

“ A WARNING TO THE REFORMERS ”

“Like your association for removing the obstacles in the way of widow-remarriage (we also) have formed a society for removing the obstacles in the way of the Aryan religion, that is to say, a league, prepared to lay down their lives as well as to take the lives of others for the sake of that religion. This society does not want the beggarly Congress, much less the Social Conference. We like all the Hindu customs, whatever they may be including even the evil practices of the Shingra, which are condemned by the reformers. There is no necessity for any innovation whatever either in our religious observances or our customs of the present day. Both the reformers and the non-reformers are, therefore, hereby warned that although the reformers are forgiven for whatever they have done hitherto, they should conduct themselves with great caution hereafter, as, otherwise, it would be our sad and painful duty to put them to the sword. You should, therefore, take note of this warning and conduct yourself with caution. Remember your forefathers and do not incur the hostility of the whole community by interference with religion. If you disregard this, Nemesis (will overtake you).”

OUR COMPOSITION OF POEMS

This letter was sent to the address of Devdhar (one of) the editors of the Sudharak at the New English School. He gave a substance of it in the issue of the Sudharak dated 25th November 1895. Afterwards, a meeting against the Social Conference was held at Thakurdwar in Bombay. On that occasion, we stepped forward and recited two shloks composed by my brother. We can compose poetry fairly suited to any occasion, though we are not poets. Being, however, actuated by a desire to do everything that was necessary for popularizing our favourite subject, and thinking that as metrical composition commended themselves to the popular taste it

would be better to lay our views before the public in that form, we studiously devoted ourselves to the art of versification. I, in particular, had a great predilection for versification and composed many verses on patriotism. Although my brother had not the same predilection, still he could compose excellent verses whenever he was in a mood to do so. As the habit of indulging in loquacity in public meetings did not meet with our approval, my brother composed two shloks with a view to make known his inmost thoughts to the discerning portion of the public. One of them deals with the Social Conference and the other is about Daji Abaji Khare, High Court Pleader. It was at that time proved that this vilest of Brahmins had eaten beef while dining, with Badruddin Tyabji. When we heard of this we could not restrain our feelings, and having composed a shlok about him we recited it at the meeting. I give below the abovementioned two shloks :—

“1. Listen ! Should the Social Conference be held in the National (Congress) pandal, the Aryans must certainly withhold their help from that lustreless institution. We shall never tolerate any revilement of our religion in the (Social) Conference ; we shall first, with a rod in our hand, strike down the army of reformers.

“2. That religion-destroyer Khare, having invited Mēnchas and others to dine with him, partook, in defiance of the precepts of his religion, of biscuits, loaves, flesh and spirits in their company. He should for ever be looked down upon as a Chandal. How is it that the reformers are not ashamed ! Let us strike him with shoes.”

OUR DESIRE TO BURN THE CONFERENCE PANDAL

As I have already said above that we are not good poets, my readers will kindly overlook the many blemishes that may be found in the above verses if tested by the rules of prosody and only appreciate our meaning. These verses were received with cheers by many in the audience. The reformers, however, appeared to be stung by them and left the meeting. These people having received a thrashing at our hands, were well kept in check. Every one of them engaged Purbhayas for his personal protection and none dared to go out of his house except in carriage. They saw from the signs that a riot would certainly take place if the Social Conference were held in the National Congress pavilion and so decided to hold its sitting in a different place. The people were much gratified at this, and we ourselves felt particularly joyful for what we had done. Still we persisted in our efforts to burn down the Social Conference mandap. Two or three times did we go to the hill near the Fergusson College at 2 O'clock at night, taking with us materials for setting fire to it, but as the work of construction was going on day and night to the last moment, our plan proved futile. (Like the National Congress) the Social Conference too had issued tickets to its delegates. We sought to gain admittance into that assembly (by that channel). We, therefore, asked some educated youths to start a reform club to enable us to obtain tickets of admission to the Conference. Being thus pressed by us, they got up a Young men's Reform Club and applied for tickets of admission to the Conference in its name. Thereupon Mahadev Govind Ranade asked that the Secretary (of the club) should be sent to see him with the papers of the club. Our educated friends, however got frightened at this invitation and none of them would go to him, I, therefore, prepared some bogus papers, and styling myself the Secretary of the club took them to Mr. Ranade's house at about 8 O'clock in the evening. This oldest leader of the reformers was sitting in a swinging seat at this time, chatting with a stranger. I was given a chair near

them. They continued chatting for a pretty long time, but as the conversation was carried on in a jargon, half English and half Marathi, I was not able to understand the whole of it. The assault on Patwardhan was mentioned in the course of their conversation, but they were not aware that the prime mover in that incident was then sitting by their side. When he finished the conversation Mr. Ranade turned to me, and having inquired about myself asked a man to examine my papers. He examined those bogus papers, and enquired of me as to why I had not brought the originals. I replied that we never took the original papers outside our club. Thereupon Mr. Ranade said that I would be provided with tickets if I produced a recommendatory note from some respectable gentleman. I said in reply, "I am a respectable gentleman myself, and therefore do not stand in need of any introduction from others. If you believe me, give me the tickets: if not, I do not want them." I then left the place. Subsequently, a man came from him to pay me a visit, but I refused to see him. By and by, the day fixed for the Congress approached. The city became thronged with people arriving from outside. The delight of our educated men knew no bounds. All were in a hurry and bustle. This put us in mind of the little girls in our houses. The doings of these self-styled educated men can only be compared with the play of these girls when they celebrate the marriage of their dolls, taking much more delight therein than in real marriage ceremonies, while people of maturer understanding instead of taking any interest in their play, only laugh at their childishness and fondle and caress them because they are children. These educated classes have got up a toy regiment as it were, and have become absorbed in witnessing its unarmed drill. But as it is uninteresting to see girls playing with lifeless dolls, so the feeble display of a regiment without the soul-stirring equipment of arms excites no enthusiasm. Being aware that it was impossible to gauge the real nature of the Congress without entering (its pavilion), we began to try for a free ticket of admission. In the meanwhile seeing a Madras gentleman taking a stroll on a hill behind the Fergusson College, we entered into conversation with him, and being convinced that he was a reformer in his opinions we snatched away his ticket from him and ran away.

CONGRESS WAS NO USE

With that ticket we gained admission into the pavilion by turns and saw the fun. We came to know many things on these occasions. These self-styled educated men find fault with Bajirao the Second, and accuse him of having lost his kingdom by his habits of luxury and sensuality; but the conduct of these people is such as will throw his acts into the shade. I ask these wiseacres, who must have perused their historical books over and over again, if they have any instance in history wherein empty talk and indulgence in eating and drinking has accomplished the good of one's country. Has even one of the men famous in history ever tried to unite the world by holding National Congresses or by delivering speeches? The answer must be in the negative. It is a matter for deep regret that our educated men of the present day should not have sense enough to understand that the good of one's country is accomplished only when crores of meritorious men, reckless of their lives for the sake of their country, encounter death at the edge of the sword on a battlefield, and by no other means. Where is the use of simply learning history by rote when at school? There is nothing to be gained by learning by-heart the dates of the birth and death of Shivaji. The object of studying his life is to know what he did in his lifetime: whether he started a National Congress, collected money from the poor and squandered it on pleasure in the company of false patriots like

himself gathered together once a year under the pretext of promoting the good of his country; or whether he, with a view to the execution of some serious design, suffered privations all his life, along with his similarly inspired friends, in his attempt to achieve the good of his country. If the lessons contained (in the lives of such men) are not followed, where is the use of learning history? A perusal of the proceedings of the Congress which appeared every year in the newspapers had convinced me that it was all a sham. It is necessary that I should give here the conclusions at which I have arrived after a full consideration of the matter.

HUME AND BRADLAUGH, AGENTS OF THE BRITISH

The first thought struck me was how far the originators of the Congress, viz., Hume, Bradlaugh and others, being Europeans, could be trusted. It was inexplicable to us how those very Englishmen who in this country send us to lifelong transportation for the mildest unfavourable comments (upon the acts of Government) could permit Messrs. Hume, Bradlaugh and others of their own race to remain alive in England even though they have incited us (to act) in opposition (to Government). For, the fomentation of dissensions in the country is the last thing that (a nation) can tolerate. I, therefore, began to consider how, in the face of the above facts, this was possible. And I came to the conclusion that all this was a sham and nothing more. I was convinced that those people were acting under the instigation of our wily administrators and had come forward to deceive the Hindus and to give a harmless turn to their activities with a view never to allow their thoughts to turn towards deeds of cruelty. Had the case been otherwise, they would long before this have suffered death at the hands of their countrymen. This is one of the modes of deceiving the public. Whenever an Englishman has a craving for popularity among the Hindus, he knows how to espouse the cause of India when an Indian question crops up in Parliament. The moment he does so, our educated people begin to dance with joy and dub him as the defender of the cause of India. If he afterwards visits India, they will draw his carriage and have illuminations and processions in his honour. And they think that by doing so the welfare of the country is gained. I remember having seen two or three such celebrations in honour of Europeans. We two brothers felt exasperated at these sights. Just as Arjun after enjoying himself at Dwarka under the disguise of a sanyasi, carried away Subhadra in the end, so these Englishmen, having come to India, deceive the people and carry away to their country the prize of great glory. The only difference is that, while the people of Dwarka recognized in the disguised sanyasi the cunning Arjun after Subhadra had been taken away, our educated classes fail, to understand the true character (of these men). Otherwise, none of them would have had a blind regard for the English. Let that pass.

THE POONA CONGRESS

The National Congress having been held this year in Poona itself, we had an opportunity of personally witnessing the great efforts of our educated classes in the interests of our country. An influential gentleman from Madras by the name of Manmohan Ghosh, or some such other name which I do not remember (had come down to Poona) and was working heart and soul in the cause of Congress. He is a great devotee of the Congress. It is his special characteristic that, though a Hindu by religion he dresses like

a European from top to toe, and shaves his moustache like a eunuch. Had he been a fair-looking man this European dress might have looked graceful, but being of dark complexion and having no moustache, he presented a very queer appearance in that attire. He looked just as if he were a pervert. He had a European to drive his carriage, and had to pay him a salary of Rs. 500 a month. In this particular, above all others, is his love of his country seen to the greatest advantage. (The reason) is simple. While engaged in promoting the welfare of the country innumerable obstacles are sure to arise in one's way and consequently charioteering skill of no common order is requisit for surmounting them. As, however, such skilful men are not to be found in India they must needs be imported from England. Here, however, a doubt crosses our mind. How can a country which cannot furnish a skilful charioteer produce a warrior fitted to sit on a chariot? The status of the latter is considerable higher than that of the former. When I first saw this man driving in his carriage, I mistook the driver for Ghose and Ghose himself for the lackey. Let that, however, pass. This incarnation of patriotism had come (to Poona) in advance (of the Congress) to assist the Poonaites in their preparations. All the Brahmins in our city, both young and old, including the school-boys, were also heartily exerting themselves (in the Congress movement). I must, however, explain here what the expression "exerting oneself" means; for, in other lands, the expression "exerting oneself for the good of one's country" is understood to have a significance different from what it had in this country. The people of these lands might be led to think that our patriots, reckless of their lives, must have prepared themselves to die for the good of their country. But that would be a wrong impression. The brave patriots from all parts of the country who had congregated in the city of Poona on this occasion were received at the railway station by the volunteers, who, taking up their baggage and (even) their shoes in their hands, guided them with such words as these, "Sir, place your foot here carefully, there is a stone in front," to a small but handsome pavillion erected near the station, and here their first adoration took place. The guests were served with fruits, tea and coffee to their heart's content and garlands of fragrant flowers were put round their necks. Then they were taken in tongas to the small rooms built near the Congress pavilion for their use and asked to sit on the mattresses of small but neatly made bedsteads. These rooms contained all conveniences. I do not know whether women too were provided there, but every article of food and drink was ready at hand. There was plenty of every kind of prohibited food and drink. Warm-water shower-baths were also there, and after our patriots had seated themselves on beautiful square slabs in the bath-rooms, warm-water showers poured down on their heads. And so they proceeded to bring about the country's good. At night electric lamps were lit, and in their moon-like refulgence these patriots wandered about and thus advanced the good of the country. Their national darbar was held during the day, and on that occasion the veteran patriots were lustily cheered when they entered the pavilion. Tilak was cheered, Ranade was cheered, and Surendranath Banarji was cheered, for hours together, because, forsooth, he was the Indra, the chief of all the gods, and was, therefore escorted by the toy regiment referred to above. After these, the best heroes had assembled, the war of words began. But, singularly enough, their opponent, viz., the Englishman, was conspicuous by his absence. He was represented there by some solitary black-coat. (Even) this sight was sufficient to confound these men, who were bold only in speech. If asked by some Government official or placed before a court of justice, they would protest against (an unfavourable) interpretation being placed upon their speeches, and would engage a pleader at some expense to defend themselves. Alas!

MY COUNTRYMEN, BEWARE OF THE CONGRESS

Oh my countrymen, how have you been reduced to such a helpless condition ! How is it that your intellect is incapable of thinking aright ! When Shivaji, Bajirao, Nana Phadnavis and other ancestors of yours determined to advance the good of their country, were they ever required to take the advice of either Hume or Bradlaugh ? When those worthy personages made determined efforts to get their rights from the Yavanas, did they achieve their end by gathering together Banias and traders, and seths and bankers, from all parts of the country in a national pavilion, illuminated with electric lights and erected on the plain of Chaturshingi, and by indulging in loquacity by day and lounging upon sofas by night ? How you ever read that such was the case ? If you contend that it was the National Congress that has done good to America, I have already traversed that argument on the last page. Though I can neither speak nor read English, the information I have collected on the subject is reliable, and I can write very extensively on this topic. I, however, stated here in short what I have to say : “ My friends, be mindful of the old adage, ‘ Wisdom is powerless before authority.’ You should, therefore, adapt yourselves (to the ways of your rulers) and thus accomplish whatever good you can. Even if they imposed taxes upon you, submit to them with the thought that they are foreigners after all. Tall talk and writing articles in newspapers will be of no avail against them. If you are unable to bear the oppression of these foreigners, then give up all hope of your life, wealth, relations, friends and acquaintances, sons and wives, and make a demand for your rights and support it with physical force. I, however, do not think that you are capable of achieving that. Because had you possessed that ability, you would have long before this understood the matter. Do not render yourselves liable to punishment with hard labour by indulging in vain talk and by using your pens against Englishmen. Do not glory in so doing. If you shower flowers on one who has been sentenced for simply indulging in tall talk, what will you do to discharge your obligations to a warrior like Shivaji should he be fortunately born in this country ? I ask this question because you have already conferred all kinds of honour on persons of ordinary abilities. Nay, you have honoured such insignificant persons as Surendranath Banarji, Dadabhai Navroji, Hume and others in a manner Shivaji was not honoured during his time. Do you think nothing remains to be done for the good of the country beyond this ? You are mistaken. A little consideration will teach you the lesson conveyed by the adage ‘ A thunder-cloud produces no rain, a talkative man will not act.’ I ask you to consider this adage and proceed with my narrative.” The sight of this national festival grieved us very much. We had even planned to burn down its pavilion. But considering (that the institution had gained) popular favour, we thought it would not be right to do so. Had the Social Conference been held in that pavilion, we would certainly have made an attempt to set it on fire, but our initial experiment having compelled the Conference to wind up its belongings, we spent our days only in observing carefully the inconsistent proceedings (of the Congress).

WE TURNED TO MISSIONARIES

After its puerile game was over, all the patriots left for their respective places. Then we began to harass the missionaries. While we were at Bombay, we used to annoy in various ways the European missionaries who were to be seen (preaching) at the Back Bay. We pelted them with stones (and) created an uproar. Once we snatched away a hand-bag from a European lady who was there. We found in it some English books, some visiting cards bearing her name, a bunch of keys and a beautiful purse. The last was a very convenient article, but we found in it (only) one pice and a postal stamp

worth two annas and a half. We went and saw the bungalow of this lady who resides at Grant Road. Once we took away the sign-board of the Church Mission Hall on the Palva Road and burnt it. After coming down to Poona, we determined to harass the European missionaries at this place. On inquiry we learnt that they used to preach in the upper storey of a building occupied by Messrs. Philips and Company. There, in the first instance, I advised my Aryan brethren not to go upstairs, and several of my friends accordingly desisted from going there. When their time of preaching arrived, there was not a soul present at the place and so the missionaries were in a fix. The men whom I had prevented from going there had not returned to their homes, but were standing together on the road. When the missionaries, who were on the upper storey, came to know that a particular individual had prevented all persons from going up there, they came down to me and said that I was doing an unlawful act and that they would prosecute me. After this they had a conversation with the Police and it appeared as if they were going to carry out their intentions. I, therefore, slipped away from the place, and considering that such attempts were futile, resolved to make a desperate effort (to gain our object).

MY EFFORT TO BURN THE BUILDING

With a view to prevent all persons from giving any place to these (missionaries) we began to devise plans to set the said building on fire. The staircase leading to the storey opens on the main Budhwar Road. It has got one door at its foot and another at the top. The missionaries, when leaving the place, used to lock the latter door, while they merely chained the former. We, therefore, determined to open the door at the foot of the staircase and to slip away after having set fire to the upper one. Lest what was going on inside might be clearly observed through a latticed window above the lower door by the people outside, we hit upon the following plan by which the flames were to blaze up inside after we had left the place. We took a big uparna and having saturated it with kerosene oil firmly attached it to the upper door. To this uparna we tied a long strip of cloth similarly saturated, and having stretched it for a long distance along the ground placed hollow tiles upon it in a line, so as to form a sort of tunnel. The (other end of the) strip peeped a little out of this tunnel. Our object was to set fire to this end and then to slip away. The tiles were to prevent the light of the burning strip from being seen outside and there being a lack of air there, the strip was to burn slowly and set fire to the cloth (attached to the door) after we had gone a considerable distance. To carry out this plan, we first of all sent a friend of ours named Bhuskute upstairs, and we two disguised as Mavlas, sat below eating fried rice, in order to protect him. Thinking that it would be found difficult to extinguish the fire if the lower door were locked while leaving the place we purchased a lock for four pice and gave it to Bhuskute when he went upstairs. But that being the first occasion of its kind, he got confounded and having bungled the work came down and told us that he had done all. We, therefore, told him to go home and walked about (in the street) waiting to witness the fun. But we heard no alarm of fire. When an hour elapsed, we were convinced that the bungler had certainly failed to set fire (to the place). I, therefore, went upstairs, while my brother remained below. I returned after having set fire to the strip. Then we went away, having locked the door. We had not proceeded far when we heard a fire bugle. Just as we reached home, we also caught the sound of the bugle of the fire-engine located near our house, but after a short while, a telephonic message was received announcing that the fire had been extinguished. We were much disheartened at this news, because our attempt had not proved as successful as we had wished. On inquiry we

learnt that as the padlock which had been attached to the lower door was a worthless one, Dagdu confectioner, a gymnast of our city, forced it open by breaking the lock. How long could a padlock worth only one anna hold out? This weak point in our plans was due to our inability to spend more upon the padlock. After this, we sent a warning to the owner of the house to evict the missionaries, as otherwise the attempt (at incendiarism) was sure to be repeated some other day. As we were fired with an ambition to follow a military career we were unceasingly exerting ourselves (to gain our object).

THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT SPONSORED BY GOVERNMENT

We went to the old market every Sunday and Wednesday and accosted the native soldiers visiting that place, with a view to elicit information from them on this subject of special interest to us. I had given up conversing with the Marathas among them, as Englishmen have fairly imbued their minds with the idea that the Brahmins were the cause of their ruin. My intelligent readers are doubtless aware of the existence at Poona and Bombay of a large anti-Brahmin association founded by one Jotiba Fule. The sole aim of this association is to stir up hatred against the Brahmins among all other castes. Its members are always moving about the country, delivering lectures to create a feeling of animosity against the Brahmins. Their principal organ is the *Din Bandhu*, a weekly newspaper, published in Bombay. Its columns are usually filled with the abuse of Brahmins. On the death of Jotiba Fule, one Lokhande took up the lead in the matter. This Lokhande, although a perfect numskull, has been honoured with the distinction of a Justice of the Peace by Englishmen for the simple reason that he has undertaken this important task of creating dissensions among his own countrymen. Careful observers will see that most English people assist these men in the above manner. But the Deccan Brahmins alone are so (spitefully) dealt with. It will upon inquiry be found that no people in India are so greatly devoted to politics and are so persistent in applying their intelligence and ardour in that direction as the Deccan Brahmins are. The foreigners, therefore, deeming it to be inadvisable that the public should view with favour these scheming men, have by conferring honours upon such ignorant people made them adopt this attitude (of hostility to Brahmins). There is no doubt about this. This suicidal policy of theirs has been, is, and will be the cause of great detriment to us and will greatly benefit the foreigners.

BRAHMINS WRONGLY CHARGED

On this occasion I deem it necessary to controvert their opinions in this place. It is the stock argument of these ignorant men that the Brahmins lost the (Maratha) kingdom and that they are selfish. On the strength of these two charges they abuse the Brahmins to their heart's content. The first charge about losing the (Maratha) kingdom is based on the maladministration of the country by Bajirao the Second. It must be within the memory of students of history that this Bajirao allowed foreigners to swallow up (his kingdom) by feasting Brahmins and by indulging in vicious habits. This Bajirao had never earned, and will never earn hereafter, a good name among Brahmins. There is no difference of opinion as to the fact that his acts were highly reprehensible and ruinous to the interests of the country. But I ask these Brahmin-haters (the following questions): Were the Maratha Sardars, such as Scindia, Holkar, Gaikwad, Bhosle, Satarkar and Kolhapurkar, dead and gone at the time Bajirao lost his kingdom? Or, being alive were they, with bangles on their hands and sadis round their bodies, shamefacedly hiding themselves in their harems? Or, had they become eunuchs by divesting themselves of their moustaches? What was the matter with

them? The Maratha States cover nearly the whole of India, and yet how was it that they were not ashamed, on that occasion, to throw down their swords, shake hands with Englishmen, and declare themselves to be their friends? If Bajirao was really loose in his morals, why did they not protest (against his conduct), throw him into prison and install a capable ruler on the throne? On the contrary, while the far-seeing Nana Phadnavis was repeatedly advising them not to ruin the country by placing this dastardly Bajirao on the throne, it was the Scindia of Gwalior who espoused his cause and installed him. This explains who it was that lost the kingdom. Although all of them were the Sardars of the Peshwa, they treacherously sided with the English and thus kept their State intact. How will they answer for this ingratitude? All the Native States that are at present to be seen in India owe their existence to their disloyalty to their sovereign as well as to their treachery in siding with the English. Otherwise, the English would have swallowed them up long ago. Perhaps some might say that they fell off from Bajirao because he was not a good sovereign. To such people I ask the question as to what they would have said of Moropant Peshwa, had he gone over to the side of Aurangzeb because of Sambhaji's misconduct. If the history of the calamities which befell the country in the reign of Sambhaji, and after his death be read, it would convince you that those times were a hundredfold more troublous than the times of Bajirao. It is but proper to eulogize those who with perservance strenuously exerted themselves as for the welfare of their country during those times.

THE LESSON OF 1857 RISING

If Scindia and Holkar, who styled themselves the Sardars of the Peshwa, had exerted themselves as strenuously then, they would not have been reduced to their present plight and exposed themselves to censure. Is there a single descendant of the Peshwas, who were the real sovereigns of the country, now living in ignominy under a foreign yoke? Bajirao handed over the kingdom to the English, and having retired to Brahmavarta passed his life there in devotion; but his adopted son, Dhondopant Nana, as if with a view to wipe off the stigma cast on his father's name, distinguished himself on the battlefield and departed to the other world along with his friends Bala Saheb, Rao Saheb, Tatya Tope and Lakshmibai of Jhansi. Had Scindia and Holkar not resorted to treachery on that occasion they as well as ourselves (Brahmins) would not have been reduced to this plight. Even a Brahmin lady fought at that time, while men with beards and moustaches, whose ancestors served their masters with true whole-heartedness, fell off from their master's son and went over to the English, the enemy of their sovereign, of their religion, and of their country. Could the meanness of the Marathas go further? Think over this and do not needlessly raise a hue and cry against Brahmins.

THERE ARE BLACK SHEEP IN ALL CASTES

I do not mean to say that Brahmins have no black sheep amongst them. Like other castes they too have their black sheep. Are there no Marathas among you of the type of the Brahmin Natus who having gone over to the English are now enjoying a life of pleasure? How many instances do you want? As a rule, all those who are at present eating the crumbs of ease under the cool shadow of the English did at one time turn ungrateful to the Peshwa and were thus guilty of treason. They come from all classes and castes—Brahmins, Marathas and Mussalmans. There is no reason for one of them to laugh at the others. Was not the ruler of Hyderabad independent at that time? Why then did he remain indifferent? Was it because of the Brahmin Bajirao? Is there any Brahmin agency at work in Manipur, Burma and similar other States which are now being swallowed up by the English?

You revile the Brahmins without any reason. I for my part find fault with our evil stars. Infatuation precedes all (evil) things. Accordingly, divergent counsels having prevailed among the different Native States of India. The English could easily do what they liked.

THE REVOLUTIONARIES ARE BRAHMINS

Who should blame whom in this matter? I, for my part, blame one and all. They, and they alone, who laid down their lives on the battlefield in measuring their swords with the English are free from any blame. Such worthy men are to be found only among the Brahmins. Even if you look to the present times, you will be convinced of what I say. In 1857, Nana Saheb, (showed himself to be a Brahmin of this type), then Wasudev Balwant, and after that we two brothers, Damodar and Balkrishna Hari Chapekar. Excepting these, has any Maratha or Muhammadan become a martyr for his religion and his country? According to the adage "The master is reduced to distress while thieves roll in plenty," the Peshwas have passed away, while these ingrates are still living and enjoying the jaghirs conferred upon them by the Peshwas. What sort of hell might have been created for (the punishment) of such men? I do not wish to say anything further about these ungrateful wretches; for, my blood boils whenever I think of their treacherous deeds, and I much regret that we could not wreak our vengeance upon them. We were burning with rage at Dinkarrao Rajwade, the late Diwan of Scindia. But we were disappointed when a few days ago we heard that he was dead. Now of course the execution of all our designs must be deferred to our next existence. May Heaven fulfil our desires in our future lives! The second charge remains yet to be refuted, but I do not wish to enlarge upon that insignificant point here. In connection with this matter, I recommend my readers to peruse the criticism of the late Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar on the "Lokahitavadi." Therein he has ably dealt with the subject. In short, this anti-Brahmin spirit has spread amongst people of all castes. From my personal experience I know that this feeling is very strong among the Deccan Marathas employed in the regiments.

I MEET A MARATHA SUBEDAR

I was well acquainted with Kashinath Baneh, the Subhedar Major of the 4th (Infantry) Regiment. At my first visit to him he asked me what I had come for. I said to him, "I am very fond of a military career. Can I be enrolled (in your regiment)". Thereupon that man knit his brows, and giving an emphatic nasal twang to his voice said to me in the Konkani dialect, "Bhatji Bova, what you say is true, but how will you be able to observe the customs of your caste in the regiment? A regiment is not a place for eating sweetmeat balls. Look at my feet, and see how very bronzed they have become. This is the way we are required to move about (from place to place); we alone can do that." He philosophied much in this fashion, but as I had no desire to argue with him I quietly heard what he said. I tickled him with the following words: "Subhedar Saheb, what a brave man you are!, Certainly you are the men to fight battles. Your bronzed feet strike me with wonder. What toil you must have undergone!" I tickled him in this manner, but at the same time taunted him as follows: "Did the Peshwas observe the customs of their caste when they crossed the Attock? Was it by tasting sweetmeat balls that they confounded the Persians?" At this the Subhedar softened his tone and said, "I do not mean that; I only wanted to say that it is not possible to observe the caste customs in a regiment." I thus made various attempts to get myself enlisted in the army. But as the Deccan Maratha sepoys used to deride and jeer at us, I refused to see them any more.

EFFORT TO ENLIST IN THE ARMY

We sought information about regimental matters by making friends with native soldiers (of other castes). None of them, however, encouraged us in our desire to enlist in the army. They used to tell us that it was through their ill-luck that they got themselves enlisted in the army. We did not, however, appreciate what they said and so vigorously prosecuted our efforts, which, however, proved futile. We were thus helpless in the matter. We then directed our efforts towards Hindustan(sic). We had interviews with many influential persons at Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Hyderabad, Sangli, &c. and expressed to them our desire to serve in a cavalry regiment. But each one of them declined to do anything for us. Then we applied to the Portuguese Government at Goa, but were not favoured with a reply. Afterwards some one explained to us the futility of applying to subordinate European officers, and advised us to address the Commander-in-Chief at Simla, where our request would be favourably considered. Four times did I address the Commander-in-Chief in the matter and received replies to my petitions, but they were all to no purpose. In other words, all the replies were of a negative character. I have handed over copies of them to my friends, Brewin and Kennedy. I have also got (a copy of) the application which I sent to the Chief of Sangli. I desire that all these should be printed hereafter.

DESIRE TO GO TO NEPAL

On receiving such a sour reply from Simla, we thought that it would be far better to settle in a foreign country than to remain in one where liberty did not exist even in so small a measure. Therefore knowing Nepal to be an independent country, my brother (determined to) set out for it. We were under the impression that our parents would not allow us to go to such a distant country, as hitherto we had never left them to follow our own inclinations. But now we thought we would be wasting away the very prime of our lives if we were to remain inactive. We also thought it undesirable to delay our plans as it was necessary that the art of war which we aspired to learn should be studied while one possessed a strong physique. But another difficulty as to how to arrange for our parents in our absence presented itself. Being conscious that it was our duty not to forsake them, we decided that I should remain at home and my brother should proceed to Nepal for the achievement of our purpose. There he was to arrange everything for both of us and then inform me of his having done so. We then fixed an auspicious day for (his) departure. All the members of our family were quite happy at this time. Readers! my father's profession of kirtan enabled him to earn plenty of money. He was liberal in his expenditure, and so every holiday was well enjoyed. As my father was very hospitable to his guests, there was scarcely a day on which we did not partake of sweetmeats with our guests and friends. Our family having increased by the grace of God, our happiness also increased in the same proportion. It is a fact to be particularly remembered that our family possessed in a full measure that affection (for one another) which is the source of all domestic happiness. I have seen a good many families, but have never come across a single one which is free from domestic quarrels. Fire seize their other comforts! There are many who possess wealth, and are also blessed with large families, but no two members of the family live in harmony. Such, however, was not the case with our family. All those who were younger than myself were obedient to me, and they never showed any disrespect to me. I do not know how I can requite them for all this. May Heaven bless them! My family thus consisted of my loving brothers and sisters, my father and

mother, and my wife and son ; but the actions of our former existence having given a peculiar turn to our predilections, our minds deviated from all domestic concerns and took a different direction.

BALKRISHNA STARTS BUT HAS TO RETURN

An auspicious day having been fixed for my brother's departure to Nepal, he took with him Rs. 40 for his travelling expenses. This amount had been accumulated by us laying aside small sums of money for this long journey. He also took with him other necessary things. As we had settled that my brother should start by the morning train, both of us left our beds early in the morning and adored the Deity, and prayed to Him that as we were leaving (the city) with a good object in view, He should vouchsafe success to us. Then considering my seniority in age, I gave him some advice, after which I was for a moment plunged in sadness at the thought of (our impending) separation. As the members of our family had never before separated from each other, this (separation) was found by us to be extremely unbearable. Besides, the affection mutually felt by us was not like that felt by other brothers for each other. My brother saluted me, made a mental (sic) obeisance to our parents, uttered the name of Gajanan and stepped out of the house. Having gone as far as Budhvar (Peth) to see him off, I returned, My mind, however, was filled with sadness, and it having occurred to me that contrary to the rules laid down in the Shastras he had set out on a journey without taking any companion with him, I prayed that God might keep him happy. I then came home. At 10 O'clock in the morning, as my brother was not present at dinner-time, my father suspected that he must have gone to some (distant) place. My father being very astute could at once divine (the motive of) our conduct. Our mother was indeed of an unsuspecting nature, but our father gave her to understand that Balkrishna had left home for some (unknown) place. Thereupon she persisted in saying that I knew his whereabouts and refused to eat anything unless I brought him back by writing to him. I told her that he had not apprised me of his departure. But would she believe it? How could our parents, who knew our daily mode of life, believe what I told them? Then I thought that I had not acted properly in remaining behind. I could not bear to hear my mother's lamentations. But what could I do? Wishing to get out of the difficulty any how, I assured her that he had gone to Baroda, and made her take her meal. My mother importuned me daily (to give information about my brother), but every day I basely deluded her with some fresh explanation. Our parents led a moral life and I was heartily grieved to have abandoned them and caused them trouble. Every one in the town would ask me where my brother had gone, and I would reply that he had gone to Baroda, in search of employment. In this manner about fifteen days elapsed, but I received no letter giving any account of his health, &c. This circumstance caused me great anxiety. One day, however, I unexpectedly received a telegram, requesting me to remit Rs. 25 to him by a telegraphic money-order. The perusal thereof removed my anxiety, as I learnt from it that my brother was in good health. I then began to guess why he wanted money. That, however, was no proper time for (idle) conjectures, and so I began to consider how I might procure the requisite amount. Though a perusal of our lives would lead the reader to suppose that we were expert thieves, we never unjustly took a single chhadam from any one. On the contrary, in money matters we obliged others, but never incurred any debt ourselves. Not being addicted to any vice we never wanted money. If we at all wanted money, it was for the good of the country. As we thus lived a life of probity, we had considerable credit with the people. I was sure that my request for money would not be refused by any one (of our friends). Accordingly, when I asked for the said amount of one of our

friends he at once paid it. I heartily thanked him for this and at once remitted the amount by a telegraphic money-order to my brother's address at the Allahabad Post Office according to his instructions. From my brother's (continued) absence my father concluded that I, his eldest son, would also follow him, and even sent letter to that effect to his friends and acquaintances. Not having received any letters from my brother for fifteen days after I had remitted the said amount to him, I became anxious, when one day, as I awoke at dawn, I heard my dear brother's voice, to my great delight. First of all I devoutly thanked God on seeing my brother in sound health. I was especially delighted at the thought that my mother would rejoice (at my brother's return). Accordingly, when she saw Balkrishna that morning her face plainly indicated the joy felt by her. Then on the second or third day after my brother's return, I asked him to give an account of what had occurred at the place to which he had gone. This he did in detail. I think that the high hopes which we had entertained about Nepal were wholly destroyed. I wish that my brother should himself write an account of the perilous position in which he had found himself. I, therefore, omit it from this narrative. After this, we determined to accomplish our object by remaining in our country, regardless of consequences. We also determined never to abandon our parents. Having pondered over what we should do next, I said to my brother that we might make one more application (to Government), stating. "Since you decline to appoint to suitable posts men like ourselves, who are fond of the art of war, how should we gratify our desire? Should we rebel?" Considering that the making of such an application would be tantamount to open hostility, we decided that since the English were our implacable enemies and the cause of our subjection, we should commit as many hostile acts against them as we could. This was the first and the most potent cause of the enmity between the English and ourselves.

THE SHIVAJI CELEBRATION

Just at this time, the first occasion on which the anniversary of Shivaji's birth was to be celebrated with festivities approached. My brother and myself do not at all like this festival. Such undertakings as involved a great deal of talk highly exasperated us. Besides, some features of the festival held in honour of Shivaji are so extravagant that he himself would not have liked them. In the first place, he would not at all have approved of the custom of celebrating the anniversary of his birth as it was tantamount to placing him on an equal footing with God. For though he was a most ambitious man, and this was natural, since he who would expose his life to such dangers would do so only for glory, he would not have insisted on being worshipped like God. Even his preceptor, Shri Samarth Ramdas, was not considered worthy of being ranked with God. How could then Shivaji, his disciple, at once attain such rank? No jayanti is celebrated in honour of Ramdas. Only his punyatith is celebrated. A jayanti is celebrated only in commemoration of the incarnation assumed by God at various times. It cannot be celebrated in connection with any other event. If the custom of celebrating jayantis of men be once introduced, any one will be able to celebrate a jayanti in honour of any one he likes. It will be possible to celebrate a jayanti in honour of even Tilak and Agarkar. We, therefore, do not at all like that these wiseacres should, by holding a festival in honour of Shivaji, raise him to the rank of God. The first of such festivals was celebrated in Natus' Garden in Sadashiv Peth. We attended the festivities, but were much grieved to see the childishness of our people. We could not endure that all people, old and young, should behave in a puerile manner instead of taking such a lesson from Shivaji's

life as they ought to have. My brother, therefore, composed two shloks, which are excellent. We learnt them by heart at the opportune moment and recited them at a meeting at which a vehement discussion took place between Jinsiwale and the reformer Bhau. These shloks also referred to loquacious men like Jinsiwale and Bhau. The shloks recited at the gathering held in honour of Shivaji are as follows :—

“No one has ever heard of the lofty trees of lipbravery bearing good fruit; kissing a woman’s lips in a dream never produced offspring; you may speak, but do not thunder like clouds which give no showers; a woman’s counsel, being unaccompanied by prowess, is ridiculed by the world; merely reciting Shivaji’s story like a bard does not secure independence; it is necessary to be prompt in engaging in desperate enterprises like Shivaji and Baji; knowing this you goad people take up swords and shields at all events now. Rap your upper arms (like wrestlers) and we shall cut off countless heads of enemies.”

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On reading the above shloks some one may ask. “You find fault with others, but what have you yourselves done?” Many persons privately asked us the above question. Considering that if we were asked it in a full assembly it would be incumbent upon us to make our vow known to the public, my brother composed the following shlok anent our vow :—

“Listen. We shall risk our lives on the battle-field in a national war. Do not look upon our utterances in the presence of many people as a mere farce. We shall assuredly shed upon the earth the life-blood of the enemies who destroy (our) religion. We shall die after killing only. While you yourselves will hear the story like women?”

RECITATIONS IN GANAPATI FESTIVAL

The recitation of the above shloks during the Shivaji festival was followed by loud cheers (a). After this I also composed some shloks intended to be recited during the Ganapati festival at Bombay. I have already stated that after our hopes of getting enlisted in some regiment where completely destroyed, we became implacable enemies of the English. The drift of all our shloks will be found to be simply this: “Do not talk that idly, (but) do something.” In the Ganapati festival we two brothers put on masculine attire and accompanied our recitations with such gestures as were calculated to properly impress the drift of our shloks upon the minds of the assembled people. The shloks referred to are as follows :—

“Fools, what is the use of your being men? Of what use are your big moustaches? Alas. You are not ashamed to remain in servitude; try, therefore, to commit suicide. Alas. Like butchers the wicked in their monstrous atrocity kill calves and kine. Free her (the cow) from her trouble, die (but) kill the English. Do not remain idle and (thereby) burden the earth. This is called Hindustan (land of the Hindus). How is it that the English rule here? It is a great shame. Do not forget (your) name. Dearly cherish patriotism in your minds. Rise, rap your upper arms, encounter (the enemies). May you succeed in slaughtering the wicked. How valiant were our forefathers on the battlefield. They died after winning glory in the defence of their country. We who have sprung from them are like Saturn whom the Sun has produced. We are not ashamed though our kingdom has been wrested (from us).”

MY ESTIMATE OF TILAK AND KHARE

Whenever we recited the above shloks we were cheered. Some people warned us that though what we recited was true, we should be cautious as there were detective policemen among the assembled people. Though we recited the above shloks only at four or five places in Bombay, that was sufficient to make us the subject of popular talk for a long time(b). We then returned to Poona. One day I went alone to the A'nandodbhava Theatre to hear a lecture annually delivered there. Tilak graced the presidential chair. Seeing Daji Abaji Khare rise to deliver a speech about Shivaji, the cow protector, I flew into a rage. I consider it a disgrace that a vile cow-eater, who ate beef in company with Muhammadans, should deliver a speech about Shivaji the cow-protector, and that the audience should quietly listen to him. Accordingly I said to some mischiefmakers who were sure to reduce a new speaker to a miserable plight: "Friends, mischief-making is reprehensible. But if you indulge in it on an exceptional occasion like the present one, it would reflect credit on the Hindu community to which you belong." Though I made the above request in various ways, none of the blockheads would accede to it. Thereupon I resolved to insult Khare, whom I considered to be a disgrace to our religion, by reciting a shlok which I had composed about him. Accordingly, I approached the speaker's platform, where sat the leading reformers and non-reformers. Some one having told me that if I intended to speak I should first obtain the manager's permission to do so, I requested the manager, by name Mande, to grant it. He, however, refused it. Caring little or his refusal, I advanced with the intention of reciting the shlok. A serious altercation then took place between the manager and myself, and at last some Brahmin wrestler was sent to drive me out. Readers, I had till then neither put up with the slightest insult nor gone to any place where I did not expect to be treated with consideration. I, therefore, leave it to you to imagine how intolerable must have been this insult offered in full assembly to me, who am so jealous of my honour. I was so greatly incensed that I longed to make the educated brutes at once feel what dishonour is and at the same time to let them know how men of honour act. These professors of law have a notion that every case is to be disposed of by a court of justice. They do not know for whom laws are made. I wished to make these modern scholars know that he who can secured all his rights by the strength of his arm has no occasion to resort to a court of justice. I wished to deal the wrestler, who had come to seize me by the arm and drive me out, a blow on the head with the stick in my hand so as to let him understand that his artful twists would not prove serviceable to him on every occasion, and then to punish Tilak, the president of the meeting, who had sent him (to drive me out). Many of my readers will, on reading this, feel indignant and say that I am not a patriot but an enemy of my country. Poor fellows. Let them say it. I know that many people have a good opinion of Tilak, but they must be devoid of reason. In my opinion, according to the saying, "Alas (he is) neither a Hindu nor a Yavan. "Tilak is neither a thorough reformer nor is he thoroughly orthodox. For if we were to credit him with devotion to his own religion, (we must remember that) he is a member of the association for the removal of obstacles in the way of widow-remarriage. This sanctionious individual is the dear friend of the beef-eater Daji Abaji Khare (donkey), to whose house he-goes occasionally and with whom he takes meals without any hesitation. This worthy individual was ashamed to undergo expiration for eating biscuits, but was not ashamed to take tea. Had he consented to have his moustache shaved off in deference to popular opinion, would forty generations (of his ancestors) have been consigned to hell? He tried to place himself on a footing of equality with the authors of the Smritis by introducing certain innovations in the marriage ritual. I do not think that any one had ever seen him performing such pious acts as hearing a kirtan or

puran or visiting a temple. He did many other similar acts which would be disgraceful to any man calling himself religious. I have mentioned (only) some of them. Owing to these acts we have no good opinion of him. We, however, consider him to be a far better man than a reformer. Latterly, he had adapted his manners to the opinions of his community and this had considerably checked his irregular conduct. We hoped that after some time he would be much improved.

I DECIDE NEVER TO ATTEND ANY PUBLIC MEETING

In short, we Chapekars are the slaves of those who are sincerely devoted to their religion, but the implacable enemies of those who are not so. Besides, it was natural that an insult offered in a full assembly to a haughty man like myself, without any consideration of my worth, should incense me. When the above thought occurred to me, I closed my eyes for a little while and questioned God who resides in my heart, "Oh God, how should I act in my present condition?" He inspired me as follows: "You, who are desirous of cleaving your enemies' hearts, have become ready to strike men of your own caste. (But) take heed. You will not succeed in this. It was through ignorance that they insulted you. They do not know you." On learning the will of God to the above effect, I at once left the meeting before the wrestler could seize my hand. I was much dejected for the next two or four days. After my brother and myself had held a consultation, we vowed never to go from that day to any meeting held in connection with any question of public interest. This vow proved of great use to us. As we were not seen taking part in any wild scheme affecting the public we ceased to be reckoned among the well-wishers of the country- a result which was very beneficial to us.

MY POEMS ATTACHED BY POLICE

Afterwards, according to our practice every year, we went to Bombay for spending the four monsoon months there. As we were often badly in want of money, it occurred to me, after some consideration of the matter, that I might offer for sale a book designed for the use of the Ganpati melas of that year. Accordingly, I composed one such book and took it to the Suvarna Printing Press for being printed. As might have been expected from our temperament, the tone of the book was rather severe. Before it was printed the proprietor of the Press altered it in some places. As it attracted the notice of the Bombay Police, they attached all the copies of the book found in the Suvarna Printing Press and ordered me to be present in the Police (Commissioner's) Office the next day. Some copies of the (said) book had (already) been sold. In the evening a detective policeman came to my residence in Vithalvadi under the pretext of buying (some) books, (but really) to ascertain whether I had got any more copies of it. But in accordance with the saying "Set a thief to catch a thief" we recognised him and prevented him from obtaining any material information. Next day I had to appear before Vincent in the Police office. As the Police are discourteous, I, in order to avoid being insulted by them, most humbly prayed to God to preserve my honour, and then went with the proprietor of the said press (to the Police Commissioner's Office). The Police directly took us before Vincent. Inspector Roshan Ali and Jamadar Lakshman, of the Detective Police, were present there. The proprietor of the said press was first examined and Mr. Vincent made many cutting remarks about him. Hearing this, I became apprehensive that he might abuse me in the same manner and that a serious altercation might take place between us. But I am very glad to state that owing to the miraculous power of God, he questioned me very calmly and with a smiling face. As I answered his questions with much adroitness he was pleased with

me, and told me that my books had been temporarily attached and that I might take them back after the Ganapati festival was over. This gave me much relief. This case taught us the lesson that we should never do anything likely to attract the notice of the Police. I had sent another poem (to the press) for being printed, but in view of the fate of my first book I revoked the order for printing it.

WE BEAT PROF. VELANKAR FOR HIS CONVERSION

We then became anxious as to what we should do in order to acquire greater boldness, when we heard that only recently an educated Hindu, who had risen to a professorship, had, as it was to be expected from his antecedents, become an apostate and embraced Christianity. Considering him to be a proper person on whom we might inflict punishment, we began to make inquiries about him. We first inquired at the Wilson College where his bungalow was and afterwards saw it in person. On considering how we might accomplish our object, we two brothers came to the conclusion that at first one of us should see the professor and express his desire of being initiated into the Christian religion, and by visiting him for one or two days more obtain information about his mode of life, his family, (the time of) his going out and returning, and other more or less useful particulars, and that further arrangements should be made afterwards. After careful consideration we decided that our dear friend, Bhuskute who knew English well enough for practical purposes, should see the professor and express a desire as stated above. Accordingly, we gave him elaborate instructions as to how he was to act and sent him there. After his entrance into the bungalow we used to wait somewhere on the outside. After learning on his return what had occurred at the interview, we used to tutor him for the next day's visit. He had assumed the name of Kirtane. He discovered from the expression of Velankar's face that the latter was greatly delighted to hear of Bhuskute's intention of embracing Christianity. Bhuskute must have seen Velankar only three or four times. It was then decided (by us) that Bhuskute should tell Velankar that as one of his friends had expressed a desire to embrace Christianity he would introduce him to Valenkar, that my brother should accompany Bhiskute and that he should strike Velankar on the same day. Bhiskute acted in accordance with the above plan, and my brother, Balwantrao, went with him. We two always used to carry our offensive weapons concealed about our persons. They two went into Velankar's bungalow and I stood on the outside. As my brother found no favourable opportunity he abandoned his design of striking (Velankar) on that day. A long discussion about the Christian religion took place between them and Velankar on that day. My brother told (Velankar) that his (sur) name was Sathe. We now feel deep regret for the serious mistake committed by my brother in assuming the above name. Had he assumed any other name instead of the above one, the present calamity would perhaps have not befallen us. When my brother went to see Velankar, the latter had left the bungalow which he had rented and was living in one which he himself had built. In this manner even my brother paid two or three fruitless visits to Velankar. He treated them with much more respect than they deserved and manifested great affection for them. The cause of all this was that the rascally missionary, believing that Bhuskute and my brother intended to embrace Christianity tried all means of pleasing them. He always used to tell them "my friend Dr. Mackichan was greatly delighted to hear of your intention of embracing Christianity and he is very eager to see you. We shall, therefore, once go to see him." My brother, however, wishing to execute his design without letting his own face be seen by Velankar's friends, used to put off his compliance with the said proposal by promising to go (to Dr. Mackichan) on some future day. As the matter was thus

progressing we fixed a day, viz., Gokul Ashtami, for executing our design without failure. On that day we were to make Velankar undergo a slight expiation for his act (of becoming a convert). He had given us two books for reading, viz., copies of "An Indian Youth" and the New Testament. It was decided that the third man (i.e. myself) should also go to Velankar's house on the Gokul Ashtami day. It was settled that I should pretend to be Sathe's brother-in-law and to have come (to Bombay) to make inquiries about him in consequence of a rumour of his intended conversion. He (Bhuskute) had already told Velankar that Sathe used to live at Bandra. Two days before the date fixed Bhuskute told Velankar that Sathe's brother-in-law by name Bhide (i.e. myself), had come to take him away, that Sathe would bring him with himself two days after by the 10 p.m. train and that the three persons would come to his (Velankar's) house at about 11 o'clock on that night; and he, therefore, requested him not to retire till that time. When that auspicious day came we devoutly prayed to God as follows: Oh God, this day thou didst become incarnate as Krishna in order to destroy the wicked, and didst slay Kamsa and Chanur. As thou hatest the wicked very much, do thou give success to us who too have girded up our lions to destroy the wicked." Having offered this prayer, we started from our residence at about half past 8 and went to the Grant Road Station, where we anxiously waited for the desired opportunity. When it was just close upon half past 10 we uttered God's name and went to Velankar's house. He was talking with some one on the upper story. Being informed of our arrival, he after some time came downstairs with a candle-light and entered a shed outside his bungalow. There we three entered into conversation with him. Being introduced to him, I said, "My friend Sathe having left his family has been living here for many days. I hear that he has now some improper idea in his head. As he has full confidence in you, you should, by giving him proper advice, induce him to go back to and live with his family." Hearing this Velankar said, "Mr. Bhide, what you say is true. But every man is independent in the matter of religion and it is a great sin to throw obstacles in his way. In my case also, when my intended conversion became known to all, all my relatives, friends and acquaintances advised me in many ways (to give up my intention). I, however, without caring for their advice carried out my intention. You should not, therefore, make me act sinfully in this matter." At this I pretended to be silenced. We then talked upon other subjects, and at last upon the story of Krishna. When Velankar, who had disgraced his family, began to find fault with the eternal Krishna, we could not put up with it, and Sathe struck a very severe blow with his steel-bound stick on Velankar's head and a moderately sever one on the back. We then returned home and expressed our gratitude to God.

WE CHEATED THE POLICE

On the next day news of the above occurrence spread in all parts of Bombay, and all Hindus and Muhammandans appeared to be greatly rejoiced at it. The Police also began to make very searching inquiries. At 2 p.m., on the next day, a European constable with one or two (Police) peons came to Kamat Company's chawl in which we lived, to enquire about Kirtane and Sathe. They asked the inmates of every room whether two men by name Sathe and Kirtane respectively were living there. On our telling them that neither of them lived there, they went away. Apprehending that the two books in our possession (which we had received from Velankar) might serve as evidence (against us) we burnt them. The Times (of India), the Bombay Gazette and the other English and Marathi newspapers then began to write about this Velankar affair with vehemence. In

these articles the Police were blamed for their inability to detect such a (serious) offence. Thereupon the Police feeling rather ashamed began to arrest persons indiscriminately, take them to Velankar for identification, and release them on his failing to identify them. Apprehensive of falling into the clutches of the Police, we determined to play a very clever trick on them in order to mislead them. We had already told him (Velankar) that all of us were inhabitants of Kolhapur. We now wrote in the Balbodh character a letter to the following effect in the style of an illiterate man :—

“You abandoned your own religion and became a convert to another and thereby disgraced the Maratha Community to which we belong. We, therefore, inflicted a light punishment upon you and left for Kolhapur.”

In order to convince him (of the truth of the above statements) allusions were made in that letter to the books (given to us by him) and to certain incidents in our conversation with him. We caused Bhuskute to post it at Poona. We addressed it from Kothrud in order to make Velankar believe that we had started for Kolhapur on foot. When it reached him he showed it to the Police and said, “Do not make any more fruitless inquiries or bring any more men to me for identification. I am certain that they have gone to Kolhapur.” As soon as the Police heard this, they relaxed their efforts to our satisfaction. The English papers, however, continued to discuss the matter now and then. Hearing that Dr. Mackichan was more exasperated than any other person, we also found out and marked his bungalow. A few days afterwards, the bubonic plague now prevailing in the country broke out in Bombay.

OUR HATRED OF THE ENGLISH

In the meanwhile we again tried to get ourselves enlisted in a regiment, but failed. This was the last disappointment suffered by us and we strongly reviled the English as follows : “A system of administration so cruel as that of the English cannot, if search be made, be found, in any region of this globe. Far better were the tyrannical Yavan kings, who, with sword in hand, actually cut the throats of men as if they were so many goats. But the English are perfidious and I positively declare that no other people can be found on this earth who are as villainous as they and who like them ruin others by a show of kindness. As god has given men different features, so He has endowed them with different temperaments. Men's desires necessarily vary according to their temperaments. The three principles of sattva (goodness or excellence), raja (passion of foulness) and tama (darkness or ignorance) exist in a greater or less proportion in all men and are the cause of the difference between their respective bent of mind as manifested in their conduct. If a sovereign were to act in opposition to human disposition or inclinations implanted by God, would not that be tantamount to ordering an innocent man, on the strength of authority, to do a particular act against his will or, in other words, to sentencing him to rigorous imprisonment? If he be found to entertain any immoral desire it would be right to check him. But our request though legal, was refused. Who will call him king who exercises such arbitrary powers? Hitherto there have been many cruel Yavan kings in India, but they made no rules for excluding Hindus from particular appointments or for limiting the number of those open to them. It is a fact well-known in history that our people have even discharged the duties of a premier requiring tact and trust worthiness. It is also possible even now to point out the descendants of persons who served in the army and obtained jaghirs by performing deeds of valour.” These thoughts created in our minds a violent prejudice against the English and we resolved to persecute them in future. We knew only one or two on our side, while those against whom

we were only to commence hostilities were far more powerful than ourselves. The difference between them and our selves was as great as that between the sky and the regions under the earth. Many people will ask why we formed such an absurd design as the above in the face of the rule, "In marriage, enmity and love the parties must be each other's equals." But, friends I interpret the above (rule of the) Shastra in a manner very different from yours. The meaning of the rule "We should form (an alliance by) marriage with one who is our equal" is as follows : We should form it with one who like us is highborn of a generous heart and possessed of innate good qualities, irrespectively of his outward riches. Accordingly, I have seen several great men give their daughters in marriage to poor but (otherwise) eligible persons and also make over their riches to them. So also, love and enmity depend on greatness of mind. What does it matter if a man be not fortunate enough to have riches ? He whose mind is great (Under any circumstances). Though he may have no riches, that does not in the least detract from his greatness of mind. The wise must not forget this. Though we are destitute of wealth, we feel proud to say that our family is noble. Our parents are high-born, possessed of greatness of mind, generous and virtuous and we owe our origin to them. Friends, there being at present a lack of discerning men capable of properly appreciating the merits of our parents and ourselves, and my end having approached, I am compelled to indulge in self-glorification, for which I beg my Aryan brethren to excuse me. (In forming an estimate of our merits) my friends must not confine their attention only to the fact that our father used to perform *kirtans* and we used to beat tall behind him. If they make careful inquiries about the innate disposition and outward conduct of our parents and ourselves, they will come to know the truth. In short, though we have neither an army, nor territory, nor money, we still possess greatness of mind and are therefore competent to pit ourselves against any being except God. Success or failure depends upon chance and has no connection whatever with greatness.

WE DETERMINE TO FIGHT THE ENGLISH

Taking this view, we girded up our loins to enter upon a struggle with the English. We began to consider to what undertaking we should first put our hand. It must be a very grave one and of such a nature that our success in accomplishing it might be the talk of all, rejoice our Aryan brethren, fill the English with sorrow, and put upon us the indelible brand of treason. While pondering over this, we were inspired with the following idea : There is a statue of the Queen of England situated at a certain crossing off our roads in the Fort in Bombay. This place is an important one. This woman, after the Mutiny of 1857, acquired the universal sovereignty of India by making fair but deceitful promises. She alone is the real enemy of our people. Other white men are our enemies only in so far as they are her subjects. We should, therefore, begin at this place. Other acts (should be done) afterwards. Had she been in India we would have tried to wreck vengeance upon herself even at the risk of losing our lives. We would not have cared for other less eminent people. It is, however, to be deeply regretted that owing to our misfortune she is not here and it is not likely that she will ever come to this country. We, therefore, resolved to make an auspicious beginning by first dealing with her stone image, and proceeded to make the necessary arrangements.

WE SMEARED DAMAR TO THE QUEEN'S STATUE

We at first carefully examined the spot and thought over all the conveniences and inconveniences, and considered in what way we should deal with the statue. Our first thought was to break its head into small pieces by

means of a large hammer with a long handle. But on mature consideration we thought it difficult to do this in a short time and therefore resolved only to disfigure it. Considering that "He who does not act up to his professions gets his face blackened" we resolved to inflict the same punishment on her. Proceeding to make arrangements for the execution of our design, we decided to put round the neck of the statue a string of precious gems in the form of shoes as a token of our devotion. But whence were the gems to be brought? We wanted small ones and began to look for them. Moreover, it was necessary that the shoes should be old. The older they were, the better would they suit our purpose. How were these conditions to be fulfilled? As these could not be purchased with money in the market, we searched many rubbish-heaps, but could not obtain any such gems there. But as our devotion is genuine, God help us. While in Bombay, I used to go to a large house in Kandewadi belonging to a gentleman by name Wagle, for the purpose of bathing, performing sandhya and making prostrations (to the sun). While searching there for these gems I found them in a basket lying in disorder under a staircase among other things. I stole them with great dexterity and formed them into a necklace, in the middle of which we attached tassels of a very filthy substance. I cannot mention that substance here. The shoes forming the necklace were of three or four sorts. Having finished the necklace, we intended to execute our design on the (auspicious) day of Dasara because on that day our ancestors used to set out for the purpose of overpowering their enemies. In accordance with this our ancient custom we decided to make a beginning (on the said day). On consulting astrological works we found two very auspicious periods, one occurring at dawn on the Dasara day and the other at 2 p.m. on the second day after Dasara. As our object was to carry out our design in the manner enjoined by the Shastras, we resolved to execute it on the day fixed (as above). We bought six annas worth of dammar. It was very liquid. In order to make it into a very hard plaster we mixed with it some gram-flour and the filthy substance above referred to. Having thus prepared the mixture we kept it in a long tube of zinc and awaited the arrival of the appointed auspicious hour. On the approach of the Dasara day we devoutly prayed to God to give us success in our undertaking and resolved to get up at the earliest dawn. But as we awoke from sleep at a late hour on that day, our whole plan failed. We, therefore, resolved not to fail (to execute our design) at the second auspicious hour. That night we kept awake praying to God all the time. Soon after 8 O'clock at night, we took the tube containing dammar and the necklace of shoes to a certain spot marked by us. Just before 2 O'clock we remembered Gajanan and started from our residence. At that time there was bright moon-light. The Police were standing motionless at various places on the road. I carried in my hand a stick long enough to reach my ears and was walking at a distance (from my brother). My brother carried an iron pipe in his hand. We were walking at a distance from each other. Instead of going by the metalled road, we passed through the open space adjoining the Marine Battalion (Lines), and after reaching the back part of the Police station near the Queen's statue went a little further. We stopped for a while at a certain spot, and my brother went near the statue and came back. We then decided that one of us should worship the statue and the other should defend him (if necessary). Though any obstacle were to arise the worshipper was to finish his task quietly, while the guard was to silently remove the obstacle by the use of the last expedient, viz., violence. Accordingly, I undertook to act as a guard, while my brother undertook the worship and both of us started. My brother crossed the railing on the right of the statue and entered the compound, while, fully equipped, stood on the (left) side of the statue towards the Police station. At that time the light in the lantern at the Police station was dimly burning. One or two peons were indistinctly observed in the dark to be smoking cigarettes. From the spot

where I stood I could distinctly see the statue as well as perceive any movement on the part of the men in the Police station. A little while before my brother climbed the statue a man went by the road which passes the Police station. In our opinion this man was a Police Havaldar or Jamadar. I thought that the man might happen to see what we were doing and that I might have to discharge my duty. But nothing of the sort took place and the man went on without stopping. In the meantime my brother had finished the worship (of the statue). When the necklace was thrown round the neck (of the statue) it struck its chest and made a sound which, however, failed to draw the attention of the (Police) sepoy. My brother got out of the compound by leaping over the railing and then I too joined him on the road. By way of precaution we had previously seen some other roads by which we might return home in case of necessity. But no such necessity having arisen, we returned home by the high road. On our return home, we as usual, praised God by reciting hymns and then retired. When next morning we went to see the statue, we saw many Hindus, Parsis, Muhammadans and Europeans assembled there. All except the Europeans appeared to be delighted. The Police also had gathered there. They removed the necklace from the statue and kept it at the Police station and tried to remove the dammar by a powerful jet of water. Just then a prohibitory order was received from the Police authorities for stopping the use of all remedies for the present. Seeing this we returned home. At about 12 O'clock the news spread over the town, while at night it became the subject of general talk. All began to admire the daring of the author of the deed. Many columns of newspapers edited by Europeans were devoted to this topic. The (editors of) Marathi papers were inwardly delighted, but outwardly they said that the bad character (who had perpetrated the deed) ought to be arrested and punished. Speculation was rife. Some said that the deed was done not by any Hindu or Muhammadan, but by a European. Others said that a Muhammadan had done it. Every one said that such a daring deed could not have been done by a Hindu. We were highly offended to hear such disagreeable words uttered by any one. With a view to make it generally known that a Hindu had done the deed, we had already written a letter and placed it on the statue. We were hitherto in doubt as to whether the Police had got it or not. I now learn that they did not get it. It, therefore, seems that it was blown away by the wind. The Times (of India) gave a full description of the occurrence, with the exception of the tassels attached to the necklace and the letter. We, therefore, thought of writing a letter to that paper. As, however, we do not know English, we had recourse to the following artifice : As the tenor of our letter made it desirable that it should be posted at Thana, we addressed the following anonymous letter written in Marathi to the editor of the Suryodaya, a newspaper published in that town :—

THE DANDAPANI

"We have formed an association called Dandapani. Our fixed determination is to die and kill (others) for the sake of our religion. The association was formed on the recent auspicious day of Dasara. Its first achievement was the blackening of the face of (the statue of) the Queen of England who made a distinction between Natives and Europeans. Having done this the association informs the public as follows : This Dandapani Association will not be overawed by any one. Any one who encourages immorality, whether the Queen or some one superior to her, is the enemy of this association. This detailed statement will certainly enable all to comprehend its object. It is for all our Aryan brethren to aid it directly or indirectly. We, therefore, request you to take the trouble of forwarding an English version of this letter to the Times (of India). You will thereby earn credit for having assisted the said association."

The purport of the letter was only that. That letter is with my friend Mr. Brewin, and I am of the opinion that it should be published. We sent the above letter to the editor of the Suryodaya. But as it was not published in the Times (of India) we concluded that the editor (of the Suryodaya) had not forwarded it to the Times (of India). I, however, now learn that he had forwarded it. In this manner our first undertaking, viz., this affair of the Queen's statue, was successfully accomplished. The people, however, continue to talk about the matter more or less till recently. In the course of that talk, they gave utterance to some very amusing things, not even a hundredth part of which I can mention here for fear of prolixity.

OUTBREAK OF PLAGUE

At that time the bubonic plague was on the increase. All began to complain loudly of the increasing oppression on the part of the Government. People began to leave Bombay for the districts through fear (of the plague), while those in the mofussil ceased to go to Bombay owing to the same cause.

WE SET THE MANDAP ON FIRE

In the meantime the date of the Matriculation Examination was drawing near. As usual a fine mandap was put up near Colaba for the said examination. As the plague was increasing every moment, people from all parts (of the Presidency) petitioned the authorities concerned for a postponement of the examination. The people of Poona made strenuous efforts in the matter. As, however, the authorities were inexorable, we resolved to take up the matter into our hands, being satisfied that we might settle it in a manner that would procure us popular applause. Besides, we are dead against (higher) education, which has a bad effect on the boys. We are of opinion that the loss of our physical strength is partly to be laid at the door of this Mlenchha learning. The entire society has devoted itself to education and become too much thoughtful, and thereby has lost manliness. At present (such is our condition that) if any one were to kick and cuff us soundly, we shall only weary ourselves by holding meetings, making petitions and discussing the matter. Though we have already lost so much by education, our educated men complain that Government does not give us higher education. A vicious but poor man, in order to gratify his evil inclination, at first spends his own money to seduce some rich man's son into an evil habit, but when the latter has become a slave to the habit, withholds his own money and leads a life of pleasure and ease (at his expense and) in his company so long as he has any money with him. In like manner when the English assumed the administration of India, they thought it necessary to extinguish the spirit of the Hindus by making them addicted to the vice of education. They, therefore, spent their own money at first. Seeing that the people have become pretty well addicted to it, they are now withholding their own money. The more they do so, the more our people think that they are unwilling to give us education, because it is the only means of securing our good. They, therefore, devote themselves to education with still greater enthusiasm. But my brethren, you commit a mistake in thinking so. They will not lose, but gain by giving you education. They wish to close the schools and colleges, not for stopping education, but for reducing expenditure. They know that if they were to sever all connection with education, the people being enthusiastically attached to it will pay constant visits to them at their bungalows and invite them to pan-supari in order to obtain permission to open schools and colleges at their own expenses. This is actually the case at present. If they are (really) unwilling to educate people, why are they so anxious to educate

women? They always endeavour to educate the lower orders because they wish to make those castes addicted to it which are now free from it and then to enjoy the fun. The Marathas, &c., have lately begun to complain as follows:— “We do not receive education. Only the Brahmins become educated. Even in former times they, with like selfishness, educated themselves, but kept us in ignorance. We, therefore, pray that the paternal Government will be graciously pleased to give us education.” They repeatedly make such petitions (to Government). But they fail to understand that it was by receiving education that the Brahmins destroyed their religious observances, caste, families, morality and immorality, manliness and impotence. If in spite of the above results of that baleful education the Marathas, &c., wish to acquire it, let them do so by all means and become effeminate. Many people, on reading these our opinions which are quite opposed to education, will call us fools. Poor things, let them do so. In a village inhabited by naked persons, a person wearing a dhotar is sure to be called a downright fool. But he alone will be called wise by discerning persons. I can write much on this topic, but refrain from doing so with a view to avoid prolixity. To be brief, as the University was acting in opposition to (the wishes of) the people and was not also liked by us, we thought of inflicting some damage on that body and accordingly began to make inquiries about the mandap referred to above. We saw the mandap which was being put up near Colaba. Our intention was to set fire to it only one day before the date of the examination, because in that case no new mandap could be put up before the time of the examination, which, therefore, would be necessarily postponed. But afterwards it occurred to us that if we did not find any opportunity on the previous day, the examination would begin on the next day. We, therefore, thought that there was no objection to setting fire to it one or two days before (the examination day). On examining the mandap, we considered on what side it would be convenient to set it on fire, and proceeded to make the necessary arrangements. Knowing that it would be difficult to go a long way in the latter part of the night we resolved to do the business before 9 o'clock. The mandap was to be set on fire on the side towards the railway compound. The materials and the method employed were similar to those employed in setting fire to the upper story of the building belonging to Messrs. Phillips & Co., Bhudwar Peth, Poona, which had been occupied by a certain missionary. After setting fire to the mandap we got out of the compound by leaping (over the fence), walked along the seashore as far as the Churney Road Station and thence got home. After we had walked over a considerable distance, we could see the glare of the fire. By the time we got home, the fire (had attained such dimensions that it) could be easily seen from our chawl. But the people (in our chawl) did not know that the mandap was on fire. All of them had assembled in the upper gallery to see the fire and wondered where it had occurred. We also stood among them. They were in doubt (as to the origin of the fire). Though we had no doubt whatever (on that point), we did not disclose the true facts to them, but looked on with them in (feigned) astonishment. The next day the people knew for certain that the mandap had been burnt down. The educated people in particular were much delighted to hear this. The police shifted their own responsibility by giving out that the fire had been caused by a spark from the engine of a railway train. There was, however, a very general rumour among the people that the fire had been caused by some Poonait. A similar suspicion of the Poonaites had been expressed in papers edited by Englishmen, in connection with the blackening of the face of the Queen's statue, though it cannot be known on what grounds they thought so. As, however, we are very proud of Poona, once the capital of the Peshwas, we were delighted to hear the above reports. The mandap being thus consumed by fire like an offering, the authorities were compelled to postpone the examination, in consequence of which the people highly praised

the authors of the said deed. We were greatly delighted to hear ourselves thus praised. A few days after this we returned to Poona with our family. On our return we began to look out for some serious enterprise, but could not soon find any. As, however, we had made it our vocation to persecute the irreligious and glorify the religious, we could not feel easy at heart unless we did something towards the accomplishment of our object. We were always absorbed in thinking what we should do and how we should do it. The good or evil acts of the irreligious did not remain hidden from our keen observation. Our wrath was specially directed against the Sudharak and Dnyan Chakshu newspapers. We had obtained full information about the editors and proprietors of both these newspapers. My readers must be aware of the fact that one of the editors of the Sudharak was some time ago first lightly punished and then even a letter of warning was sent to him; but I am very sorry to observe that he heeded our warning only in the first issue of the paper published after it was given, but thereafter he reverted to his old practices and thus treated us with contempt. As we could not put up with this, we resolved to cut off the head of this Devdhar (the said editor) and thus show to the world what severe punishment is deserved by persons for the great sin (committed by them) of vilifying their own religion. But on mature consideration it was resolved to kill an offending European in the first place and then, after warning these brutes in human form to the effect that those on whom they rely so much were dealt with by us in this manner, to ask them once more to beware. Having resolved that, if even after such warning these men should fail to mend their ways, they were to be mercilessly killed without delay. After this we ceased to give any further thought to these educated blockheads.

WE PUNISH THORAT

In the meantime, our dear friend, Bhuskute, reported (to us) that Mr. Thorat, a teacher in Bhave's School, was a very bad man, being addicted to the vice of sodomy. This educated teacher was in the habit of showing favour and giving higher rank to those boys only who were handsome and young. We had already known Mr. Thorat to be a man of such character. We used to keep a register of all ill-behaved men. There are in our register (the names of) many men who are very vile and whose conduct is disgusting. All of them were to suffer at our hands one after another, but the Almighty does not seem inclined to get this service done by us. God's will prevails. The educated are invariably addicted to vice. This may probably be the effect of a liberal education. Let us proceed. We had many a time sent anonymous letters to Mr. Bhave of the Bhave School representing that the conduct of Thorat was such that it was not advisable to retain him in the school as the boys might contract evil habits, and that it would be to his (Bhave's) interest to dismiss him from the school; but no satisfactory arrangements were made. Later on, when we came to know of many of his other vices, viz., eating flesh, drinking wine, vilifying the gods and the (Hindu) religion, &c., Bhuskute was strongly of opinion that he should receive chastisement at our hands. It was resolved to get this done by Bhuskute in order to inspire him with courage, and we made careful inspection of the place where he resided. He used to live on the first floor of Mantri's Wada in a room overlooking the street. When my brother and Bhuskute entered the room through a small window over looking the road, they perceived that he was awake. He was sleeping in a cloth-partitioned room. When, on hearing footsteps, he repeatedly asked in a low voice "Who is there? Who is there?" my brother told (Bhuskute) to strike him and he struck him one blow; but the blow was feeble as Bhuskute was in a state of nervous excitement and he (Thorat) raised an alarm. Thereupon,

my brother gave him a heavier blow and both then swiftly jumped out of the window and escaped. The two pieces of iron piping (carried by them) in their hands remained on the floor while jumping down, and were taken charge of by the Police. The next day this circumstance was much talked of in the town, but our object was not accomplished. The people said that some thieves had come, but not being able to steal anything went away. As he was, however, not a well-known man, no one said anything about his vices. We did not derive any great satisfaction from this affair as our pride for (our) religion did not come to light. After this, with the intention of doing something, we one night took off the sign-board at the office of the Sudharak and placed it on Khasgiwale's privy which faced the high road, and having filled an earthen jar with the ordure in that privy suspended it from the door chain of the office of the Sudharak, and wrote on that jar the words "Remove our excrements." Having done this during the night, we went in the morning to the spot (Sudharak's office) to see the fun; but as this state of things did not last for a long time, the people could not enjoy the fun to their hearts content. The matter, however, was to some extent talked about in the city.

WE BROKE AN EUROPEAN SHOW

Some days after this incident a European brought down some kind of show to the new Market. Its big apparatus had already arrived there two days before. On seeing the apparatus we could not make out what wonderful show it was. But all our doubts were removed when he (the European) set up the show by arranging its several parts. It is necessary to place before the reader a description of this show. Friends, this show was not so very wonderful. It is, however, the ignorance of our people which is unparalleled. In this India of ours, I have seen this show set up by the poor people at their fairs and gatherings. A big pillar is set up on the ground and on the top of it a canopy, to which (wooden) horses and camels are attached, is made to turn round. On payment of one pice, a ride on these (wooden animals) is allowed. Generally, boys and country-people take a ride on these wooden horses, but gentlemen never do so. In short, a show similar to that which we consider to be so very vulgar was brought into the Market, the only difference being that it was of an improved type. It consisted of two divisions; the upper division was in a manner decorated and couches were placed therein at intervals. The canopy was over decorated with tinsel. Some sort of music was played while the canopy turned round. At night it glittered with lamps. The proprietor of the show had fixed two rates of admission, namely, two annas for (a seat on) the lower division and four annas for (a seat on) the upper one. While whirling round, this show afforded the same pleasure as is derived from our country merry-go-rounds. But as it was brought there by a European, our wiseacres flocked to see it like ghosts. The show for which our poor people charge only one pice a head and thus earn their livelihood, is not patronized by our people professing themselves to be refined. But as soon as they see that a European (has brought one), they forgetful of their position, over and over again visit it like boys, paying four annas a head each time. I, therefore, am at a loss to know how to characterise these wiseacres. Many reformers used to visit the show with their wives. This class or reformers had stigmatised us by being born amongst us. These fools have no idea of patriotism. We two brothers shall never admire, or derive any pleasure from, any invention of the English, though it might show the highest inventive skill. Though many admirable amusements like the phonograph have hitherto been introduced into India, our patriotism has never permitted us to see them even though people persuaded us to do so and were prepared to pay for us. If we have at all seen any,

we have never in consequence of our patriotic feeling been inspired with admiration for them. We have not starved for not having seen the extraordinary novelties introduced by foreigners, nor do the unpatriotic reformers seem to have grown fat for having seen them. It is the foreigners who fill their own coffers by plundering us and then bid good-bye to the country. We used to feel greatly exasperated at these things, but what could we do? How were we to expostulate with these idiots (though they call themselves learned, I reckon them among perfect idiots)? Thinking that the best course would be to get rid of that apparently seductive show, we resolved to set fire to it. We accordingly procured phosphorus, and having made it into tablets, stuck pins into them to be handy for use. We then arranged that Bhuskute and my brother, Bapurao, should go into the upper division (of the show) and make use of (some of) them (to set fire to it), while I should use others in (setting fire to) the private tent (of the proprietor) that was pitched on the ground, so that both the (merry-go round and the) tent should be ablaze simultaneously. Accordingly, my brother went into the upper division of the show, and when he was about to come down, I on my part, set fire below, and immediately the tent on the ground was ablaze. Thereupon, all the spectators came down to extinguish the fire. We were waiting to see the show also in a similar condition, but through some inexplicable cause it did not catch fire. The fire-engine having come to the spot put down the fire. The proprietor of the show suffered a good deal of loss. The next day the Police came there to keep order, but we having showered stones upon them they could not do anything. On the third day, a larger number of Police came to the assistance (of the showman). In spite of them, however, we again attacked the show and some of the lamps and (wooden) horses and camels having been broken on the occasion, the showman was subjected to considerable loss. At last that European got disgusted and removed his show to a place near the (railway) station. We then let him alone. We did not derive any great pleasure from this performance, but only felt that we had not wasted our hours of leisure.

PLAGUE IN POONA

In the meanwhile rumours about the increase of the bubonic plague in the city began to spread, and people began to say that Government intended to make effective arrangements regarding it. They also said that the arrangements (here) would be similar to those in Bombay. But as we were not in the least satisfied with the preventive measures adopted in Bombay, we determined to make an attempt to oppose the measures if the oppression practised in Bombay were repeated here.

WE SET OUR EYE ON RAND

While we were thus considering the matter, that very system was gradually put into operation, and after a few days we heard that one Mr. Rand was appointed to give effect to it. On inquiry we learnt that he was the same Mr. Rand who had sentenced (some) respectable gentlemen of Wai to imprisonment. We, therefore, resolved not to trouble the other officers of the (Plague) Committee, least they might get alarmed, but to punish the principal officer alone. We then made careful inquiries (to find out) whether Mr. Rand was a good or a bad man. It was rumoured in the city that he was wicked man. His notorious (in) justice at Wai was the index of his perversity. We had, however, a great desire to witness personally his iniquitous practices in our own city. As soon as we heard of Mr. Rand's appointment, we three, viz., we two brothers and Bhuskute, began to look for him. But he could not be seen anywhere. Some said he had not yet arrived, while others said he had. Such

were the conflicting rumours that flew about in the city. Every day we went into the Cantonment, but his bungalow could not be found. Many a time did we go to (office of the Plague) Committee. There we saw Beveridge of Hongkong, Colonel Philips, Dr. Jones and other Europeans. We had mistaken Colonel Philips for Mr. Rand, but one day that illusion was dispelled unmistakably. How to learn his identity was then our sole anxiety. We could not openly question anybody on the point for fear of exciting suspicion. Thus we spent several days in simply trying to have a look at Mr. Rand. But he had not arrived till then. The rumours that he had come and taken over charge of his duties were groundless. We think that he took charge of his duties long after (this time). We had a full view of this individual on the day the inspection commenced; but still we took care to ascertain his identity from many persons. We then saw his carriage, and, on inquiry of the coachman through Bhuskute as to where Mr. Rand had put up, we learnt that he was staying at the Club. We then paid frequent visits to the Club premises, but could get no inkling of his whereabouts. We all three then ceased to visit the Cantonment and took to visiting the Municipal (office) where we could see him in the mornings as well as in the evenings. Ever since the commencement of the house-to-house visitation, he used to come to Budhwar (Peth) every morning and thence proceed to the places where the inspection was to take place. Many people used to collect together in Budhwar (Peth) in order to see him when he came there. On the first day, the work of inspection began in Budhwar and the sight was an unprecedented one. The people being unused to such inspections were off their guard.

THE ATROCITIES OF THE PLAGUE OFFICERS

Had they known that this inspection meant only spoilation; that the white men carrying on that work were marauders with Colonel Phillips, Lewis and other white men as their ringleaders; that Mr. Rand was the chief in command over them; that it was merely for the sake of carrying on this premeditated and extensive loot that one Dr. Jones was appointed before hand; that as a preliminary step these English marauders had caused him to make large openings in the houses of the rich as well as of the poor with the only object of rendering visible, while on their raid in broad daylight, the treasury boxes and other articles placed in the dark; that like the Ramoshi dacoits of our own country, who first make careful inquiries (about the belongings of their victims) to enable them to commit dacoities during night, Dr. Jones had, at the outset, by means of a general inquiry prepared a list of the rich as well as the poor people of the city and had handed it over to those marauders at the commencement (of the operations); and that those marauders taking advantage of the mildness of the Hindus, were about to commence their pillage under the guise of law; (in short), if the rayats had known before hand that their paternal Government was about to cut the throats of their own subjects in the above manner, they would have, to save themselves, migrated to some other place with all their belongings. But as they failed to perceive this state of things before hand they remained in their homes (confident of their) security. Meanwhile a band of these marauders paid their first visit to Budhwar (peth). Immediately on their arrival, they stationed guards at the corner of the street and began to break open shops by picking the locks. Oh! what a spectacle it was. Indeed, neither history nor tradition can show such treatment accorded to a subject people by their rulers. One can understand an army raised to meet an enemy being used in repelling an invading foe; but here we see our valiant Englishmen (utilising) their brave and well equipped forces in swooping down upon moribund victims (of the plague) and packing them off to hospitals. How very brave of them. Would (any other) ruler on the face of the globe use his forces in such a fashion? Our English (rulers), however, appear to think that valour consists not in striking

down a man in full possession of his powers, which any one can, do, but in capturing those who are stricken with illness and are unable to move an inch. It is for this reason that they employed their well-drilled soldiers on such operations. In this way did these plunderers commence their depredations. We always followed (the parties which carried on) this plunder, with the object of seeing with our own eyes their high-handed proceedings. I prefer to call these operations a loot rather than inspection. While this loot was going on, high officers of Government with Mr. Rand at their head paraded in the streets and supervised the breaking of locks, the making away with furniture and (other) lawless proceedings and also saw that all these operations were duly carried on. They were at this time (so much) blinded (with authority) that they cared not for any Hindu gentleman (however high his position might be). Nothing but burning, demolition, wreckage and arrests were to be seen in those parts which this band of raiders visited. I do not think that those who have seen such slights would characterise these vilest men otherwise than as marauders. Rules were framed for regulating the manner in which this pillage was to be carried on. The rules which were reduced to writing were in themselves mild in a large measure, but the manner in which they were carried out appeared to be quite the reverse. It was expressly laid down in the rules that no one should so act as to wound the religious susceptibilities of any one. But these white men purposely acted in such a way as to exasperate us, and Mr. Rand witnessed this spectacle with great satisfaction.

WE RESOLVE TO KILL RAND

I am unable to describe how exasperated we felt on such occasions. We resolved to take his (Mr. Rand's) life at all risks. Having formed this resolve we set to work. We possessed swords only. We had two pistols but had no gunpowder and hence they were useless. A pistol was, of course, the most convenient weapon for a swift action, but what was to be done? Whence was the ammunition to be procured? We, therefore, resolved to perpetrate the deed with swords alone. We selected two of the best we possessed and attached to them straps of tape to sling them from our shoulders. The sheaths which were of black (leather) were wrapped in pieces of white turban and thus made to appear white. Having made these preparations, we began to look out for a suitable spot (to execute our design), but did not succeed in fixing upon any. We, therefore, determined to perpetrate the deed near the (Municipal) Committee's office, the only restriction being that it was to be executed not earlier than 8 o'clock in the evening. The idlers in the city had, however, put Mr. Rand on his guard by sending intimidatory anonymous letters to him. This put us to a great deal of trouble. He would not remain in the city after nightfall, and began to take with him an escort of sowars on his way (to the Municipal office) and back. We, however, did not allow ourselves to be discouraged in the least. We resolved to kill both (Mr. Rand and the sowars). But we could not move out with swords except at night-time, while he (Mr. Rand) would not allow nightfall to overtake him (in the city). Several days elapsed in this manner. Oppression as well as the plague increased in the city (and) it was wholly abandoned by its inhabitants. Our father received invitations from distant places to go there as the plague was raging (in Poona) and he made preparations to go to a distant place, and, therefore, began to put impediments in the way of his going. When, however, we saw that he very much wished to leave Poona, we decided that it would be more convenient (for us) to go to our house at Chinchwad than to any distant place. Chinchwad being (only) ten miles distant from Poona, we thought that, in case we went to that place, we could come here any day and execute our design. Accordingly,

we proposed to go to Chinchwad, and our father, having approved of the proposal, wrote about it to our uncle at the place ; but the latter raised many objections (to our proposal) and wrote back to say that it was not advisable for us to remove there. Thus did he manifest his brotherly feeling. As we could not secure any other place in the vicinity of Poona, we made a request to our vyahi, Mr. Paranjpe, in the matter and obtained his permission to remove to his garden at Kirkee. We found this place more convenient than Chinchwad and shifted there on an auspicious (day).

We took great care not to allow any one even to suspect that we three were bent upon the perpetration of a terrible deed. While at Kirkee, we formed the acquaintance of one R. Jones, a missionary, living in the Kirkee bazar. We asked for and obtained 25 to 30 percussion caps from him, but gunpowder could not be obtained anywhere. Being, however, informed by Bhuskute that we would be able to procure gunpowder at the house of Kachare, a mali in a garden at Kothrud, we three proceeded thither one night as if for pleasure and made away with some gunpowder and small shot. (In the meanwhile) Mr. Rand had carried his oppression to the highest pitch. The people talked about (the advisability of) taking his life and lamented that there was no religious enthusiast amongst them who could do that work. The people of other places scoffed at the Poonaites, and the newspapers wrote in derision about the city, calling it garrulous and nothing more. Every day saw new modes of oppression. Temples were desecrated in one part of the city, in another women were outraged and idols broken. The poor and the helpless were the greatest sufferers at the hands of these marauders. While this state of things was going on, we every day came to Poona from Kirkee and returned home in the evening. Our father did not like to see us go to and return from Poona in the noon-day sun. He pointed out to us in various ways that the course we were following would be deleterious to our health, but as we were bent upon the execution of our object we persisted in paying stealthy visits to Poona. When our father came to know of this, he got angry with us and moved back to Poona, and we too with all the members of our family followed suit. The bubonic plague was raging in the city at this time, but we had the consolation that it would now be easy for us to make an attempt to carry out our plan.

BHUSKUTE FALLS PREY TO THE PLAGUE

In the meanwhile, our dear friend, Dattatraya Bhuskute, was seized with this deadly fever. On the day he fell ill, he came and told us about it. He, however, said that as the fever was of an ordinary type we need not entertain any fears on that score. After this he went home and we never saw him again. As no member of his family knew that we were his friends, we could not call at his house to inquire after his health. I, however, sent my youngest brother on this mission, but everybody being apprehensive of these marauders, none would admit that Bhuskute was ill. Great God. Where (art) thou. To what depths of dependence have we Hindus sunk. As we could not hear any news about Bhuskute's health, we resolved that he should, while yet on his sick-bed, hear that the wretch (Mr. Rand) had been punished. With this object in view we strained every nerve for the execution of our design, but instead of a favourable opportunity offering itself for the perpetration of the deed the evil news that Bhuskute had departed this life fell on our ears. Our grief knew no bounds when we received this news. It is easy to imagine how difficult it is to find a bosom friend who will co-operate with one in such work as we had undertaken. Unfortunately for us, our friend was not spared to us. We went outside the city, and stretching out our hands towards heaven uttered the following words with upturned faces :— "Friend, you have strenuously exerted yourself along with us in the interest of our

religion. May God grant you eternal happiness. That wretch will shortly be despatched to the world of Pluto. You need not entertain any anxiety on that score. That is the only way by which we can fulfil your desires." Having addressed these words to (the spirit of) Bhuskute, we retraced our way to the town, meditating on the transitoriness of our material existence. The fate of our friend filled us with utter despondence as regards this world, and thinking that God might one day snatch us away in a similar manner we made up our mind that, come what might, we must execute our design even in broad daylight if we could not find a suitable opportunity at night. So the death of our friend, instead of disheartening us, spurred us on to set about our undertaking with greater vigour. As far as possible we were resolved not to run any personal risk in our attempt, but if that was not found possible, we were determined to carry out our plan even at the sacrifice of our lives. Whenever a gang of the marauders visited our Peth, they found us fully prepared (to meet them). We were determined to make the European (soldiers) pay with their lives in case they misconducted themselves in our house. At the same time we thought the killing of those worthless soldiers too trivial an affair, and therefore with a view not to allow Mr. Rand to escape unscathed, one of us kept an eye on the spot where he took his stand. Our object was that the moment the soldiers misconducted themselves in our house I was to strike them down, while my brother was to deal similarly with Mr. Rand. We were prepared every day to act in this manner. Fortunately, however, the soldiers did not act against our wishes in our house. Once it so happened that my brother was rather indisposed at the time these marauders visited our house, but even on that occasion we took care to be ready with our arms to impress upon the minds of the marauders that we at all events were men of self-respect in the town. In our house we used to take these marauders only into my brother's room and to the storey of our house occupied by our father, but did not allow the brutes to trespass into the god-house, nor into the kitchen, nor into the women's apartments. Our she-buffalo, which was tethered in the back yard of our house, used to fiercely rush at the European (soldiers) whenever it saw them. They, therefore, being terrified at its fierce look, did not venture into that part of the house. We are very proud of the fact that even our she-buffalo was such a fierce animal. As we used to be in such a state of preparedness, God took care of us. The Europeans acted in accordance with our wishes in our house. One day, however, a European insisted upon entering our house, but when we both of us told him in an indignant tone that it was impossible for him to do so, he being inspired by God in some unknown manner quietly went away. Though I personally witnessed outrages committed at other places, nothing calculated to provoke us occurred in our own house and consequently we were calmly maturing our plans concerning Mr. Rand. Many a trivial quarrel took place between the soldiers and ourselves on the road, but all this originated in our own tricks.

OUR PREPARATIONS FOR REVENGE

The epidemic of fever and tyranny having increased in the above manner, now began to abate by the will of God. After some days house-to-house visitation was discontinued, but the police stations established at the cemeteries were retained. Each of these stations had two armed sentries and we became fired with a desire to make away with their guns. With that object in view we examined all the stations and found the one located on Lakdipul to be the most convenient one (for our purposes). I then went there four or five times disguised as a pujari, and on one occasion having made my prostrations to Balbhima, snatched away with his permission two Henri-Martinis and one sword and took them to our house. This was a source of extreme delight to us both. I cannot describe how joyful we felt. We now

felt confident enough to face even an army. Our ill-luck, however, did not show us that day, nor is there any prospect of our ever seeing it hereafter. We had procured the guns but where were cartridges to be found? It was our intention to attempt to procure them later on. On the following day the news of the theft of the guns spread in the city, and in very flattering terms did the people speak of the discipline and bravery of the soldiers concerned. The people (however) were wonder-struck at the (boldness of the) person who had stolen the guns. This circumstance delighted us the most. But as there was no possibility of the guns being of any use to us in our undertaking in the absence of cartridges, we stowed them away with great care. Since the house-to-house visitation system was discontinued, Mr. Rand was not very punctual in coming to and going from the city. He came and went at any time he liked. Consequently, our intention of accomplishing our design in the city fell through. Then we began visiting the Club in the Cantonment in order to find out his room. Having found it out, we went to the Cantonment every evening and watched the movements of Mr. Rand. Every Wednesday and Sunday he was in the habit of going to St. Mary's Church for evening service. Five or seven times did we lie in wait for him at this place, but could not succeed in our object. While there, we once happened to enter into conversation with a European constable. We also went to the Club three or four times in different disguises. Then we visited the Gymkhana eight or ten times, and in the course of our visits to that place we came into collision with a European constable. It would be wearisome if I entered into full details about the various attempts made by us as stated above. I would, therefore, content myself by giving here only a resume of what we did and then conclude. The adage "God helps those who help themselves" is not untrue. We were unremitting in our efforts, but the time of our departure for Bombay having approached, we were filled with anxiety as to how God would enable us to commit the deed. We prayed to God repeatedly to make us His instruments in committing the deed, and thus enable us to do some service to our religion. Whenever we heard the utterances of the people about the oppression which they were suffering, we imagined that they were laying their grievances before us just as people seek redress from a king. We thought that we owed these people a debt which would remain undischarged if the deed were not perpetrated, and then we would be ashamed to show our face to the public. We, therefore, often prayed to Shri Gajanan to save us from such disgrace. As time passed on, the Jubilee day approached. The newspapers began to be filled with descriptions of the manner in which this grand festival was to be celebrated, and we believed that Europeans of all ranks would go to the Government House at Ganesh Khind on that occasion. Thinking, therefore, that would be a fitting time for us, both of us started to reconnoitre that part of the country and inspected all the large and small roads in the vicinity thereof. After examining all the places, we resolved to cross the Lakdi Bridge and the canal flowing past the yellow bungalow situated on this side of the spot where the pandal of the National Congress was erected and then to debouch on the high road leading to Ganesh Khind at a point where it passes the yellow bungalow and there execute our commendable deed and then return. We had (also) fixed upon certain unoccupied bungalows in the neighbourhood for the purpose of taking shelter therein in case it should rain at the time. While crossing the canal in the course of our inspection of the places, we needlessly remonstrated with certain European girls who were paddling in the water near the yellow bungalow and then proceeded to do our homage to the goddess Chaturdingi, the mother of the universe. There we prayed to her by reciting the following song :—

Pad.

On mother of the universe, we are about to perform a commendable deed ; vouchsafe success to us.

Confer on us, Oh mother Bhavani, the blessing of subduing the enemy ;
Oh mother, etc. .

We have no other supporter in (this) world except thyself. Rand has completely destroyed the (Hindu) religion in the holy city (Poona).

(That) wretch has ruined all.

Oh mother give us firmness and daring in killing that inconsiderate man with our own hands ; Oh mother of the universe.

Having invoked her in this way we came back. On our return home we began our devotions to the Almighty. The Lord of the universe alone knows how devoutly we prayed to Gajanan, offering him our bodies, our minds and our belongings. We believe that Gajanan answered our prayer. Our first consideration was what weapons we should take with us, (and) we resolved that each of us should arm himself with a sword and a pistol. My brother Bapurao, determined to take with him a hatchet in addition. He intended to use these arms according to the exigencies of the occasion. My readers will remember that we had already kept the sword ready (for use). The pistol which I had chosen to take with me was out of order. Only one of its chambers could be used. That of Bapurao had a single barrel, but it was of large bore. Having determined to arm ourselves with these weapons, we waited for the occasion. We spent the whole day in offering prayers to the Almighty. As we were quite uncertain as to the success or failure of this undertaking, we were altogether unmindful of our domestic concerns. But one thing remains to be described. Government wished that the Jubilee festival should be celebrated by the rayats. Accordingly, in the city (Poona), nay, in the whole of India, that festival was most loyally observed even by Princes and Chiefs. Viewed in a proper light this was not a time for rejoicing.

THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE

There was plague in the Bombay Presidency, earthquakes on the Calcutta side and a terrible famine all over India. How (un) generous it was (for the Queen of England) to cause the rayats, already beset with three such formidable calamities, to celebrate the sixtieth year of her reign at such a critical juncture instead of relieving them from those calamities. This behoves only the Queen of England. According to our Shastras, a king and his subjects are in the same relationship as a father and son. On this principle, the Queen is the mother of her subjects. But judging from her actions there is no reason why, instead of being styled a subject-protecting mother, she should not be called a female fiend who devours her own progeny. Had the Queen a generous heart, she would have on the said joyful occasion earned the blessings of her subjects by feeding them. But as we saw nothing of that sort, we did not like the festival at all and thought that it was the duty of every true Aryan to show his indifference rather than to take part in rejoicings. We do not at all like to make a false display of loyalty by means of hypocritical newspaper articles or speeches. India is, at this moment, full of such imbeciles. Though these good-for-nothing people do not at all like the policy of the British Government, they make a great show of their loyalty in their newspapers and speeches. Some shower upon the Queen covert ridicule in a variety of ways, but when charged under section 124 defend their writings by asserting that they did not mean what is alleged of them. Thinking that it was a thousand times better to openly spurn the English people, their authority and their Queen, and to bring them into disgrace, we exerted ourselves in that direction. Our people being conscious of the truth of the

adage "Wisdom prevails not against authority" were celebrating the Jubilee Festival in a half-hearted manner, though they were unwilling to take part in the rejoicings. We however, do not consider ourselves to be her loyal subjects, and therefore, with a view to mar the rejoicings, instead of joining in them we resolved to set up an image of the Queen of England at some conspicuous and central spot in the Budhawar street on the morning of the Jubilee day. We laboriously searched many rubbish heaps and procured with great difficulty some extremely old and tattered shoes. We could get only six of them and no more. We set up these shoes on the main Budhawar road, with a picture of the Queen stuck to the sole of each of them. With regard to this, our educated brethren would taunt us by saying that we did this stealthily and not openly, yes, friends, yes; though we did it stealthily at that time, we knew full well that some day we would have to come forward and that we would do so with great pride. That blessed day has now fortunately dawned upon me, for which I thank Gajanan. Having done this in the morning we prepared ourselves to go to the Ganesh Khind as soon as it was dusk. At the time of our departure we relinquished all hopes of our home, wives, children, parents, friends and relatives. When leaving our house, we devoutly made obeisance to Shri Mangalmurti, and muttering his name made a mental obeisance to our parents and bid adieu in our minds to all, young and old, nay, we even touched our extremely favourite she-buffalo and took leave of them all. Similarly, with the words "Dear brethren. May the merits of you all help us in the attainment of success." we left the house. We even took with us our sacred scripture, the Gita.

WE DO IT

It was about 7 or 7-30 o'clock and the sun had just set. Darkness was increasing every moment. After we had gone out of the city, we recited the above-mentioned verses in praise of the Chatursingi Bhavani, and taking the appointed route soon reached Ganesh Khind. As soon as we arrived there we saw Mr. Rand's carriage pass by, but not being quite sure that it was his, we postponed the execution of the deed till the time of his return (from the Government House). A large concourse of people had gathered there to witness the spectacle, but there were very few Brahmins among them. Owing to the bonfires on the hill tops and the crowd of spectators, it became difficult for us to walk about with our swords. We, therefore, deposited the two swords and one hatchet under the stone culvert situated in the vicinity of the bungalow in such a way as to easily reach them in case of need. This enabled us to move about with the greatest ease. For fear of coming across any acquaintance, we, instead of walking about on the public road, betook ourselves to a field in the dark and there leisurely devoted ourselves to divine contemplation. When (I saw that) no more carriages were coming from the city and those which had already gone there (Government House) had begun to return, I proceeded to the gate and took my stand near it. It was arranged between ourselves that I was to run after the carriage (of Mr. Rand) and my brother was to come to my assistance near the yellow bungalow in the execution of the deed, and that while running after the carriage I was to call out "Gondya" as a signal to him, so that he might understand that the carriage was coming and prepare himself for action. Having made this arrangement I approached the gate. The carriage in question came up after many others had preceded it, and having fully identified it I gave it chase, running at a distance of some 10 or 15 paces behind. As the carriage neared the yellow bungalow, I made up the distance (between it and myself) and called out "Gondya". My brother came up to me directly. I undid the button of the flap of the

carriage, raised it, and fired from a distance of about a span. Our original plan was to empty both the pistols at Mr. Rand so as to leave no room for doubt about his death. But as my brother lagged behind, the charge from my pistol (alone) hit Mr. Rand and his carriage rolled onwards. My brother, suspecting that the occupants of the carriage behind were, on seeing us, whispering to each other, aimed his pistol at the head of (one of them) from behind the carriage and fired a bullet.

WE ESCAPE UNNOTICED

We then went away with speed by the pre-arranged route. We intended to take away the swords on the following day. On our return home we offered fervent prayers to the Almighty. We could not sleep that night owing to excess of delight. Having bathed early in the morning we went out and passed the Faraskhana and the Municipal Office to see if there was any excitement in the city over the matter. But people appeared to know nothing about the incident. The news began to spread in the city at about 10 or 11 a.m. By evening the incident was everywhere talked about and every one was overjoyed. All Hindus and Muhammadans, whether rich or poor, young or old, reformers or non-reformers, shared equally this feeling of extreme delight, and every one distributed according to his means either sugar-candy or sweetmeats. I leave it to my readers to imagine what gratification we must have felt when the universal feeling of joy was so great. We were delighted because the people were delighted; otherwise, we had no ill-feeling against Mr. Rand.

Had he been careful not to interfere with our religion, that is to say, had he taken notice of the lawless conduct of the soldiery, we would not have been compelled to perpetrate the deed we had been following Mr. Rand's movements for nearly three months and a half, and during that period we came to entertain a very good opinion of him. He was a proud man like ourselves and we believe that he was not addicted to any vice. There was no meanness in his character. We had seen him playing lawn-tennis at the Gymkhana. He would never play with ladies, and from this (we inferred) that he disliked associating with the wives of others. We had marked this and many other traits in his character. But of what avail was all this? As he made himself an enemy of our religion, we deemed it necessary to take revenge upon him. We could not help it. This incident threw the Police into a great commotion, and innumerable were the rumours that circulated in the city. Some said that they were going to search all the houses for weapons. As we had to remove to Bombay, we thought it undesirable to leave our weapons behind. We, therefore, tried them up in a bundle and threw them in a well appertaining to the house of Londhe. Having learnt that the swords which we had left underneath the culvert had been taken away by the Police to the Faraskhana, we did not go there. But we went to pay a visit to Jagadamba and having filled the lap of that deity with a khan and a cocoanut returned home. The next day we left for Bombay with all the members of our family by the 1-30 p.m. train. On our way to the railway station some members of the Bombay Police Force passed by us in a carriage, and we at once recognized them. We desired to be in Poona at this time, but it was just as well that our wish was not fulfilled, for had we remained there we might have been tempted to do something. We were thus a prey to alternate feelings of relief and sorrow. In this state we arrived in Bombay. The troubles which the English as well as the natives had to undergo in consequence of this act of ours (if narrated) would fill a big volume. I do not, therefore, think it desirable to narrate them.

WE WRITE ANOTHER LETTER

As they (the English) suspected that the Brahmins alone were responsible for this affair, we hit upon a device to transfer their suspicion to the Muhammadans by sending a letter (to the newspapers?) purporting to be signed by a Ghazi. We thought it would be a good thing if the letter were written in Hindustani, but as there was no one amongst us who knew the language, we decided to send it in English, and just as we had made the editor of the *Suryodaya* to publish a letter in connection with a previous incident, *viz.*, the tarring of the Queen's statue, so we wrote to the editor of the *Mumbai Vaibhav* asking him to send (to the newspaper) a letter in English signed 'A Ghazi' who should take upon himself the responsibility for the deed.

THE LETTERS GIVE A CLUE

A copy of that letter must be in the possession of the Police, and I am of opinion that it should be published along with this. We sent that letter, but did not gain anything by doing so. On the contrary, we were placed at a disadvantage. That letter only led Mr. Brewin to hit upon the idea that the man connected with the tarring of the Queen's statue and the assault on Mr. Velankar must be the author of the present deed also. With this clue he began his investigations. We came to know of this, but we could not rectify our mistake. The assault on Mr. Velankar had placed us in a very unfavourable situation as he could have identified us. This was a very good clue for the Police, and every one whom they suspected was taken by them to Mr. Velankar for identification.

MY PROUD CONFESSION

We passed three months in Bombay vigilantly, when all of a sudden I, one day, received a call from the Police. It was in connection with Gopalrao Sathe. I obeyed the summons, and they (the Police) took me to Poona and placed me before Mr. Brewin. There in the presence of Superintendents Kennedy and Brewin I, in the interest of the public, made, on certain conditions, a confession of murder and proudly detailed the particulars connected therewith, with a view to earn renown. To convince them. I of my own accord gave them many a minute detail. Nay, I adduced evidence in support of my statements. The fact that (I was connected with) the tarring of the Queen's statue and that the shoes made use of in the affair belonged to Wagle was proved by me to their satisfaction. As for Velankar, I got my statement corroborated in his presence. I made a confession in Bombay before Mr. Hamilton and I signed it. I had at first informed the Police that I had done this deed single-handed, but I had subsequently to retract that statement owing to a turban and a piece of tape having been found in the bundle of weapons. As the Police had come to the conclusion that the (murders) must have been committed by two men, I mentioned the name of my brother and thus made him a participator in the glory. It was I alone who supplied the Police with all the evidence in the case. I have entirely forgotten my long cherished hatred of the English owing to the intercourse I subsequently had with Superintendents Kennedy and Brewin. These gentlemen have, till now, shown themselves to be true to their word in their treatment of me, and I pray to God that they might continue to do so until the end. The next part (of this autobiography) will contain a narration in detail of what has taken place since my removal by the Police from Bombay to Poona. I now conclude the accounts of Rand's assassination.

(Signed) DAMODAR HARI CHAPEKAR.

